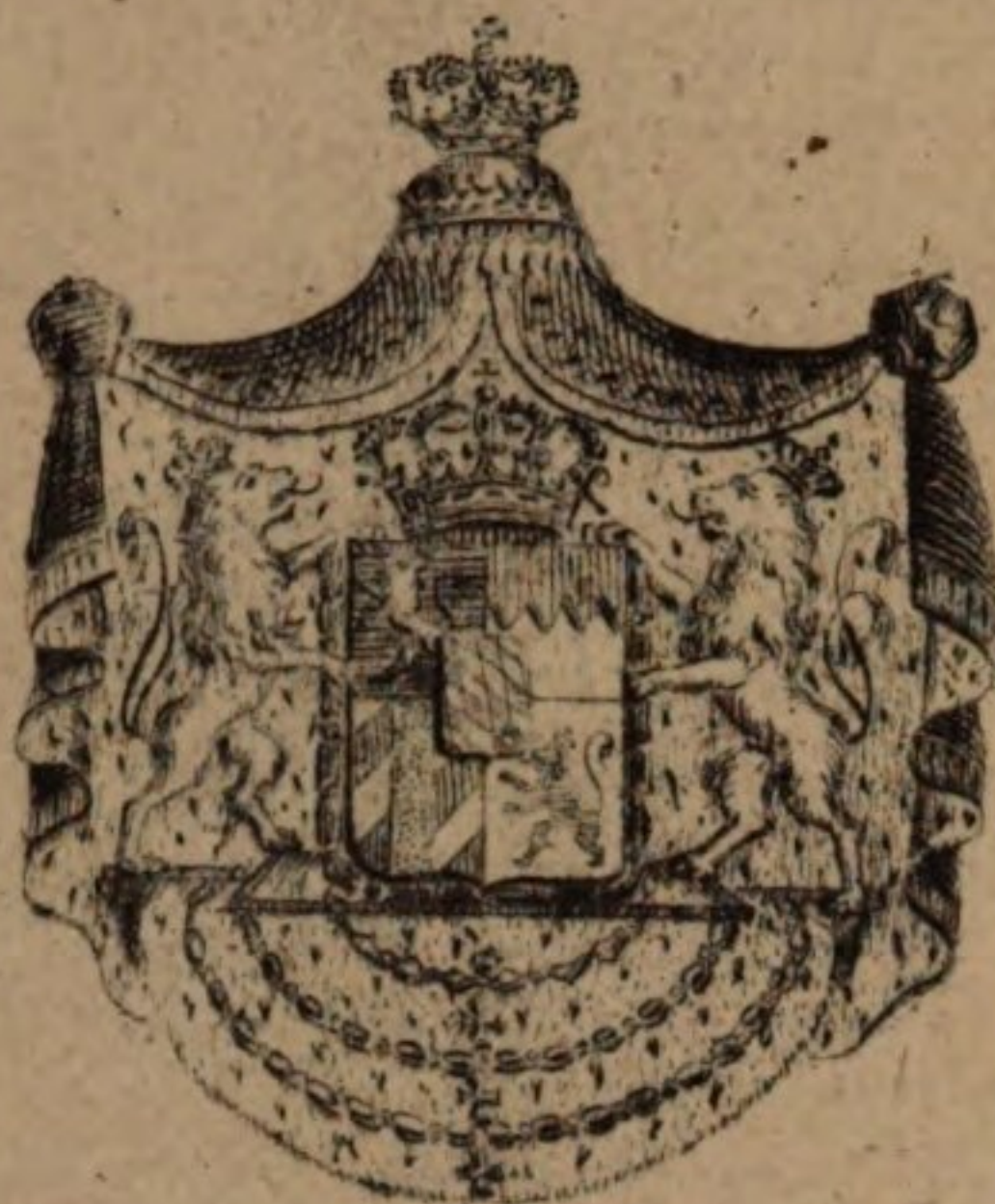


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THE HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH POETRY.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY

BY THOMAS WARBURTON

COMMENTARY ON THE ENGLISH POETRY

THIRD EDITION

THE HISTORY

THOMAS WARBURTON

ENGLISH POETRY

A NEW EDITION

BY THOMAS WARBURTON

WITH A COMMENTARY ON THE ENGLISH POETRY

BY THOMAS WARBURTON

OF THE POETRY

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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE
CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH

TO THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

THREE DISSERTATIONS:

1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.
3. ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

BY

THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, AND LATE
PROFESSOR OF POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A NEW EDITION

CAREFULLY REVISED,

WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE LATE MR. RITSON,
THE LATE DR. ASHBY, MR. DOUCE,
MR. PARK, AND OTHER EMINENT ANTIQUARIES,
AND
BY THE EDITOR.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

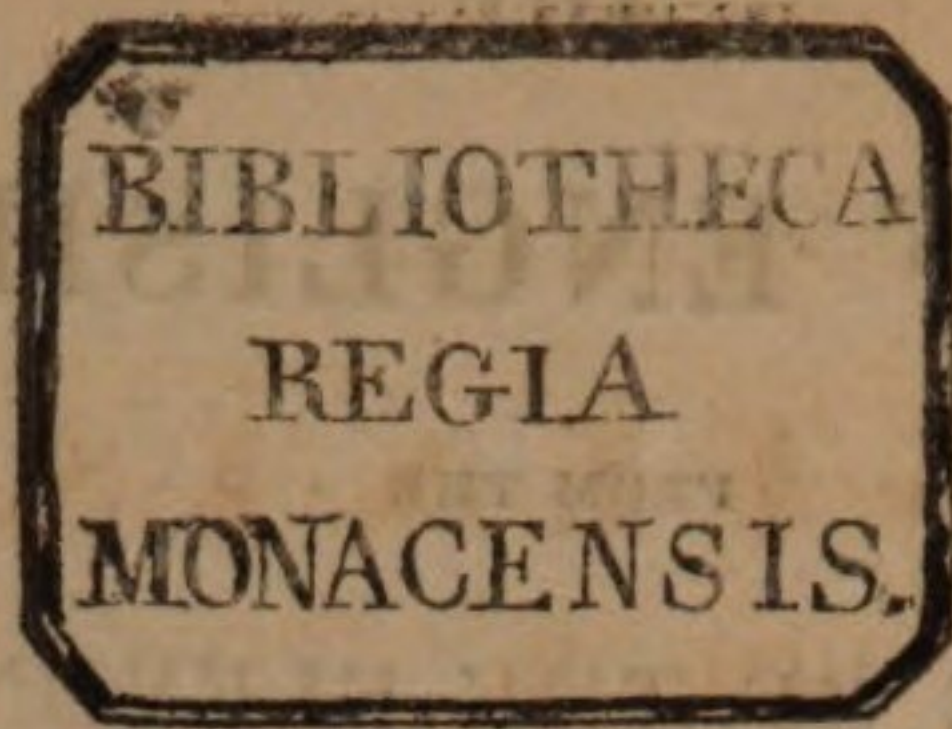
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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

SECTION V.

THE romance of SIR GUY, which is enumerated by Chaucer among the “Romances of pris,” affords the following fiction, not uncommon indeed in pieces of this sort, concerning the redemption of a knight from a long captivity, whose prison was inaccessible, unknown, and enchanted^a. His name is Amis of the Mountain.

^a The Romance of Sir Guy is a considerable volume in quarto. My edition is without date, “Imprinted at London in Lothburye by Wylliam Copland.” with rude wooden cuts. It runs to Sign. S. ii. It seems to be older than the *Squyr of lowe degree*, in which it is quoted. Sign. a. iii.

Or els so bolde in chivalrie
As was syr Gawayne or syr GIE.

The two best manuscripts of this romance are at Cambridge, MSS. Bibl. Publ. Mor. 690. 33. and MSS. Coll. Caii, A. 8.

[An analysis of this romance will be found in the “Specimens” of Mr. Ellis, who is of opinion that “the tale in its present state has been composed from the materials of at least two or three if not more romances. The first is a most tiresome love story, which, it may be presumed, originally ended with the mar-

riage of the fond couple. To this it should seem was afterwards tacked on a series of fresh adventures, invented or compiled by some pilgrim from the Holy Land; and the hero of this legend was then brought home for the defence of Athelstan, and the destruction of Colbrand.” Mr. Ritson in opposition to Dugdale, who regarded Guy as an undeniably historical personage, has laboured to prove that “no hero of this name is to be found in real history,” and that he was “no more an English hero than Amadis de Gaul or Perceforest.” Mr. Ellis, on the other hand, conceives the tale “may possibly be founded on some Saxon tradition,” and that though the name in its present form be undoubtedly French, yet as it bears some resemblance to Egil, the name of an Icelandic warrior, who “contributed very materially to the important victory gained by Athelstan over the Danes and

“ Here besyde an Elfish knyhte^b
 Has taken my lorde in fyghte,
 And hath him ledde with him away
 In the Fayry^c, Syr, permafay.”
 “ Was Amis,” quoth Heraude, “ your husbond?
 A doughtyer knygte was none in londe.”
 Then tolde Heraude to Raynborne,
 How he loved his father Guyon:
 Then sayd Raynborne, “ For thy sake,
 To morrow I shall the way take,
 And nevermore come agayne,
 Tyll I bring Amys of the Mountayne.”
 Raynborne rose on the morrow erly,
 And armed hym full richely.—
 Raynborne rode tyll it was noone,
 Tyll he came to a rocke of stone;
 Ther he founde a strong gate,
 He blissed hym, and rode in thereat.
 He rode half a myle the waie,
 He saw no light that came of daie,
 Then cam he to a watir brode,
 Never man ovir suche a one rode.
 Within he sawe a place greene
 Suche one had he never erst seene.

their allies at Brunanburgh;” he thinks
 “it is not impossible that this warlike
 foreigner may have been transformed by
 some Norman monk into the pious and
 amorous Guy of Warwick.” This at
 best is but conjecture, nor can it be con-
 sidered a very happy one. Egil himself
 (or his nameless biographer) makes no
 mention of a single combat on the oc-
 casion in which he had been engaged;
 and the fact, had it occurred, would have
 been far too interesting, and too much in
 unison with the spirit of the times, to have
 been passed over in silence. In addition
 to this, the substitution of Guy for Egil
 is against all analogy, on the transforma-
 tion of a Northern into a French ap-
 pellation. The initial letters in Guy,

Guyon, and Guido, are the representa-
 tives of the Teutonic W, and clearly
 point to some cognomen beginning with
 the Saxon Wig, *bellum*.—EDIT.]

^b In Chaucer’s Tale of the *Chanon
 Yeman*, chemistry is termed an *ELFISH*
 art, that is, taught or conducted by Spi-
 rits. This is an Arabian idea. *Chan.
 Yem. T. p. 122. v. 772. Urry’s edit.*

Whan we be ther as we shall exercise
 Our *ELVISHE* craft. -----
 Again, *ibid. v. 863.*

Though he sit at his boke both daie
 and night,
 In lerning of this *ELVISH* nicè lore.

^c “ Into the land of Fairy, into the
 region of Spirits.”

Within that place there was a pallaice,
 Closed with walles of heathenesse^d:
 The walles thereof were of cristall,
 And the sommers of corall*.
 Raynborne had grete dout to passe,
 The watir so depe and brode was:
 And at the laste his steede leepe
 Into the brode watir deepe.
 Thyrti fadom he sanke adowne,
 Then cleped^e he to God Raynborne.
 God hym help, his steede was goode,
 And bure hym ovir that hydious floode.
 To the pallaice he yode^f anone,
 And lyghted downe of his steede full soone.
 Through many a chamber yede Raynborne,
 A knyghte he found in dongeon.
 Raynborne grete hym as a knyght courtoise,
 "Who oweth," he said, "this fayre pallaice?"
 That knyght answered him, "Yt is noght,
 He oweth it that me hither broght."
 "Thou art," quod Raynburne, "in feeble plight,
 Tell me thy name," he sayd, "syr knight."

^d "Walls built by the Pagans or Saracens. Walls built by magic." Chaucer, in a verse taken from *Syr Bevys*, [Sign. a. ii.] says that his knight had travelled

As well in Christendom as in HETHNESS.
 Prol. p. 2. v. 49. And in *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, Sign. E. ii.

Eglamour sayd to hym yeys,
 I am come out of HETHENES.

Syr Bevys of Hamptoun. Sign. b. iii.

They found shippes more and lesse
 Of panimes and of hethenesse.

Also, Sign. C. i.

The first dede withouten lesse
 That Bevys dyd in hethenesse.

* [I do not perfectly understand the materials of this fairy palace.

The walles thereof were of cristall,
 And the sommers of corall.

But Chaucer mentions *corall* in his temple of Diana. *KNIGHTES TALE*, v. 1912.

And northward, in a touret on the wall,
 Of alabastre white, and red corall,
 An oratorie riche for to see.

Carpentier cites a passage from the romance *De Troyes*, in which a chamber of alabaster is mentioned. *SUPPL. LAT. GLOSS. Du Cange*, tom. i. p. 136.

En celle chambre n'oit noienz,
 De chaux, d'areine, de cimenz,
 Enduit, ni moillerons, ni emplaistre,
 Tot entiere fut *alambastre*.

ADDITIONS.]

^e called.

^f went.

That knyghte sayd to hym agayne,
 " My name is Amys of the Mountayne.
 The lord is an Elvish man
 That me into thys pryson wan."
 " Arte thou Amys," than sayde Raynborne,
 " Of the Mountaynes the bold barrone?
 In grete perill I have gone,
 To seke thee in this rocke of stone.
 But blissed be God now have I thee
 Thou shalt go home with me."
 " Let be," sayd Amys of the Mountayne,
 " Great wonder I have of thee certayne;
 How that thou hythur wan:
 For syth this world fyrst began
 No man hyther come ne myghte,
 Without leave of the Elvish knyghte.
 Me with thee thou mayest not lede," &c.^s

Afterwards, the knight of the mountain directs Raynburne to find a wonderful sword which hung in the hall of the palace. With this weapon Raynburne attacks and conquers the Elvish knight; who buys his life, on condition of conducting his conqueror over the perilous ford, or lake, above described, and of delivering all the captives confined in his secret and impregnable dungeon.

Guyon's expedition into the Souldan's camp, an idea furnished by the crusades, is drawn with great strength and simplicity.

Guy asked his armes anone,
 Hosen of yron Guy did upon:
 In hys hawberke Guy hym clad,
 He drad no stroke whyle he it had.
 Upon hys head hys helme he cast,
 And hasted hym to ryde full fast.
 A syrcl^h of gold thereon stoode,
 The emperarour had none so goode;

^s Sign. Kk. iii. seq.

^h circle.

Aboute the syrcle for the nones
 Were sett many precyous stones.
 Above he had a coate armour wyde;
 Hys sword he toke by hys syde:
 And lept upon his stede anone,
 Styrrupe with foot touched he none.
 Guy rode forth without boste,
 Alone to the Soudan's hoste:
 Guy saw all that countrie
 Full of tentes and pavylyons bee:
 On the pavylyon of the Soudone
 Stoodde a carbuncle-stone:
 Guy wist therebie it was the Soudones,
 And drew hym thyther for the nones.
 At the meeteⁱ he founde the Soudone,
 And hys barrons everychone,
 And tenne kynges aboute hym,
 All they were stout and grymme:
 Guy rode forth, and spake no worde,
 Tyll he cam to the Soudan's borde^k;

ⁱ at dinner.

^k table. Chaucer, Squ. T. 105.

And up he rideth to the hie borde.

Chaucer says that his knight had often "*begon the bord* abovin all nations." Prol. 52. The term of chivalry, *to begin the board*, is to be placed in the uppermost seat of the hall. Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. App. p. xv. "The earl of Surry *began the borde* in presence: the earl of Arundel washed with him, and satt both at the first messe. . . . *Began the borde* at the chamber's end." i. e. sat at the head of that table which was at the end of the chamber. This was at Windsor, A. D. 1519. In *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, we have *to begin the dese*, which is the same thing.

Lordes in halle wer sette

And waytes blewe to the mete.—

The two knyghtes the *dese* began.

Sign. D. iii. See Chaucer, Squ. T. 99. and Kn. T. 2002. In a celebration of

the feast of Christmas at Greenwich, in the year 1488, we have, "The duc of Bedeford *beganne the table* on the right side of the hall, and next untoo hym was the lorde Dawbeneye," &c. That is, *He sate at the head of the table*. Leland, Coll. iii. 237. edit. 1770. To begin the *bourd* is to begin the tournament. Lydgate, Chron. Troy, b. ii. ch. 14.

The grete justes, *bordes*, or *tourney*.

I will here take occasion to correct Hearne's explanation of the word *Bourder* in Brunne's Chron. p. 204.

A knygt a *BOURDOUR* king Richard hade
 A douty man in stoure his name was
 Markade.

BOURDOUR, says Hearne, is *boarder*, pensioner. But the true meaning is, a *Wag*, an arch fellow, for he is here introduced putting a joke on the king of France. *BOURDE* is *jest*, *trick*, from the French. See R. de Brunne ap. Hearne's Gloss. Rob. Glo. p. 695; and above Sect. II.;

He ne rought¹ with whom he mette,
 But on thys wyse the Soudan he grette:
 "God's curse have thou and thyne,
 And tho that leve^m on Apoline."
 Than sayd the Soudan, "What art thou
 That thus prowdlie speakest now?
 Yet found I never man certayne
 That suche wordes durst me sayne."
 Guy sayd, "So God me save from hell,
 My ryght nam I shall the tell;
 Guy of Warwicke my name is."
 Than sayd the Sowdan ywis,
 "Arte thou the bolde knyght Guyon,
 That art here in my pavylyon?
 Thou sluest my cosyn Coldran
 Of all Sarasyns the boldest man," &c.ⁿ

I will add Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrond, as it is touched with great spirit, and may serve to illustrate some preceding hints concerning this part of our hero's history.

Then came Colbronde forthe anone,
 On foote, for horse could bare hym none.
 For when he was in armure dight
 Fower horse ne bare hym might.
 A man had ynough to done
 To bere hym hys wepon.
 Then Guy rode to Colbronde,
 On hys stede ful wele rennende^o:
 Colbronde smote Guy in the fiede
 In the midst of Syr Guyes shelde;

also Chauc. Gam. 1974. and Non. Urr. 2294. Knyghton mentions a favourite in the court of England who could procure any grant from the king *burdando*. Du Cange Not. Joinv. p. 166. Who adds, "De là vient le mot de *Bourdeurs*, qui estoient ces farceurs ou plaisantins qui divertissoient les princes par le recit des fables et des histoires des Romans.

—Aucuns estiment que ce mot vient des *behourds*, qui estoit une espece des Tournois." See also Diss. Joinv. p. 174.

¹ cared, valued. Chaucer, Rom. R. 1873.

I ne rought of deth ne of life.

^m those who believe.

ⁿ Sign. Q. iii. ^o running.

Through Guyes hawberk that stroke went,
 And for no maner thyng it withstent^p.
 In two yt share^q Guyes stedes body
 And fell to ground hastily.
 Guy upstert as an eger lyoun,
 And drue hys gode sworde browne:
 To Colbronde he let it flye,
 But he might not reche so hye.
 On hys shoulder the stroke fell downe,
 Through all hys armure share Guyon^r.
 Into the bodie a wounde untyde
 That the red blude gan oute glyde.
 Colbronde was wroth of that rap,
 He thought to give Guy a knap,
 He smote Guy on the helme bryght
 That out sprang the fyre lyght.
 Guy smote Colbronde agayne
 Through shielde and armure certayne.
 He made his swerde for to glyde
 Into his bodie a wound ryht wyde.
 So smart came Guyes bronde
 That it braste in hys hond.

The romance of the SQUIRE OF LOW DEGREE, who loved the king's daughter of Hungary^s, is alluded to by Chaucer *in the*

^p "nothing could stop it."

^q divided.

^r "Guy cut through all the giant's armour."

^s It contains thirty-eight pages in quarto. "Imprinted at London by me Wyllyam Copland." I have never seen it in manuscript.

[This romance will be found in Mr. Ritson's Collection, vol. iii. p. 145, who characterizes it as a "strange and whimsical but *genuine English performance*." On Warton's opinion, "that it is alluded to by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Topas*," he remarks: "as Lybeaus Disconus, one of the romances enumerated by Chaucer, is alluded to in the Squyr

of lowe degre, it is not probably, allso, of his age." But the Lybeaus Disconus referred to in this romance, is evidently a different version of the story from that printed by Mr. Ritson, and the quotation, if it prove any thing, would rather speak for the existence of a more ancient translation now unknown. Besides, Mr. Ritson himself has supplied us with an argument strongly favouring Warton's conjecture. For if, as he observes, the Squyr of lowe degre be the *only instance* of a romance containing any such impertinent digressions or affected enumerations of trees, birds, &c. as are manifestly the object of Chaucer's satire, the natural inference would be—

Rime of Sir Topas^t. The princess is thus represented, in her closet adorned with painted glass, listening to the squire's complaint^u.

That ladi herde hys mournyng alle,
 Ryght undir the chambre walle:
 In her oryall^w there she was,
 Closyd well with royall glas,
 Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery,
 Every windowe by and by
 On eche syde had ther a gynne,
 Sperde^x with manie a dyvers pynne.
 Anone that ladie fayre and fre
 Undyd a pynne of yvere,
 And wyd the wyndowes she open set,
 The sunne shonne yn at hir closet.
 In that arbore fayre and gaye
 She saw where that sqyure lay, &c.

I am persuaded to transcribe the following passage, because it delineates in lively colours the fashionable diversions and usages of antient times. The king of Hungary endeavours to comfort his daughter with these promises, after she had fallen

in the absence of any evidence for its more recent composition—that this identical romance was intended to be exposed and ridiculed by the poet. At all events, Copland's editions with their modern phraseology are no standard for determining the age of any composition; and until some better arguments can be adduced than those already noticed, the ingenious supposition of Dr. Percy—for by him it was communicated to Warton—may be permitted to remain in full force.—EDIT.]

^t See observations on the Fairy Queen, i. § iv. p. 139.

^u Sign. a. iii.

^w An Oriel seems to have been a recess in a chamber, or hall, formed by the projection of a spacious bow-window from top to bottom. Rot. Pip. an. 18. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1234.] “Et in qua-

dam capella pulchra et decenti facienda ad caput Orioli camere regis in castro Herefordie, de longitudine xx. pedum.” This Oriel was at the end of the king's chamber, from which the new chapel was to begin. Again, in the castle of Kenilworth. Rot. Pip. an. 19. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1235.] “Et in uno magno Oriollo pulchro et competenti, ante ostium magne camere regis in castro de Kenilworth faciundo, vil. xvis. ivd. per Brev. regis.”

[The etymologists have been puzzled to find the derivation of an oriel-window. A learned correspondent suggests, that ORIEL is Hebrew for *Lux mea*, or *Dominus illuminatio mea*.—ADDITIONS.]

^x closed, shut. In P. Plowman, of a blind man, “unsparryd his eine,” i. e. opened his eyes.

into a deep and incurable melancholy from the supposed loss of her paramour.

“ To morow ye shall yn huntynge fare;
And yede, my doughter, yn a chare,
Yt shal be coverd wyth velvette reede
And clothes of fyne golde al about your heede,
With damaske whyte and asure blewe
Well dyaperd^y with lyllyes newe:

^y embroidered, diversified. Chaucer a bow, Rom. R. v. 934.

And it was painted wel and thwitten
And ore all *diapred*, and written, &c.

Thwitten is *twisted, wreathed*. The following instance from Chaucer is more to our purpose. Knight's Tale, v. 2160,

Upon a stede bay, trappid in stele,
Coverid with cloth of gold *diaprid* wele.

This term, which is partly heraldic, occurs in the Provisor's rolls of the Great-wardrobe, containing deliveries for furnishing rich habiliments, at tilts and tournaments, and other ceremonies.

“Et ad faciendum tria harnesia pro Rege, quorum duo de velvetto albo operato cum garteriis de blu et *diasprex* per totam campedinem cum wodehouses.”

Ex comp. J. Coke clerici, Provisor. Magn. Garderob. ab ann. xxi. Edw. iii. de 23 membran. ad ann. xxiii. memb. x.

I believe it properly signifies embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold, &c. This is confirmed by Peacham. “DIAPERING is a term in drawing.—It chiefly serveth to counterfeit cloth of gold, silver, damask,

brancht velvet, camblet, &c.” Compl. Gent. p. 345. Anderson, in his History of Commerce, conjectures, that

Diaper, a species of printed linen, took its name from the city of Ypres in Flanders, where it was first made, being originally called *d'ipre*. But that city and others in Flanders were no less famous for rich manufactures of stuff; and the word in question has better pretensions to such a derivation. Thus *rich cloth embroidered with raised work* we called *d'ipre*, and from thence *diaper*; and to do this, or any work like it, was called to *diaper*, from whence the par-

ticipale. *Sattin of Bruges*, another city of Flanders, often occurs in inventories of monastic vestments, in the reign of Henry the eighth: and the cities of Arras and Tours are celebrated for their tapestry in Spenser. All these cities, and others in their neighbourhood, became famous for this sort of workmanship before 1200. The *Armator* of Edward the third, who finishes all the costly apparatus for the shows above mentioned, consisting, among other things, of a variety of the most sumptuous and ornamented embroideries on velvet, sattin, tissue, &c. is John of Cologn. Unless it be Colonia in Italy. Rotul. prædict. memb. viii. memb. xiii. “Quæ omnia ordinata fuerunt per garderobarium competentem, de precepto ipsius Regis: et facta et parata per manus Johis de Colonia, Armatoris ipsius domini nostri Regis.” Johannes de Strawesburgh [Strasburgh] is mentioned as *broudator regis*, i. e. of Richard the second, in Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 55. See also ii. 42. I will add a passage from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, v. 450.

Of cloth-making she had such a haunt,
She passid them of *Ipre* and of *Gaunt*.

“Cloth of Gaunt,” i. e. Ghent, is mentioned in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 574. Bruges was the chief mart for Italian commodities, about the thirteenth century. In the year 1318, five Venetian galeasses, laden with Indian goods, arrived at this city in order to dispose of their cargoes at the fair. L. Guic. Descr. di Paesi Bass. p. 174. Silk manufactures were introduced from the East into Italy, before 1130. Gianon. Hist. Napl. xi. 7. The crusades much improved the commerce of the Italian

Your pomelles shalbe ended with golde,
 Your chaynes enameled many a folde.
 Your mantell of ryche degre
 Purple palle and armyne fre.
 Jennets of Spayne that ben so wyght
 Trapped to the ground with velvet bryght.
 Ye shall have harpe, sautry, and songe,
 And other myrthes you amonge.
 Ye shal have rumney, and malespine,
 Both ypocrasse and vernage wyne;
 Mountrese and wyne of Greke,
 Both algrade and despice eke;
 Antioche and bastarde,
 Pymment^z also, and garnarde;

states with the East in this article, and produced new artificers of their own. But to recur to the subject of this note. *Diaper* occurs among the rich silks and stuffs in the French *Roman de la Rose*, where it seems to signify *Damask*. v. 21867.

Samites, *dyaprés*, camelots.

I find it likewise in the *Roman d' Alexandre*, written about 1200. MSS. Bodl. fol. i. b. col. 2.

Dyapres d' Antioch, *samis* de Romanie. Here is also a proof that the Asiatic stuffs were at that time famous: and probably *Romanie* is Romania. The word often occurs in old accounts of rich ecclesiastical vestments. Du Cange derives this word from the Italian *diaspro*, a jasper, a precious stone which shifts its colours. V. DIASPRUS. In Dugdale's *Monasticon* we have *diasperatus*, diapered. "Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo sameto DIASPERATO breudata cum imaginibus regum." tom. iii. 314. and 321.

^z Sometimes written *pimeate*. In the romance of *Syr Bevys*, a knight just going to repose takes the usual draught of *pimeate*; which mixed with spices is what the French romances call *vin du coucher*, and for which an officer, called *ESPICIER*, was appointed in the old royal household of France. Signat. m. iii.

The knight and she to chamber went:—
 With *pimeate*, and with spisery,
 When they had dronken the wyne.

See Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cange, tom. iii. p. 842. So Chaucer, Leg. Dido, v. 185.

The spicis parted, and the wine agon,
 Unto his chamber he is lad anon.

Froissart says, among the delights of his youth, that he was happy to taste,

Au couchier, pour mieulx dormir,
 Especes, claret, et rocelle.

Mem. Lit. x. 665. Not. 4to. Lidgate of Tideus and Polimite in the palace of Adrastus at Thebes. Stor. Theb. p. 634. ed. Chauc. 1687.

—gan anon repaire
 To her lodging in a ful stately toure;
 Assigned to hem by the herbeiour.
 And aftir spicis plenty and the wine
 In cuppis grete wrought of gold ful fyne,
 Without tarrying to bedde straighes
 they gone, &c.

Chaucer has it again, Squ. T. v. 311. p. 62. Urr. and Mill. T. v. 270. p. 26.

He sent her *piment*, methe, and spicid ale.

Some orders of monks are enjoined to abstain from drinking *pigmentum*, or *piment*. Yet it was a common refection in the monasteries. It is a drink made of wine, honey, and spices. "Thei ne

Wine of Greke, and muscadell,
 Both clare, piment, and rochell,
 The reed your stomake to defye
 And pottes of osey sett you bye.
 You shall have venyson ybake^a,
 The best wylde fowle that may be take:
 A lese of harehound^b with you to streke,
 And hart, and hynde, and other lyke,
 Ye shalbe set at such a tryst
 That hart and hynde shall come to you fyst.
 Your desease to dryve ye fro,
 To here the bugles there yblowe.
 Homward thus shall ye ryde,
 On haukyng by the ryvers syde,
 With goshaue and with gentil fawcon,
 With buglehorn and merlyon.
 When you come home your menie amonge,
 Ye shall have revell, daunces, and songe:
 Lytle chyl dren, great and smale,
 Shall syng as doth the nyghtyngale,
 Than shal ye go to your evensong,
 With tenours and trebles among,

could not medell the gefte of Bacchus to the clere honie; that is to say, they could not make ne *piment* ne *clarre*." Chaucer's Boeth. p. 371. a. Urr. *Clarre* is clarified wine. In French *Clarey*. Perhaps the same as piment, or hypocrass. See Mem. Lit. viii. p. 674. 4to. Compare Chauc. Sh. T. v. 2579. Urr. Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. v. PIGMENTUM. SPECIES. and Suppl. Carp. and Mem. sur l'anc. Chevalier. i. p. 19. 48. I must add, that *πυμένταριος*, or *πυμένταριος*, signified an *Apothecary* among the middle and lower Greeks. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. in voc. i. 1167. and ii. Append. Etymolog. Vocab. Ling. Gall. p. 301. col. 1. In the register of the bishop of Nivernois, under the year 1287, it is covenanted, that whenever the bishop shall celebrate mass in S. Mary's abbey,

the abbess shall present him with a peacock, and a cup of piment. Carpentier, ubi supr. vol. iii. p. 277.

^a Chaucer says of the Frankelein, Prol. p. 4. Urr. v. 345.

Withoutin *bake mete* never was his house.

And in this poem, Signat. B. iii.

With birds in *bread ybake*,
 The tele the duck and drake.

^b In a manuscript of Froissart full of paintings and illuminations, there is a representation of the grand entrance of queen Isabel of England into Paris, in the year 1324. She is attended by a greyhound who has a flag, powdered with fleurs de lys, bound to his neck. Montf. Monum. Fr. ii. p. 234.

Threscore of copes of damask bryght
 Full of perles they shalbe pyghte.—
 Your sensours shalbe of golde
 Endent with asure manie a folde:
 Your quere nor organ songe shal want
 With countre note and dyscaunt.
 The other halfe on orgayns playing,
 With yong chyldren ful fayn syngyng.
 Than shal ye go to your suppere
 And sytte in tentis in grene arbere,
 With clothe of arras pyght to the grounde,
 With saphyres set of dyamounde.—
 A hundred knyghtes truly tolde
 Shall plaie with bowles in alayes colde.
 Your disease to dryve awaie,
 To se the fisshes yn poles plaie.
 To a drawe brydge then shal ye,
 Thone halfe of stone, thother of tre,
 A barge shal meet you full ryht,
 With xxiiii ores ful bryght,
 With trompettes and with claryowne,
 The fresshe watir to rowe up and downe.
 Then shal you, doughter, aske the wyne
 Wyth spises that be gode and fyne:
 Gentyll pottes, with genger grene,
 Wyth dates and deynties you betweene.
 Fortie torches brenyng bright
 At your brydges to bring you lyght.
 Into youre chambre they shall you brynge
 Wyth mucche myrthe and more lykyng.
 Your blankettes shal be of fustyane,
 Your shetes shal be of cloths of rayne^c:

^c cloath, or linen, of Rennes, a city in Britany. Chaucer, Dr. v. 255.

And many a pilowe, and every bere
Of clothe of raynes to slepe on softe,
 Him thare not nede to turnin ofte.

Tela de Reynes is mentioned among habits delivered to knights of the garter, 2 Rich. ii. Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 55.

[Cloath of Rennes seems to have been the finest sort of linen. In the old ma-

Your head-shete shal be of pery pyght^d,
 Wyth dyamondes set and rubys bryght.
 Whan you are layd in bed so softe,
 A cage of golde shal hange aloft,
 Wythe longe peper fayre burning,
 And cloves that be swete smellyng,
 Frankinsense and olibanum,
 That whan ye slepe the taste may come,
 And yf ye no rest can take
 All nyght mynstrels for you shall wake^e.

SYR DEGORE is a romance perhaps belonging to the same period^f. After his education under a hermit, Sir Degore's first adventure is against a dragon. This horrible monster is marked with the hand of a master^g."

manuscript MYSTERY, or religious comedy, of MARY MAGDALENE, written in 1512, a GALANT, one of the retainers to the groupe of the Seven Deadly Sins, is introduced with the following speech.

Hof, Hof, Hof, a frysche new galaunt!
 Ware of thryft, ley that a doune:
 What mene ye, syrrys, that I were a
 marchaunt,
 Because that I am new com to toun?
 With praty wold I fayne round,
 I have a *shert* of *reyns* with sleeves pe-
 neaunt,
 A lase of sylke for my lady Constant—
 I woll, or even, be shaven for to seme
 yong, &c.

So also in Skelton's MAGNIFICENCE, a Morality written much about the same time, f. xx. b.

Your skynne, that was wrapped in *shertes*
 of *raynes*,
 Nowe must be storm ybeten.—

ADDITIONS.]

^d "Inlaid with jewels." Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 2938. p. 22. Urr.

And then with cloth of gold and with
perie.

And in numberless other places.

^e Sign. D. ii. seq. At the close of the romance it is said that the king, in the midst of a great feast which lasted forty days, created the squire king in his room; in the presence of his TWELVE LORDS.

See what I have observed concerning the number TWELVE, Introd. Diss. i.

^f It contains thirty-two pages in quarto. Coloph. "Thus endeth the Tretyse of Syr Degore, imprynted by Willyam Copland." There is another copy dated 1560. There is a manuscript of it among bishop More's at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 36. SYR DEGARE.

[This romance has been published in a work entitled "Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry, reprinted from the Black Letter," and is analysed by Mr. Ellis in his "Specimens." From a fragment of it preserved in the Auchinleck MSS. it is clear that the poem in its present form is an unskilful *rifacimento* of an earlier version, since the writer was even ignorant of the true mode of pronouncing the hero's name. Throughout Copland's edition—with one exception—it is a word of two syllables, rhyming with 'before'; but in p. 135 of the reprint we obtain its true accentuation as exhibited in the Auchinleck MSS.

As was the yonge knyght Syr Degoré,
 But none wist what man was he.

The name is intended to express, as the author tells us (line 230), "a thing (or person) almost lost," *Dégaré* or *L'égaré*.—EDIT.]

^g Sign. B. ii.

Degore went furth his waye,
 Through a forest half a daye:
 He herd no man, nor sawe none,
 Tyll yt past the hygh none,
 Then herde he grete strokes falle,
 That yt made grete noyse with alle,
 Full sone he thocht that to se,
 To wete what the strokes myght be:
 There was an erle, both stout and gaye,
 He was com ther that same daye,
 For to hunt for a dere or a do,
 But hys houndes were gone hym fro.
 Then was ther a dragon grete and grymme,
 Full of fyre and also venymme,
 Wyth a wyde throte and tuskes grete,
 Uppon that knygte fast gan he bete.
 And as a lyon then was hys feete,
 Hys tayle was long, and full unmeete:
 Betwene hys head and hys tayle
 Was xxii fote withouten fayle;
 Hys body was lyke a wyne tonne,
 He shone ful bryght agaynst the sunne:
 Hys eyen were bright as any glasse,
 His scales were hard as any brasse;
 And therto he was necked lyke a horse,
 He bare hys hed up wyth grete force:
 The breth of hys mouth that did out blow
 As yt had been a fyre on lowe.
 He was to loke on, as I you telle,
 As yt had bene a fiende of helle.
 Many a man he had shent,
 And many a horse he had rente.

As the minstrel profession became a science, and the audience grew more civilised, refinements began to be studied, and the romantic poet sought to gain new attention, and to

recommend his story, by giving it the advantage of a plan. Most of the old metrical romances are, from their nature, supposed to be incoherent rhapsodies. Yet many of them have a regular integrity, in which every part contributes to produce an intended end. Through various obstacles and difficulties one point is kept in view, till the final and general catastrophe is brought about by a pleasing and unexpected surprise. As a specimen of the rest, and as it lies in a narrow compass, I will develop the plan of the fable now before us, which preserves at least a coincidence of events, and an uniformity of design.

A king's daughter of England, extremely beautiful, is solicited in marriage by numerous potentates of various kingdoms. The king her father vows, that of all these suitors, that champion alone shall win his daughter who can unhorse him at a tournament. This they all attempt, but in vain. The king every year assisted at an anniversary mass for the soul of his deceased queen, who was interred in an abbey at some distance from his castle. In the journey thither, the princess strays from her damsels in a solitary forest: she is discovered by a knight in rich armour, who by many solicitations prevails over her chastity, and, at parting, gives her a sword without a point, which he charges her to keep safe; together with a pair of gloves, which will fit no hands but her own^s. At length she finds the road to her father's castle, where, after some time, to avoid discovery, she is secretly delivered of a boy. Soon after the delivery, the princess having carefully placed the child in a cradle, with twenty pounds in gold, ten pounds in silver, the gloves given her by the strange knight, and a letter, consigns him to one of her maidens, who carries him by night, and leaves him in a wood, near a hermitage, which she discerned by the light of the moon. The hermit in the morn-

^s Gloves were antiently a costly article of dress, and richly decorated. They were sometimes adorned with precious stones. Rot. Pip. an. 53. Henr. iii. [A.D. 1267.] "Et de i. pectine auri cum lapidibus pretiosis ponderant. xliiis. et iii d. ob. Et de ii. paribus chirothecarum cum LAPIDIBUS." This golden comb, set with jewels, realises the wonders of romance.

ing discovers the child; reads the letter, by which it appears that the gloves will fit no lady but the boy's mother, educates him till he is twenty years of age, and at parting gives him the gloves found with him in the cradle, telling him that they will fit no lady but his own mother. The youth, who is called Degore, sets forward to seek adventures, and saves an earl from a terrible dragon, which he kills. The earl invites him to his palace, dubs him a knight, gives him a horse and armour, and offers him half his territory. Sir Degore refuses to accept this offer, unless the gloves, which he had received from his foster-father the hermit, will fit any lady of his court. All the ladies of the earl's court are called before him, and among the rest the earl's daughter, but upon trial the gloves will fit none of them. He therefore takes leave of the earl, proceeds on his adventures, and meets with a large train of knights; he is informed that they were going to tourney with the king of England, who had promised his daughter to that knight who could conquer him in single combat. They tell him of the many barons and earls whom the king had foiled in several trials. Sir Degore, however, enters the lists, overthrows the king, and obtains the princess. As the knight is a perfect stranger, she submits to her father's commands with much reluctance. He marries her; but in the midst of the solemnities which preceded the consummation, recollects the gloves which the hermit had given him, and proposes to make an experiment with them on the hands of his bride. The princess, on seeing the gloves, changed colour, claimed them for her own, and drew them on with the greatest ease. She declares to Sir Degore that she was his mother, and gives him an account of his birth: she told him that the knight his father gave her a pointless sword, which was to be delivered to no person but the son that should be born of their stolen embraces. Sir Degore draws the sword, and contemplates its breadth and length with wonder: is suddenly seized with a desire of finding out his father. He sets forward on this search, and on his way enters a castle, where he is entertained at supper by fifteen beautiful damsels. The

lady of the castle invites him to her bed, but in vain; and he is lulled asleep by the sound of a harp. Various artifices are used to divert him from his pursuit, and the lady even engages him to encounter a giant in her cause^h. But Sir Degore rejects all her temptations, and pursues his journey. In a forest he meets a knight richly accoutred, who demands the reason why Sir Degore presumed to enter his forest without permission. A combat ensues. In the midst of the contest, the combatants being both unhorsed, the strange knight observing the sword of his adversary not only to be remarkably long and broad, but without a point, begs a truce for a moment. He fits the sword to a point which he had always kept, and which had formerly broken off in an encounter with a giant; and by this circumstance discovers Sir Degore to be his son. They both return into England, and Sir Degore's father is married to the princess his mother.

The romance of KYNG ROBERT OF SICILY begins and proceeds thusⁱ.

[*Here is of kyng Robert of Cicyle,
Hou pride dude him beguile.*]

Princis proude that bene in preesse,
A thing I wull yow tell that is no lees.
In Cesill was a nobill kyng,
Fayre and strong and sumdel yong^k;
He had a broder in grete Rome
Pope of all Cristyndome;

^h All the romances have such an obstacle as this. They have all an enchantress, who detains the knight from his quest by objects of pleasure; and who is nothing more than the Calypso of Homer, the Dido of Virgil, and the Armida of Tasso.

ⁱ MS. Vernon, ut supr. Bibl. Bodl. f. 299. It is also in Caius College Camb. MSS. Class. E 174. 4. and Bibl. Publ. Cambr. MSS. More, 690. 35. and Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 525. 2. f. 35. Cod. membran. Never printed.

[The extracts in this edition have been

copied from the Harl. MS. 525, with the exception of the passages in brackets, which have been taken from Warton's transcript of the Vernon MS. Mr. Ellis, who has analysed it, concurs with Warton in opinion "that the history of the Emperor Jovinian in the 59th chapter of the *Gesta Romanorum* is nearly identical with this romance." He further adds: "The incidents, however, are not exactly similar; and in some of these the Latin prose has a manifest advantage over the minstrel poem."—EDIT.]

^k zyng, MS. Vernon.

Anoder broder in Almayne,
 Emperour that Sarysynys wrought ageyn.
 The kyng was called kyng Roberd,
 Never man wyst him aferd,
 He was kyng of mikell honour
 He was cleped a conquerour:
 In noo land was his pere,
 Kyng ne duke, fer ne nere:
 For he was of chyvallry flour,
 His broder was made emperour:
 His oder broder Goddis vyker,
 Pope of Rome, as I seyde ere;
 He was cleped pope Urban,
 He loved bothe God [and] man:
 The emperour was cleped sir Valamond,
 A stronger werroure was none found,
 After his broder of Cecyle,
 Of whom I will speke awhyle.
 That kyng thought he had no pere
 In all the world, ferre ne nere,
 And in his thought he had pryde,
 For he hadde no pere in never a syde.
 And on a nyght of seynt John
 The baptist, the kyng to cherche wold gon,
 For to heren his evensong;
 Him thought he dwelled there to long,
 His thought was more in worldly honour
 Thanne in Jesu our Saviour:
 In Magnificat¹ he herd a vers,
 He made a clerke it to rehers,
 In langage of his owne tunge,
 In Lateyn he ne west^m that they songe;
 The verse was this I telle the,
Deposuit potentes de sede

¹ the hymn so called.^m ne wist, knew not.

Et exaltavit humiles,
 That was the verse wethought lees :
 The clerke seyde anon ryght,
 " Sir, soche is Goddis myght,
 That he may make hie lowe
 And low hie in a lytyll throwe;
 God may do, without lye,
 His will in twenkelynge of a nyeⁿ."
 The kyng seyde with thought unstabill
 " Ye rede and syng false in fable:
 What man hath that power
 To bryng me in soche daunger?
 My name is flour of chevalrye,
 Myn enemyes I may distroye:
 Noman leveth now in londe
 That me may now with stonde.
 Thenne is this a song of nought."
 This is errour thenne he thought,
 And in his slepe a thought him toke*,
 In his pulpitte^o as seyth the booke.
 Whanne even song was all idone,
 A kyng lyke him home ganne gone
 All men gonne with him wende,
 Thenne was the toder kyng out of mynde^p.
 The newe kyng, as I the telle,
 Was Goddis aungell his pryde to felle.
 The aungell in halle joy made,
 And all his men of him were glade.
 The kyng waked that was in cherche,
 His men he thought woo to werche;
 For he was left there alone,
 And derke nyght felle him uppone.

ⁿ eye.

[* "And in his thought a sleep him tok,"
 MS. Vernon.]

^o stall, or seat.

^p "A king like him went out of the
 chapel, and all the company with him;
 while the real king Robert was forgotten
 and left behind."

He ganne cry for his men,
 Ther was none that spake ayen.
 But the sexteyn of the cherche att last
 Swythly to hym he ganne goo fast,
 And seyde "What doost thou here,
 Fals thefe, and theves fere?
 Thou art here felonye to werche
 To robbe God and holy churche," &c.
 The kyng ranne ought thanne faste;
 As a man that were wode,
 Att his paleys there he stode,
 And called the porter: "False gadlyng^q,
 Open the yates in hyeng^r."
 Anon the yates to on doo,
 The porter [seide] "Who clepeth^s soo?"
 He answerd ryght anon,
 "Thou shalt wete ar we gone;
 Thy lord I am thou shalt wele knowe:
 In pryson thou shalt lye full lowe,
 [And ben an-hanged and to-drawe
 As a traytour bi the lawe,]
 Thou shalt wete I am kyng," &c.

When admitted, he is brought into the hall; where the angel, who had assumed his place, makes him *the fool of the hall*, and cloathes him in a fool's coat. He is then sent out to lie with the dogs; in which situation he envies the condition of those dogs, which in great multitudes were permitted to remain in the royal hall. At length the emperor Valemounde sends letters to his brother king Robert, inviting him to visit, with himself, their brother the pope at Rome. The angel, who personates king Robert, welcomes the messengers, and cloathes them in the richest apparel, such as could not be made in the world.

^q renegado, traitor.

^r at the call [in haste].

^s calls.

The aungell welcomed the messengeris,
 And gaf hem clothyng ryche of pryse,
 Forred it was all with ermyn,
 In Cristyndome was none soo fyn;
 And all was congetted with perles ryche,
 Never man sawe none hem leche:
 Soche clothyng and it were to dyght,
 All Cristendome hem make ne myght,
 Where soche clothyng were to selle,
 Ne who them made kanne noman tell.
 And all they were of o clothyng
 Soche before mad never kyng;
 The messangeres wentt with the kyng^t,
 To grete Rome without lettyng;
 The fole Robert with him went,
 Clothed in a folis garnement,
 With foxis taylys hongyng al abowght,
 Men myght him knowe in ye rought, &c.
 The aungell was clothed all in white,
 There was never fonde soche a wyghte:
 All was cowched in perles ryche,
 Saw never man anoder him liche.
 All was whyte bothe tyre and stede,
 The place was fayr ther they yede^u;
 So fayre a stede as he on rode
 Was never man that ever bystrode,
 And so was all his aparell
 All men there of hadde mervayle.
 Hys men were all rychely dyght
 Here^w reches can telle no wyght,
 Of clothis, gyrdelis, and oder thyngis,
 Every squyer men thought knyghtis^x;
 All they redyn in ryche araye,
 But kyng Robert as I you saye,

^t that is, the angel.^u went.^w their.^x [a kyng. MS. Vernon.]

[Al men on him gan pyke,
 For he rod al other unlyke.
 An ape rod of his clothing
 In tokne that he was underling.]
 The pope and the emperour also,
 And oder lordis many mo,
 Welcomed the aungell as for kyng
 And maden joye of his comyng, &c.

Afterwards they return in the same pomp to Sicily, where the angel, after so long and ignominious a penance, restores king Robert to his royalty.

Sicily was conquered by the French in the eleventh centuryⁿ, and this tale might have been originally got or written

ⁿ There is an old French Romance, ROBERT LE DIABLE, often quoted by Carpentier in his Supplement to Du Cange. And a French *Morality*, without date or name of the author, in manuscript, *Comment il fut enjoint a ROBERT le diable, fils du duc de Normandie, pour ses mesfaites, de faire le fol sang parler, et depuis N. S. ut merci du lui.* Beauchamps, Rech. Theat. Fr. p. 109. This is probably the same Robert.

[The French prose romance of ROBERT LE DIABLE, printed in 1496, is extant in the little collection, of two volumes, called BIBLIOTHEQUE BLEUE. It has been translated into other languages: among the rest into English. The English version was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The title of one of the chapters is, *How God sent an aungell to the hermyte to shewe him the penaunce that he sholde gyve to Robert for his synnes.* —“Yf that Robert wyll be shryven of his synnes, he must kepe and counterfeite the wayes of a fole and be as he were dombe, &c.” It ends thus,

Thus endeth the lyfe of Robert the devyll
 That was the servaunte of our lorde.
 And of his condycyons that was full evyll
 Emprinted in London by Wynkyn de Worde.

The volume has this colophon. “Here endeth the lyfe of the moost ferefullest and unmercyfullest and myschevous

Robert the devyll which was afterwards called the servaunt of our Lorde Jhesu Cryste. Emprinted in Fletestrete in [at] the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde.” There is an old English MORALITY on this tale, under the very corrupt title of ROBERT CICYLL, which was represented at the High-Cross in Chester, in 1529. There is a manuscript copy of the poem, on vellum, in Trinity College library at Oxford, MSS. Num. LVII. fol.—ADDITIONS.]

[Robert of Cicyle and Robert the Devil, though not identical, are clearly members of the same family, and this poetic embodiment of their lives is evidently the offspring of that tortuous opinion so prevalent in the middle ages, and which time has mellowed into a vulgar adage, that “the greater the sinner the greater the saint.” The subject of the latter poem was doubtlessly Robert the first duke of Normandy, who became an early object of legendary scandal; and the transition to the same line of potentates in Sicily was an easy effort when thus supported. The romantic legend of “Sir Gowther” recently published in the “Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry,” is only a different version of Robert the Devil with a change of scene, names, &c. The *Bibliothèque Bleue* is a voluminous collection, of which Warton appears to have seen only two volumes.—EDIT.]

during their possession of that island, which continued through many monarchies°. But Sicily, from its situation, became a familiar country to all the western continent at the time of the Crusades, and consequently soon found its way into romance, as did many others of the Mediterranean islands and coasts, for the same reason. Another of them, Cilicia, has accordingly given title to an antient tale called *The KING OF TARS*; from which I shall give some extracts, touched with a rude but expressive pencil.

“ Her bigenneth of the KYNG OF TARS, and of the Soudan of Dammiass^p, how the Soudan of Dammiass was cristened thoru Godis gras^q. ”

Herkeneth now, bothe olde and yying,
For Maries love, that swete thyng:

How a werre bigan
Bitwene a god Cristene kyng,
And an hethene heyhe lordyng,
Of Damas the Soudan.

The kyng of Taars hedde a wyf,
The feireste that mighte bere lyf,
That eny mon telle can:

A doughter thei hadde hem bitween,
That heore^r rihte heir scholde ben;

White so^s fether of swan:

° A passage in Fauchett, speaking of rhyme, may perhaps deserve attention here. “ Pour le regard de *Siciliens*, je me tiens presque assure, que Guillaume Ferrabrach frère de Robert Guiscard et autres seigneurs de Calabre et Pouille enfans de Tancred François-Normand, l’ont portee aux pais de leur conquete, estant une coustume des gens de deça chanter, avant que combattre, les beaux faits de leurs ancestres, composez en vers.” Rec. p. 70. Boccacio’s *Tancred*, in his beautiful Tale of *TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA*, was one of these Franco-Norman kings of Sicily. Compare *Nouv. Abreg. Chronol. Hist. Fr.* pag. 102. edit. 1752.

^p Damascus.

^q MS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. f. 304. It is also in Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4. 1. Num. iv. In five leaves and a half. Never printed.

[This romance will be found in Mr. Ritson’s Collection, vol. ii. from whose transcript the present text has been corrected. On the authority of Douglas’s version of the *Æneid* and Ruddiman’s Glossary, he interprets “Tars” to mean Thrace; but as the story is one of pure invention, and at best but a romantic legend, why not refer the Damas and Tars of the text to the Damascus and Tarsus of Scripture?—EDIT.]

^r their.

^s as.

Chaast heo^t was, and feir of chere,
 With rode^u red so blosme on brere,
 Eyyen^w stepe and gray,
 With lowe schuldres, and whyte swere^x;
 Hire to seo^y was gret preyere
 Of princes pert in play.
 The word^z of hire sprong ful wyde
 Feor and ner, bi vche a syde:
 The Soudan herde say;
 Him thoughte his herte wolde breke on five
 Bot he mihte have hire to wyve,
 That was so feir a may;
 The Soudan ther he sat in halle;
 He sente his messagers faste withalle,
 To hire fader the kyng.
 And seide, hou so hit ever bifalle,
 That mayde he wolde clothe in palle
 And spousen hire with his ryng.
 "And elles^a I swere withouten fayle
 I schull^b hire winnen in pleyn battayle
 With mony an heih lordyng," &c.

The Soldan, on application to the king of Tarsus for his daughter, is refused; and the messengers return without success. The Soldan's anger is painted with great characteristic spirit.

The Soudan sat at his des,
 I served of his furste mes;
 Thei comen into the halle
 To fore the prince proud in pres,
 Heore tale thei tolden withouten lees
 And on heore knees gunne falle:
 And seide, "Sire, the king of Tars
 Of wikked wordes nis not scars,

^t she.
^w eyes.

^u ruddy [complexion].
^x neck. ^y see.

^z The report of her.
^a also [else].

^b shall.

Hethene hound^e he doth the^f calle;
 And er his doughtur he give the tille^g
 Thyn herte blode he wol spille
 And thi barouns alle."
 Whon the Soudan this iherde,
 As a wod man he ferde,
 His robe he rente adoun;
 He tar the her^h of hed and berd,
 And seide he wold her wine^{*} with swerd,
 Beo his lord seynt Mahoun.
 The table adoun riht he smot,
 In to the floore foot hotⁱ,
 He lokede as a wylde lyoun;
 Al that he hitte he smot doun riht
 Bothe sergaunt and kniht,
 Erl and eke baroun.
 So he ferde forsothe a pliht,
 Al a day, and al a niht,
 That no man mihte him chaste^k:
 A morwen whon hit was day liht,
 He sent his messagers ful riht,
 After his barouns in haste:
 [That thai com to his parlement,
 For to heren his jugement
 Bothe lest and mast.
 When the parlement was pleyner,
 Tho bispac the Soudan fer,
 And seyde to hem in hast.]†
 "Lordynges," he seith, "what to rede^l,
 Me is don a grete mysdede,

^e A phrase often applied to the Saracens. So in *Syr Bevys*, Signat. C. ii. b.

To speke with an *hethene hounde*.

^f thee.

^g "Before his daughter is given to thee."

^h "tore the hair."

^{*} [Warton reads "wene," and Rit-

son "wive," from whence the reading in the text was too obvious not to be adopted.—EDIT.]

ⁱ struck, stamped.

^k check.

† [The lines within brackets were inserted by Mr. Ritson from the Auchinleck MS.—EDIT.]

^l "what counsel shall we take."

Of Taars the Cristen kyng;
 I bed him bothe lond and lede
 To have his douhter in worthli wede,
 And spouse hire with my ryng.
 And he seide, withouten fayle
 Arst he wolde me sle in batayle,
 And mony a gret lordynge.
 Ac sertes^m he schal be forswore,
 Or to wrothe heleⁿ that he was bore,
 Bote he hit therto^o bryng.
 Therefore lordynges, I have after ow sent
 For to come to my parliment,
 To wite of zow counsayle.”
 And alle onswerde with gode entent
 Thei wolde be at his comaundement
 Withouten eny fayle.
 And whon thei were alle at his heste,
 The Soudan made a wel gret feste,
 For love of his batayle;
 The Soudan gedred an oste unryde^p,
 With Sarazyns of muchel pryde,
 The kyng of Taars to assayle.
 Whon the kyng hit herde that tyde
 He sent about on vche asyde,
 Alle that he mihte of seende;
 Gret werre tho bigan to wrake
 For the mariage ne most be take
 Of that mayden heende^q.
 Batayle thei sette uppon a day,
 Withinne the thridde day of May,

^m But certainly.

ⁿ Loss of health or safety. Malediction. So R. of Brunne, Chron. apud Hearne's Rob. Glouc. p. 737. 738.

Morgan did after conseile,
 And wrought him selfe to *wrotherheile*.
 Again,

To zow al was a wikke conseile,
 That ze selle se full *wrotherheile*.

^o to that issue.

^p unright, wicked [numerous].

^q hend, handsome, [courteous. A general term expressive of personal and mental accomplishments.—
 EDIT.]

Ne longer nolde thei leende^r.
 The Soudan com with gret power,
 With helm briht, and feir baneer,
 Uppon that kyng to wende.
 The Soudan ladde an huge ost,
 And com with muche pruyde and cost,
 With the kyng of Tars to fihte.
 With him mony a Sarazyn feer^s,
 Alle the feldes feor and neer,
 Of helmes leomede ^t lihte.
 The kyng of Tars com also
 The Soudan batayle for to do
 With mony a Cristene knihte;
 Either ost gon othur assayle
 Ther bigon a strong batayle
 That grislych was of siht.
 Threo hethene ayein twey Cristene men,
 And falde hem down in the fen,
 With wepnes stif and goode:
 The steorne Sarazyns in that fiht,
 Slowe vr Cristen men down riht,
 Thei fouhte as heo weore woode.
 The Soudan ost in that stounde
 Feolde the Cristene to the grounde,
 Mony a freoly foode;
 The Sarazyns, withouten fayle,
 The Cristens culde^u in that battayle,
 Nas non that hem withstoode.
 Whon the king of Tars sauh that siht
 Wodde he was for wrathe^w apliht;
 In honde he hent a spere,
 And to the Soudan he rode ful riht,
 With a dunt^x of much miht,
 Adoun he gon him bere:

^r tarry.
^t shone.

^s companion.
^u killed.

^w wrappe. Orig.
^x dint. wound, stroke.

The Soudan neigh he hedde islawe,
 But thritti thousent of hethene lawe
 Coomen him for to were;
 And brougten him ayeyn upon his stede,
 And holpe him wel in that nede,
 That no mon miht him dere^y.
 Whon he was brouht uppon his stede,
 He sprong as sparkle doth of glede^z,
 For wrathe and for envye;
 Alle that he hutte he made hem blede,
 He ferde as he wolde a wede^a,
 “Mahoun help,” he gan crye.
 Mony an helm ther was unweved,
 And mony a bacinet^b tocleved,
 And sadeles mony emptye;
 Men mihte se uppon the feld
 Moni a kniht ded under scheld,
 Of the Cristen cumpagnie.
 Whon the kyng of Taars saugh hem so ryde,
 No lengor there he nolde abyde,
 Bote fleyh^c to his oun cite:
 The Sarazyns, that ilke tyde,
 Slough adoun bi vche syde
 Vr Cristene folk so fre.
 The Sarazyns that tyme, sauns fayle,
 Slowe vre Cristene in battayle,
 That reuthe hit was to se;
 And on the morwe for heore^d sake
 Truwes thei gunne togidere take^e,
 A moneth and dayes thre.
 As the kyng of Tars sat in his halle,
 He made ful gret deol^f withalle,

^y hurt.^z coal, fire-brand.^a as if he was mad.^b helmet.^c flew.^d their.^e They began to make a truce together.^f dole, grief.

For the folk that he hedde ilore^g
 His douhter com in riche palle,
 On kneos heo^h gon biforen him falle,
 And seide with syking sore:
 "Fader," heo seide, "let me beo his wyf,
 That ther be no more stryf," &c.

To prevent future bloodshed, the princess voluntarily declares she is willing to be married to the Soldan, although a Pagan: and notwithstanding the king her father peremptorily refuses his consent, and resolves to continue the war, with much difficulty she finds means to fly to the Soldan's court, in order to produce a speedy and lasting reconciliation by marrying him.

To the Soudan heoⁱ is ifare;
 He com with mony an heigh lordyng,
 For to welcom that swete thyng,
 Ther heo com in hire chare^k:
 He custe^l hire wel mony a sithe
 His joye couthe no man kithe^m,
 Awei was al hire care.
 Into chambre heo was led,
 With riche clothes heo was cled,
 Hethene as thaug heo wereⁿ.
 The Soudan ther he sat in halle,
 He comaundede his knihtes alle
 That mayden for to fette,
 In cloth of riche purpil palle,
 And on hire hed a comeli calle,
 Bi the Soudan heo was sette.
 Unsemli was hit for to se
 Heo that was so bright of ble
 To habbe^o so foule a mette^p, &c.

^g lost.
ⁱ she.
^l kist.

^h she.
^k chariot.
^m know.

ⁿ as if she had been a heathen, one
 of that country.
^o have. ^p mate.

They are then married, and the wedding is solemnized with a grand tournament, which they both view from a high tower. She is afterwards delivered of a son, which is so deformed as to be almost a monster. But at length she persuades the Soldan to turn Christian; and the young prince is baptized, after which ceremony he suddenly becomes a child of most extraordinary beauty. The Soldan next proceeds to destroy his Saracen idols.

He hente a staf with herte grete,
 And al his goddes he gan to bete,
 And drouh hem alle adoun;
 And leyde on til that he con swete,
 With sterne strokes and with grete,
 On Jovyn* and Plotoun,
 On Astrot and sire Jovin
 On Tirmagaunt and Apollin,
 He brak hem scolle and croun;
 On Tirmagaunt, that was heore brother,
 He lafte no lym hole with other,
 Ne on his lord seynt Mahoun, &c.

The Soldan then releases thirty thousand Christians, whom he had long detained prisoners. As an apostate from the pagan religion, he is powerfully attacked by several neighbouring Saracen nations: but he solicits the assistance of his father-in-law the king of Tars; and they both joining their armies, in a pitched battle, defeat five Saracen kings, Kenedoch, Lesyas king of Taborie, Merkel, Cleomadas, and Membrok. There is a warmth of description in some passages of this poem, not unlike the manner of Chaucer. The reader must have already

* [I know not if by *sire Jovyn* he means Jupiter, or the Roman emperor called Jovinian, against whom saint Jerom wrote, and whose history is in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, c. 59. He is mentioned by Chaucer as an example of pride, luxury, and lust. *SOMP. T.* v. 7511. Verdier (in v.) recites a *Moralité* on Jovinian, with nineteen

characters, printed at Lyons, from an antient copy in 1581, 8vo, with the title *L'Orgueil et presumption de l'Empe-
 reur JOVINIAN*. But *Jovyn* being mentioned here with *Plotoun* and *Apollin*, seems to mean *Jove* or *Jupiter*; and the appellation *SIRE* perhaps implies *father*, or *chief*, of the heathen gods.—
 ADDITIONS.]

observed, that the stanza resembles that of Chaucer's RIME OF SIR TOPAS^q.

IPOMEDON is mentioned among the romances in the Prologue of RICHARD CUER DE LYON; which, in an antient copy of the British Museum, is called SYR IPOMYDON: a name borrowed from the Theban war, and transferred here to a tale of the feudal times^r. This piece is evidently derived from a French original. Our hero Ippomedon is son of Ermones king of Apulia, and his mistress is the fair heiress of Calabria. About the year 1230, William Ferrabras^s, and his brethren, sons of Tancred the Norman, and well known in the romantic history of the Paladins, acquired the signories of Apulia and Calabria. But our English romance seems to be immediately translated from the French; for Ermones is called king of *Poyle*, or Apulia, which in French is *Pouille*. I have transcribed some of the most interesting passages^t.

Ippomedon, although the son of a king, is introduced waiting in his father's hall, at a grand festival. This servitude was so far from being dishonourable, that it was always required as a preparatory step to knighthood^u.

Every yere the kyng wold
At Whytsontyde a fest hold
Off dukis, erlis, and barons,
Many there come frome dyvers townes,
Ladies, maydens, gentill and fre,
Come thedyr from ferre contrè:
And grette lordis of ferre lond,
Thedyr were prayd by fore the hond^w.
When all were come togedyr than
There was joy of mani a man;

^q The romance of SIR LIBEAUX or LYBIUS DISCONIUS, quoted by Chaucer, is in this stanza. MSS. Cott. CAL. A 2. f. 40.

^r MSS. Harl. 2252. 44. f. 54. And in the library of Lincoln cathedral (K. k. 3. 10.) is an antient imperfect printed copy, wanting the first sheet.

[Printed in Mr. Weber's collection of Metrical Romances, whose text has been substituted for Warton's. It has also been analysed by Mr. Ellis.—EDIT.]

^s *Bras de fer*. Iron arms.

^t MSS. f. 55. ^u See vol. i. p. 43, note^r.

^w before-hand.

Full riche I wote were hyr seruice,
 For better might no man devyse.
 Ipomydon that day servyd in halle,
 All spake of hym bothe grete and smalle,
 Ladies and maydens by helde hym on,
 So godely a man they had sene none:
 Hys feyre chere in halle theym smert
 That mony a lady smote throw the hert.
 And in there hertis they made mone
 That there lordis ne were suche one.
 After mete they went to pley,
 All the peple, as I you sey;
 Some to chambre, and some to boure,
 And some to the hye towre^x;
 And some in the halle stode
 And spake what hem thought gode:
 Men that were of that cite^y
 Enquered of men of other cuntrè, &c.

Here a conversation commences concerning the heiress of Calabria: and the young Prince Ippomedon immediately forms a resolution to visit and to win her. He sets out in disguise.

Now they go furth on her way,
 Ipomydon to hys men gan say,
 That ther be none of hem alle,
 So hardy by his name hym calle,
 Whereso thei wend ferre or nere,
 Or over the strange ryvere;
 "Ne man telle what I am,
 What I schall be, ne whens I cam."
 All they granted hys commandement,
 And forthe they went with one assent.

^x In the feudal castles, where many persons of both sexes were assembled, and who did not know how to spend the time, it is natural to suppose that different parties were formed, and different

schemes of amusement invented. One of these was to mount to the top of one of the highest towers in the castle.

^y The Apulians.

Ipomydon and Tholomew
 Robys had on and mantillis new,
 Of the richest that myght bee,
 Ther nas ne suche in that cuntrée:
 Ffor many was the ryche stone
 That the mantillis were uppon.
 So longe there weys they have nome^z
 That to Calabre they ar come:
 They come to the castelle yate
 The porter was redy there at,
 The porter to theme they gan calle
 And prayd hym go into the halle
 And say thy lady^a gent and fre,
 That come ar men of ferre contrée,
 And if it plesse hyr we wold hyr prey,
 That we might ete with hyr to day.
 The porter seyde full cortessly
 “Your errand to do I am redy.”
 The lady to hyr mete was sette,
 The porter come and feyre hyr grette,
 “Madame,” he sayde, “God you save,”
 Atte your gate gestis ye have,
 Strange men all for to see
 Thei aske mete for charytè.”
 The lady comaundith sone anon
 That the gates were undone,
 “And bryng theym all byfore me
 Ffor wele at ese shall they bee.”
 They toke hyr pagis hors and alle,
 These two men went into the halle,
 Ipomydon on knees hym sette,
 And the lady feyre he grette:

^z took.

^a She was lady, by inheritance, of the signory. The female feudataries exercised all the duties and honours of their feudal jurisdiction in person. In Spenser, where we read of the *Lady of the Castle*, we are to understand such a

character. See a story of a *Comtesse*, who entertains a knight in her castle with much gallantry. *Mem. sur l'Anc. Chev.* ii. 69. It is well known that anciently in England ladies were sheriffs of counties.

“I am a man of strange contrè
 And pray you yff your will to [so] be
 That I myght dwelle with you to-yere
 Of your norture for to lere^b,
 I am come frome ferre lond;
 Ffor speche I here bi fore the hand
 That your norture and your servyse,
 Ys holden of so grete empyse,
 I pray you that I may dwelle here
 Some of your servyse to lere.”

The lady by held Ipomydon,
 Hym semyd wele a gentilmon,
 She knew non suche in hyr lande,
 So goodly a man and wele farand^c;
 She saw also by his norture
 He was a man of grete valure:
 She cast full sone in hyr thought
 That for no servyse come he noght;
 But it was worship hyr unto
 In feir servyse hym to do.
 She sayd, “Syr, welcome ye be,
 And all that comyn be with the;
 Sithe ye have had so grete travayle,
 Of a servise ye shall not fayle:
 In thys contre ye may dwelle here
 And at your will for to lere,
 Of the cuppe ye shall serve me
 And all your men with you shal be,
 Ye may dwelle here at youre wille,
 But^d your beryng be full ylle.”

“Madame,” he sayd, “grantmercy,”
 He thankid the lady cortesly.

She comandyth hym to the mete,

But or he satte in ony sete,

He saluted theym grete and smalle,

As a gentillman shuld in halle;

^b learn.

^c handsome. ^d unless.

All they sayd sone anone,
 They saw nevyr so goodli a mon,
 Ne so light, ne so glad,
 Ne non that so ryche atyre had :
 There was non that sat nor yede^e,
 But they had mervelle of hys dede^f,
 And sayd, he was no lytell syre
 That myght shew suche atyre.
 Whan they had ete, and grace sayd,
 And the tabyll away was leyd ;
 Upp than aroos Ipomydon,
 And to the botery he went anon,
 Ant [dyde] hys mantille hym aboute ;
 On hym lokyd all the route,
 Ant every man sayd to other there,
 “ Will ye se the proude squeeer
 Shall serve^g my ladye of the wyne,
 In hys mantell that is so fyne ? ”
 That they hym scornyd wist he noght
 On othyr thyng he had his thoght.
 He toke the cuppe of the botelere,
 And drewe a lace of sylke ful clere,
 Adowne than felle hys mantylle by,
 He prayd hym for hys curtesy,
 That lytelle yifte^h that he wolde nome
 Tille este sone a better come.
 Up it toke the botelere,
 Byfore the lady he gan it bere
 And prayd the lady hertely
 To thanke hym of his cortessye,
 All that was tho in the halle
 Grete honowre they spake hym alle.
 And sayd he was no lytelle man
 That such yiftys yiffe kan.
 There he dwellyd many a day,
 And servid the lady wele to pay,

^e walked.^f behaviour.^g “ who is to serve.”^h i. e. his mantle.

He bare hym on so feyre manere
 To knyghtes, ladyes, and squyere,
 All lovyd hym that com hym by,
 For he bare hym so cortesly.
 The lady had a cosyne that hight Jason,
 Full well he lovyd Ipomydon;
 Where that he yede in or oute,
 Jason went with hym aboute.
 The lady lay, but she slept noght,
 For of the squyere she had grete thoght;
 How he was feyre and shapè wele,
 Body and armes, and every dele:
 Ther was non in al hir land
 So wel besemyd dougty of hand.
 But she kowde wete for no case,
 Whens he come ne what he was,
 Ne of no man cowde enquire
 Other than the strange squyere.
 She hyr bythought on a quentyse,
 If she myght know in ony wyse,
 To wete whereof he were come;
 Thys was hyr thoght all and some
 She thought to wode hyr men to tameⁱ
 That she myght knowe hym by his game.
 On the morow whan it was day
 To hyr men than gan she say,
 "To morrow whan it is day lyght,
 Loke ye be all redy dight,
 With youre houndis more and lesse,
 In the forrest to take my grese,
 And there I will myself be
 Your game to byhold and see."
 Ipomydon had houndis thre
 That he broght frome his contrè;
 When they were to the wode gone,
 This lady and hyr men ichone,

ⁱ f. tempt. [Probably *tane*, take, *rythmi gratia*.—WEBER. P.]

And with hem her houndis ladde,
 All that ever any howndis hadde.
 Sir Tholomew foryate he noght,
 His maistres howndis thedyr he broght,
 That many a day ne had ronne ere,
 Full wele he thoght to note hem there.
 Whan they come to the laund on hight,
 The quenys pavylon there was pight,
 That she myght se of the best,
 All the game of the forèst,
 The wandlessours went throw the forèst,
 And to the lady broght many a best^k,
 Herte and hynde, buk and doo,
 And othir bestis many moo.
 The howndis that were of gret prise,
 Pluckid downe dere all at a tryse,
 Ipomydon with his houndis thoo
 Drew downe bothe buk and doo,
 More he tok with houndis thre
 Than all that othyr compaigne,
 There squyres undyd hyr dere
 Iche man on his owne manere:
 Ipomydon a dere yede unto,
 Full konnyngly gan he it undo,
 So feyre that venyson he gan to dight,
 That bothe hym byheld squyer and knight:
 The lady lokyd oute of her pavyloun,
 And saw hym dight the venyson.
 There she had grete deynte
 And so had all that dyd hym see:
 She saw all that he downe droughe
 Of huntynge she wist he cowde ynoughe
 And thoght in hyr herte then
 That he was come of gentillmen:
 She bad Jason hyr men to calle
 Home they passyd grete and smalle:

^k beast.

Home they come sone anone,
 This lady to hyr mete gan gone,
 And of venery¹ had hyr fille
 For they had take game at wille.

He is afterwards knighted with great solemnity.

The heraudes gaff the child^m the gree,
 A m pownde he had to fee,
 Mynstrellys had yiftes of golde
 And fourty dayes thys fest was holde.ⁿ

The metrical romance entitled *LA MORT ARTHURE*, preserved in the same repository, is supposed by the learned and accurate Wanley, to be a translation from the French: who adds, that it is not perhaps older than the times of Henry the Seventh.^o But as it abounds with many Saxon words, and seems to be quoted in *SYR BEVYS*, I have given it a place here^p. Notwithstanding the title, and the exordium which promises the history of Arthur and the Sangreal,—the exploits of Sir Lancelot du Lake king of Benwike, his intrigues with Arthur's queen Geneura, and his refusal of the beautiful daughter of the earl of Ascalot, form the greatest part of the poem. At the close, the repentance of Lancelot and Geneura, who both assume the habit of religion, is introduced. The writer mentions the Tower of London. The following is a description of a tournament performed by some of the knights of the Round Table^q.

Tho to the castelle gon they fare,
 To the ladye fayre and bryht:
 Blithe was the ladye thare,
 That they wold dwelle with hyr that nyght.

¹ venison. [hunting, game.]

^m Ippomedon. ⁿ MS. f. 61. b.

^o MSS. Harl. 2252. 49. f. 86. Pr.

"Lordinges that are leffe and deare."
 Never printed.

[The late Mr. Ritson was of opinion that [this romance] was versified from the prose work of the same name written by Malory and printed by Caxton; in proof of which he contended that the style is marked by an evident affectation of antiquity. But in truth it differs

most essentially from Malory's work, which was a mere compilation, whilst it follows with tolerable exactness the French romance of Lancelot; and its phraseology, which perfectly resembles that of Chester and other authors of the fifteenth century, betrays no marks of affectation.—ELLIS. A new edition of Caxton's *Morte Arthur* has since been published by Mr. Southey.—
 EDIT.]

^p Signat. K. ii. b.

^q MS. f. 89. b.

Hastely was there soper yare^r
 Off mete and drinke rychely dight;
 On the morow gon they dine and fare
 Both Launcelott and that other knight.
 Whan they come in to the feld
 Myche there was of game and play,
 Awhile they hovid^s and byheld
 How Arthur's knightis rode that day,
 Galehodis^t party bygan to held^u
 On fote his knightis ar led away.
 Launcelott stiff was undyr scheld,
 Thinkis to helpe yif that he may.
 Besyde hym come than sir Ewayne,
 Breme^w as eny wilde bore;
 Launcellott springis hym ageyne^x,
 In rede armys that he bore:
 A dynte he yaff with mekill mayne,
 Sir Ewayne was unhorsid thare,
 That alle men wente^y he had ben slayne
 So was he woundyd wondyr sare^z.
 Sir Boerte thoughte no thinge good,
 When Syr Ewaine unhorsid was;
 Forthe he springis, as he were wode,
 To Launcelot withouten lees:
 Launcellot hyte hym on the hode,
 The nexte way to grounde he chese:
 Was none so stiff agayne hym stode
 Ffule thynne he made the thikkest prees^a.
 Sir Lyonelle beganne to tene^b,
 And hastely he made hym bowne^c,
 To Launcellott, with herte kene,
 He rode with helme and sword browne;

^r ready. See GLOSSARY to the Oxford edition of Shakespeare, 1771. In voc.

^s hovered.

^t Sir Galaad's.

^u Perhaps *yeld*, i. e. yield.

^w fierce.

^x against.

^y weened.

^z sore.

^a crowd.

^b be troubled.

^c ready.

Launcellott hitte hym as I wene,
 Throughe the helme in to the crowne:
 That evyr after it was sene
 Bothe hors and man there yod adoune.
 The knightis gadrid to gedir thare
 And gan with crafte, &c.

I could give many more ample specimens of the romantic poems of these nameless minstrels, who probably flourished before or about the reign of Edward the Second^d. But it

^d *Octavian* is one of the romances mentioned in the Prologue to *Cure de Lyon*, above cited. See also vol. i. p. 123. In the Cotton manuscripts there is the metrical romance of *Octavian imperator*, but it has nothing of the history of the Roman emperors. Pr. "Jhesu þat was with spere ystonge." Calig. A 12. f. 20. It is a very singular stanza. In Bishop More's manuscripts at Cambridge, there is a poem with the same title, but a very different beginning, viz. "Lytyll and mykyll olde and younge." Bibl. Publ. 690. 30.—[This romance will be found in Mr. Weber's collection, vol. iii. p. 157.—EDIT.]—The emperor *Octavyen*, perhaps the same, is mentioned in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 368. Among Hatton's manuscripts in Bibl. Bodl. we have a French poem, *Romaunce de Otheniem Empereur de Rome*. Hyper. Bodl. 4046. 21.

In the same line of the aforesaid Prologue, we have the romance of *Ury*. This is probably the father of the celebrated Sir Ewaine or Yvain, mentioned in the *Court Mantell*. Mem. Anc. Cheval. ii. p. 62.

Li rois pris par là destre main
 L' amiz monseignor Yvain
 Qui au roi URIEN fu filz,
 Et bons chevaliers et hardiz,
 Qui tant ama chiens et oisiaux.

Specimens of the English *Syr Bevys* may be seen in Percy's Ball. iii. 216, 217, 297. edit. 1767. And *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, § ii. p. 50. It is extant in the black letter. It is in manuscript at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 30. And Coll. Cai. A 9. 5. And

MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4. 1. Num. xxii.

[It is in this romance of Syr BEVYS, that the knight passes over a bridge, the arches of which are hung round with small bells. Signat. E iv. This is an oriental idea. In the ALCORAN it is said, that one of the felicities in Mahomet's paradise, will be to listen to the ravishing music of an infinite number of bells, hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God. Sale's KORAN, Prelim. Disc. p. 100. In the enchanted horn, as we shall see hereafter, in *le Lai du Corn*, the rim of the horn is hung round with a hundred bells of a most musical sound.—ADDITIONS.]

Sidracke was translated into English verse by one Hugh Campden; and printed, probably not long after it was translated, at London, by Thomas Godfrey, at the cost of Dan Robert Saltwood, monk of saint Austin's in Canterbury, 1510. This piece therefore belongs to a lower period. I have seen only one manuscript copy of it. Laud, G 57. fol. membran.

Chaucer mentions, in *Sir Topaz*, among others, the romantic poems of *Sir Blandamoure*, *Sir Libeaux*, and *Sir Ippotis*. Of the former I find nothing more than the name occurring in *Sir Libeaux*.

[This has been copied from Percy's Essay referred to below, the last edition of which reads *Blaundemere*, while the best MSS. of Chaucer read *Pleindamoure*.—EDIT.]

To avoid prolix repetitions from other

is neither my inclination nor intention to write a catalogue, or compile a miscellany. It is not to be expected that this work should be a general repository of our antient poetry. I cannot however help observing, that English literature and English poetry suffer, while so many pieces of this kind still remain concealed and forgotten in our manuscript libraries. They contain in common with the prose-romances, to most of which indeed they gave rise, amusing images of antient customs and institutions, not elsewhere to be found, or at least not otherwise so strikingly delineated: and they preserve pure and unmixed, those fables of chivalry which formed the taste and awakened the imagination of our elder English classics. The antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and frivolous; and employed their industry in reviving obscure fragments of un-instructive morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and

works in the hands of all, I refer the reader to Percy's *Essay on antient metrical Romances*, who has analysed the plan of *Sir Libeaux*, or *Sir Libius Disconius*, at large, p. 17. See also p. 24. *ibid.*

As to *Sir Ippotis*, an antient poem with that title occurs in manuscript, MSS. Cotton, Calig. A 2. f. 77. and MS. Vernon, f. 296. But as Chaucer is speaking of romances of chivalry, which he means to ridicule, and this is a religious legend, it may be doubted whether this is the piece alluded to by Chaucer. However, I will here exhibit a specimen of it from the exordium. MS. Vernon, f. 296.

Her bi ginnith a tretys
That men clepeth YPOTIS.
 Alle that wolleth of wisdom lere,
 Lusteneth now, and ze may here;
 Of a tale of holi writ
 Seynt John the evangelist witnesseth it.
 How hit bifelle in grete Rome,
 The cheef citee of Cristendome,
 A childe was sent of mihtes most,
 Thorow vertue of the holi gost:
 The emperour of Rome than
 His name was hoten sire Adrian;

And when the child of grete honour
 Was come bifore the emperour,
 Upon his knees he him sette
 The emperour full faire he grette:
 The emperour with milde chere
 Askede him whethence he come were, &c.

We shall have occasion, in the progress of our poetry, to bring other specimens of these compositions. See Obs. on Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, ii. 42, 43.

I must not forget here, that *Sir Gawaine*, one of Arthur's champions, is celebrated in a separate romance. Among Tanner's manuscripts, we have the *Weddyng of Sir Gawain*, Numb. 455. Bibl. Bodl. It begins, "Be ye blythe and listeneth to the lyf of a lorde riche." Dr. Percy has printed the *Marriage of Sir Gawayne*, which he believes to have furnished Chaucer with his *Wife of Bath*. Ball. i. 11. It begins, "King Arthur lives in merry Carlisle." I think I have somewhere seen a romance in verse entitled, *The Turke and Gawaine*.—[This romance occurs in Bishop Percy's catalogue given from his folio MS.—EDIT.]

genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society.

As a further illustration of the general subject, and many particulars, of this section and the three last, I will add a new proof of the reverence in which such stories were held, and of the familiarity with which they must have been known, by our ancestors. These fables were not only perpetually repeated at their festivals, but were the constant objects of their eyes. The very walls of their apartments were clothed with romantic history. Tapestry was antiently the fashionable furniture of our houses, and it was chiefly filled with lively representations of this sort. The stories of the tapestry in the royal palaces of Henry the Eighth are still preserved^e; which I will here give without reserve, including other subjects, as they happen to

^e “The seconde part of the Inven-
to-rye of our late soveraigne lord kyng
Henry the Eighth, conteynynge his
guardrobes, houshold-stuff, &c. &c.”
MSS. Harl. 1419. fol. The original.
Compare vol. i. p. 118. and Walpole’s
Anecd. Paint. i. p. 10.

[I make no apology for adding here
an account of the furniture of a CLOSET
at the old royal palace of Greenwich, in
the reign of Henry the Eighth; as it
throws light on our general subject, by
giving a lively picture of the fashions,
arts, amusements, and modes of life,
which then prevailed. From the same
manuscript in the British Museum.
“A clocke. A glasse of steele. Four
battell axes of wood. Two quivers with
arrowes. A painted table [i. e. a pic-
ture]. A payre of ballance [balances],
with waights. A case of tynne with a
plot. In the window [a large bow-
window], a rounde mapp. A standinge
glasse of steele in ship.—A branche of
flowres wrought upon wyre. Two payre
of playing tables of bone. A payre of
chesmen in a case of black lether. Two
birds of Araby. A gonne [gun] upon
a stocke wheeled. Five paxes [cruci-
fixes] of glasse and woode. A tablet of
our ladie and saint Anne. A standinge

glasse with imagery made of bone.
Three payre of hawkes gloves, with two
lined with velvett. Three combe-cases
of bone furnished. A night-cappe of
blacke velvett embrowdered. Sampson
made in alabaster. A peece of unicorne’s
horne. Littel boxes in a case of woode.
Four littel coffres for jewels. A horne
of ivorie. A standinge diall in a case
of copper. A horne-glasse. Eight cases
of trenchers. Forty four dogs collars,
of sondrye makynge. Seven *lyans* of
silke. A purse of crymson satten for a
..... embrowdered with golde. A round
painted table with th’ ymage of a kinge.
A foldinge table of images. One payre
of bedes [beads] of jasper garnyshed with
lether. One hundred and thirty eight
hawkes hoodes. A globe of paper. A
mappe made lyke a scryne. Two green
boxes with wrought corall in them. Two
boxes covered with blacke velvett. A
reede tipt at both ends with golde, and
bolts for a turony bowe¹. A chaire of
joynd worke. An elle of synnamounde
[cinnamon] sticke tipt with sylver. Three
ridinge roddees for ladies, and a yard [rod]
of blake tipt with horne. Six walkyng
staves, one covered with silke and golde.
A blake satten-bag with chesmen. A
table with a cloth [a picture] of saint

¹ Perhaps Tyrone in Ireland.

occur, equally descriptive of the times. In the tapestry of the Tower of London, the original and most antient seat of our monarchs, there are recited Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologn, the emperor Constantine, saint George, king Erkenwald^f, the history of Hercules, Fame and Honour, the Triumph of Divinity, Esther and Ahasuerus, Jupiter and Juno, saint George, the eight Kings, the ten Kings of France, the Birth of our Lord, Duke Joshua, the riche history of king David, the seven Deadly Sins, the riche history of the Passion, the Stem of Jesse^g, our Lady and Son, king Solomon, the Woman of Canony, Meleager, and the Dance of Maccabre^h. At Durham-

George embrowdered. A case of fyne carved work. A box with a bird of Araby. Two long cases of blacke lether with pedegrees. A case of Irish arrows. A table, with wordes, of Jhesus. A target. Twenty-nine bowes." MSS. Harl. 1412. fol. 58. In the GALLERY at Greenwich, mention is made of a "Mappe of England." Ibid. fol. 58. And in Westminster-palace "a Mappe of Hantshire." fol. 133. A proof that the topography of England was now studied. Among various HEADS of Furniture, or stores, at the castle of Windsor, such as HORNS, GYRDELLES, HAWKES HOODS, WEAPONS, BUCKLERS, DOGS COLLARS, and AIGLETTES, WALKING-STAVES are specified. Under this last HEAD we have, "A Cane garnished with sylver and gilte, with astronomie upon it. A Cane garnished with golde havinge a perfume in the toppe, undre that a diall, with a paire of twitchers, and a paire of compasses of golde and a foote reule of golde, a knife and the file, th' afte [the handle of the knife] of golde with a whetstone tipped with golde, &c." fol. 407.—ADDITIONS.]

^f So in the record. But he was the third bishop of St. Paul's, London, son of king Offa, and a great benefactor to St. Paul's church, in which he had a most superb shrine. He was canonised. Dugdale, among many other curious particulars relating to his shrine, says, that in the year 1339 it was decorated anew, when three goldsmiths, two at the wages of five shillings by the week, and one at eight, worked upon it for a whole year. Hist. St. Paul's, p. 21. See also p. 233.

^g This was a favourite subject for a large gothic window. This subject also composed a branch of candlesticks thence called a *JESSE*, not unusual in the antient churches. In the year 1097, Hugo de Flori, abbot of S. Aust. Canterb. bought for the choir of his church a great branch-candlestick. "*Candelabrum magnum in choro æneum quod jesse vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis.*" Thorn, Dec. Script. col. 1796. About the year 1330, Adam de Sodbury, abbot of Glastonbury, gave to his convent "*Unum dorsale laneum le JESSE.*" Hearn. Joan. Glaston, p. 265. That is, a piece of tapestry embroidered with the *stem of Jesse*, to be hung round the choir, or other parts of the church, on high festivals. He also gave a tapestry of this subject for the abbot's hall. Ibid. And I cannot help adding, what indeed is not immediately connected with the subject of this note, that he gave his monastery, among other costly presents, a great clock, *processionibus et spectaculis insignitum*, an organ of prodigious size, and eleven bells, six for the tower of the church, and five for the clock tower. He also new vaulted the nave of the church, and adorned the new roof with beautiful paintings. Ibid.

^h f. 6. In many churches of France there was an antient shew or mimicry, in which all ranks of life were personated by the ecclesiastics, who all danced together, and disappeared one after another. It was called *DANCE MACCABRE*, and seems to have been often performed in St. Innocent's at Paris, where was a famous painting on this subject, which

place we find the Citie of Ladiesⁱ, the tapestrie of Thebes and of Troy, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son^k, Esther, and other pieces of Scripture. At Windsor castle the siege of Jerusalem, Ahasuerus, Charlemagne, the siege of Troy, and *hawking and hunting*^l. At Nottingham castle, Amys and Amelion^m. At Woodstock manor, the tapestrie of Charlemagneⁿ. At the More, a palace in Hertfordshire, king Arthur, Hercules, Astyages, and Cyrus. At Richmond, the arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting^o. Many of these subjects are repeated at Westminster, Greenwich, Oatlands, Bedington in Surry, and other royal seats, some of which are now unknown as such^p. Among the rest we have also Hannibal, Holofernes, Romulus and Remus, Æneas, and Susannah^q. I have mentioned romances written on many of these subjects, and shall mention others. In the romance of SYR GUY, that hero's combat with the dragon in Northumberland is said to be represented in tapestry in Warwick castle.

In Warwike the truth shall ye see

In arras wrought ful craftely^r.

This piece of tapestry appears to have been in Warwick castle before the year 1398. It was then so distinguished and valued

gave rise to Lydgate's poem under the same title. See Carpent. Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gl. ii. p. 1103. More will be said of it when we come to Lydgate.

ⁱ A famous French allegorical romance.

^k A picture on this favourite subject is mentioned in Shakespeare. And in Randolph's *Muse's Looking-glass*. "In painted cloth the story of the PRODIGAL." Dodsl. *Old Pl.* vi. 260.

^l f. 298. ^m f. 364.

ⁿ f. 318. ^o f. 346.

^p Some of the tapestry at Hampton-court, described in this inventory, is to be seen still in a fine old room, now remaining in its original state, called the Exchequer.

^q Montfaucon, among the tapestry of Charles the Fifth, king of France, in the year 1370, mentions, *Le tappis de la vie du saint Theseus*. Here the officer

who made the entry calls Theseus a saint. *The seven Deadly Sins, Le saint Graal, Le graunt tappis de Neuf Preux, Reyne d'Ireland, and Godfrey of Bulloign.* Monum. Fr. iii. 64. The *neuf preux* are the Nine Worthies. Among the stores of Henry the Eighth, taken as above, we have, "two old stayned clothes of the ix worthies for the greate chamber," at Newhall in Essex, f. 362. These were pictures. Again, at the palace of Westminster in the *little study called the Newe Librarye*, which I believe was in Holbein's elegant Gothic gatehouse lately demolished, there is, "Item, xii pictures of men on horsebacke of enamelled stuffe of the Nyne Worthies, and others upon square tables." f. 188. MSS. Harl. 1419. ut supr.

^r Signat. Ca. 1. Some perhaps may think this circumstance an innovation or addition of later minstrels. A practice not uncommon.

a piece of furniture, that a special grant was made of it by king Richard the Second in that year, conveying "that suit of arras hangings in Warwick castle, which contained the story of the famous Guy earl of Warwick," together with the castle of Warwick, and other possessions, to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent^s. And in the restoration of forfeited property to this lord after his imprisonment, these hangings are particularly specified in the patent of king Henry the Fourth, dated 1399. When Margaret, daughter of king Henry the Seventh, was married to James king of Scotland, in the year 1503, Holyrood House at Edinburgh was splendidly decorated on that occasion; and we are told in an antient record, that the "hanginge of the queenes grett chammer represented the ystory of Troye toune." Again, "the king's grett chammer had one table, wer was satt, hys chammerlayn, the grett sqyer, and many others, well served; the which chammer was haunged about with the story of Hercules, together with other ystorys^t." And at the same solemnity, "in the hall wher the qwene's company wer satt in lyke as in the other, an wiche was haunged of the history of Hercules, &c."^u A stately chamber in the castle of Hesdin in Artois, was furnished by a duke of Burgundy with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, about the year 1468^w. The affecting story of Coucy's Heart, which gave rise to an old metrical English romance entitled, the KNIGHT OF COURTESY, and the LADY OF FAGUEL, was woven in tapestry in Coucy castle in France^x. I have seen an antient suite of arras, containing Ariosto's Orlando and Angelica, where, at every groupe, the story was all along illustrated with

^s Dugd. Bar. i. p. 237.

^t Leland. Coll. vol. iii. p. 295, 296.
Opuscul. edit. 1770.

^u Ibid.

^w See Obs. Fair. Qu. i. p. 177.

^x Howel's Letters, xx. § vi. B. i. This is a true story, about the year 1180. Fauchet relates it at large from an old authentic French chronicle; and then adds, "Ainsi finerint les amours du Chastelain du Couci et de la dame de Faiel." Our Castellan, whose name is Regnard de Couci, was famous for

his *chansons* and chivalry, but more so for his unfortunate love, which became proverbial in the old French romances. See Fauch. Rec. p. 124. 128. [The Knight of Curtesy and the fair Lady of Faguel has been reprinted by Mr. Ritson, vol. iii. p. 193. The hero of this romance was *Raoul de Coucy*, and not *Regnard* as stated by Warton on the authority of Fauchet. See *Memoires Historiques sur Raoul de Coucy*. Paris, 1781.—EDIT.]

short rhymes in romance or old French. Spenser sometimes dresses the superb bowers of his fairy castles with this sort of historical drapery. In Hawes's Poem called the PASTIME OF PLEASURE, written in the reign of Henry the Seventh, of which due notice will be taken in its proper place, the hero of the piece sees all his future adventures displayed at large in the sumptuous tapestry of the hall of a castle. I have before mentioned the most valuable and perhaps most antient work of this sort now existing, the entire series of duke William's descent on England, preserved in the church of Bayeux in Normandy, and intended as an ornament of the choir on high festivals. Bartholinus relates, that it was an art much cultivated among the antient Islanders, to weave the histories of their giants and champions in tapestry^y. The same thing is recorded of the old Persians; and this furniture is still in high request among many Oriental nations, particularly in Japan and China^z. It is well known, that to frame pictures of heroic adventures in needle-work, was a favourite practice of classical antiquity.

^y Antiquit. Dan. Lib. i. 9. p. 51.

^z In the royal palace of Jeddo, which overflows with a profusion of the most exquisite and superb eastern embellishments, the tapestry of the emperor's audience-hall is of the finest silk,

wrought by the most skilful artificers of that country, and adorned with pearls, gold, and silver. Mod. Univ. Hist. B xiii. c. ii. vol. ix. p. 83. (Not. G.) edit. 1759.

SECTION VI.

ALTHOUGH much poetry began to be written about the reign of Edward the Second, yet I have found only one English poet of that reign whose name has descended to posterity^a. This is Adam Davy or Davie. He may be placed about the year 1312. I can collect no circumstances of his life, but that he was marshall of Stratford-le-bow near London^b. He has left several poems never printed, which are almost as forgotten as his name. Only one manuscript of these pieces now remains, which seems to be coeval with its author^c. They are VISIONS, THE BATTELL OF JERUSALEM, THE LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS, SCRIPTURE HISTORIES, OF FIFTEEN TOKNES BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT, LAMENTATIONS OF SOULS, and THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER^d.

In the VISIONS, which are of the religious kind, Adam Davie draws this picture of Edward the Second standing before the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey at his coronation. The lines have a strength arising from simplicity.

To our Lorde Jeshu Crist in heven
Iche to day shawe myne sweven^e,
That iche motte^f in one nyght,
Of a knyght of mychel mycht:

^a Robert de Brunne, above mentioned, lived, and perhaps wrote some of his pieces, in this reign; but he more properly belongs to the last.

^b This will appear from citations which follow.

^c MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I 74. fol. membran. It has been much damaged, and on that account is often illegible.

^d In the manuscript there is also a piece in prose, entitled, *The Pylgrymages*

of the holi land. f. 65.—66. It begins :
“Qwerr soever a cros standyth ther is a
forgivenes of payne.” I think it is a
description of the holy places, and it
appears at least to be of the hand-writ-
ing of the rest.

^e dream.
^f thought, dreamed. In the first
sense, we have *me mette* in Chaucer,
Non. Pr. T. v. 1013. Urr. And below.

His name is yhote^g syr Edward the kyng,
 Prince of Wales Engelsonde the fair thyng;
 Me mott that he was armid wele,
 Bothe with yrne and with stele,
 And on his helme that was of stel,
 A coroune of gold bicom him wel.
 Bifore the shrine of Seint Edward he stood,
 Myd glad chere and myld of mood^h.

Most of these Visions are compliments to the king. Our poet then proceeds thus:

Another suevene me mette on a twefnitⁱ
 Bifore the fest of Alhalewen of that ilke knigt,
 His name is nempned^k hure bifore,
 Blissed be the time that he was bore, &c.
 Of Syr Edward oure derworth^l kyng
 Iche mette of him anothere faire metyng, &c.
 Me thought he wod upon an asse,
 And that ich take God to witnesse;
 A wondur he was in a mantell gray,
 Toward Rome he nom^m his way,
 Upon his hevede sate a gray hure,
 It semed him wel a mesure;
 He wood withouten hose and sho,
 His wonen was not so to do;
 His shankes semeden al bloodrede,
 Myne herte wopⁿ for grete drede;
 As a pylgrym he rood to Rome,
 And thider he com wel swithe sone.
 The thrid suevene me mette a nigt
 Rigt of that derworth knight:
 On Wednysday a nigt it was
 Next the dai of seint Lucie bifore Christenmasse, &c.
 Me thought that ich was at Rome,
 And thider iche come swithe sone,

^g named.

^h fol. 27.

^k named.

^l dear-worthy.

ⁱ twelfth-night.

^m took.

ⁿ wept.

The pope and syr Edward our kyng
 Bothe hy^o hadde a new dublyng, &c.
 Thus Crist ful of grace
 Graunte our kyng in every place
 Maistrie of his witherwines
 And of al wicked Sarasynes.
 Me met a suevene one worthig^p a nigh
 Of that ilche derworthi knigh,
 God iche it shewe and to witnesse take
 And so shilde me fro, &c.
 Into a chapel I cum of vre lefdy^q,
 Jhe Crist her leve^r son stod by,
 On rod^s he was an loveliche mon,
 Al thilke that on rode was don
 He unneled^t his honden two, &c.
Adam the marchal of *Strattford atte Bowe*
 Wel swithe wide his name is iknowe
 He himself mette this metyng,
 To witnesse he taketh Jhu hevene kynge,
 On wedenyssday^u in clene leinte^w
 A voyce me bede I schulde nought feinte,
 Of the suevenes that her ben write
 I schulde swithe don^x my lord kyng to wite.
 The thursday next the beryng^y of our lefdy
 Me thought an aungel com syr Edward by, &c.
 Iche tell you forsoth withoutten les^z,
 Als God of hevene maide Marie to moder ches^a,
 The aungell com to me *Adam Davie* and seide
 Bot thou *Adam* shewe this thee worthe wel yvel mede, &c.
 Whoso wil speke myd me *Adam* the marchal
 In Stretforde bowe he is yknown and over al,
 Iche ne schewe nought this for to have mede
 Bot for God almighty drede.

^o they.^p worthig. Orig.^x make haste. [Swithe don to wite,^q lady.^r dear.^s cross.

quickly let him know.—RITSON.]

^t unnailed.^y Christmass-day.^z lies.^u Wodenis day. Woden's day. Wednesday.^w Lent.^a "As sure as God chose the Virgin Mary to be Christ's mother."

There is a very old prose romance, both in French and Italian, on the subject of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*^b. It is translated from a Latin work, in five books, very popular in the middle ages, entitled, *HEGESIPPI de Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanæ Libri quinque*. This is a licentious paraphrase of a part of Josephus's Jewish history, made about the fourth century: and the name Hegesippus is most probably corrupted from Josephus, perhaps also called Josipus. The paraphrast is supposed to be Ambrose of Milan, who flourished in the reign of Theodosius^c. On the subject of Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem, as related in this book, our poet Adam Davie has left a poem entitled the *BATTELL OF JERUSALEM*^d. It begins thus.

Listeneth all that beth alyve,
Both cristen men and wyve:
I wol you telle of a wondur cas,
How Jhesu Crist bihated was,
Of the Jewes felle and kene,
That was on him sithe ysene,
Gospelles I drawe to witnesse
Of this matter more or lesse, &c.^e

In the course of the story, Pilate challenges our Lord to single combat. This subject will occur again.

^b In an antient inventory of books, all French romances, made in England in the reign of Edward the Third, I find the romance of *TITUS and VESPASIAN*. Madox, *Formul. Anglican.* p. 12. See also Scipio Maffei's *Traduttori Italiani*, p. 48. Crescimbeni (*Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. 5. p. 317.) does not seem to have known of this romance in Italian. Du Cange mentions *Le Roman de la Prise de Jerusalem par Titus*, in verse. *Gloss. Lat.* i. *IND. AUCT.* p. cxciv. A metrical romance on this subject is in the royal manuscripts. 16 E viii. 2. *Brit. Mus.* There is an old French play on this subject, acted in 1437. It was printed in 1491. fol. M. *Beauchamps, Rech. Fr. Theat.* p. 134.

^c He mentions Constantinople and New Rome: and the provinces of Scotia and Saxonia. From this work the Maccabees seem to have got into romance. It was first printed at Paris. fol. 1511. Among the Bodleian manuscripts there is a most beautiful copy of this book, believed to be written in the Saxon times.

^d The latter part of this poem appears detached, in a former part of our manuscript, with the title *THE VENGEAUNCE OF GODDES DEATH*, viz. f. 22. b. This latter part begins with these lines.

And at the fourty dayes ende,
Whider I wolde he bade me wende,
Upon the mount of olyvete, &c.

^e MS. ut supr. f. 72. b.

Davie's **LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS THE CONFESSOR, SON OF EUPHEMIUS**, is translated from Latin, and begins thus:

All that willen here in ryme,
 Howe gode men in olde tyme,
 Loveden God almigh;
 That weren riche, of grete valoure,
 Kynges sones and emperoure
 Of bodies strong and ligh;
 Zee habbeth yherde ofte in geste,
 Of holi men maken feste
 Both day and nigh,
 For to have the joye in hevene
 (With aungells song, and merry stevene,
 The which is brode and brigh:
 To you all heige and lowe
 The righ sothe to biknowe
 Zour soules for to save, &c.^f

Our author's **SCRIPTURE HISTORIES** want the beginning. Here they begin with Joseph, and end with Daniel.

Ffor thritti pens^g thei sold that childe
 The seller high Judas,
 Itho^h Ruben com him and myssed him
 Ffor ynow he was.ⁱ

His **FIFTEEN TOKNES^k BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGMENT**, are taken from the prophet Jeremiah.

The first signe thar ageins, as our lord hymselfe sede,
 Hungere schal on erthe be, trecherie, and falshede,
 Batteles, and littell love, sekenesse and haterede,
 And the erthe schal quaken that vche man schal ydrede:
 The mone schal turne to blood, the sunne to derkhede, &c.^l

Another of Davie's poems may be called the **LAMENTATION OF SOULS**. But the subject is properly a congratulation of

^f MS. ut supr. f. 22.—72. b.

^g thirty pence.

^h Iho. Orig.

ⁱ MS. ut supr. f. 66.—72. b.

^k tokens.

^l MS. ut supr. f. 71. b.

Christ's advent, and the lamentation, of the souls of the fathers remaining in limbo, for his delay.

Off joye and blisse is my song care to bileve^m,
 And to here hym among that altour soroug shal reve,
 Ycome he is that swete dewe, that swete hony drope,
 The kyng of alle kynges to whom is our hope :
 Becom he is our brother, whar was he so long?
 He it is and no other, that boughth us so strong:
 Our brother we moweⁿ hym clepe wel, so seith hymself
 ilome^o.

My readers will be perhaps surprised to find our language improve so slowly, and will probably think, that Adam Davie writes in a less intelligible phrase than many more antient bards already cited*. His obscurity, however, arises in great measure from obsolete spelling, a mark of antiquity which I have here observed in exact conformity to a manuscript of the age of Edward the Second; and which in the poetry of his prede-

^m leave.

ⁿ may.

^o sometimes. MS. ut supr. f. 72. [By an error of the press in the former edition, the reference to the note was affixed to the word "wel;" and though Warton in his Additions had pointed out the mistake, yet the candour of Mr. Ritson fastened on the original reading and exposed it as a voluntary and ignorant blunder. Could this gentleman have condescended to be just, or to confide in an interpretation furnished him by Warton, he might have avoided the erroneous explanation given of "ylome" in the Glossary to his Metrical Romances, or at any rate have obtained a closer approximation to the true meaning than his own knowledge supplied him with.

Ure ship flet forth *ylome*;

which the Glossary renders *lately*. It is the Anglo-Saxon *ge-lome*, *sæpe*, frequenter, *continuer*. In the Chronicle of England we have,

And yet the Englesche *ofte* ilome;
 where "ofte" appears to be a gloss which has found its way into the text. "Oft and gelome" is the language of Cædmon.—EDIT.]

* [Mr. Campbell has observed upon this passage: "Warton anticipates the surprize of his reader in finding the English language improve so slowly when we reach the verses of Davie. The historian of our poetry had in a former section treated of Robert De Brunne as a writer anterior to Davie; but as the latter part of De Brunne's Chronicle was not finished till 1339, in the reign of Edward III., it would be surprizing indeed if the language should seem to improve when we go back to the reign of Edward II." *Essay on English Poetry*, p. 57.—In this the usual accuracy and candour of Mr. Campbell appear to have forsaken him. The observation in the text is far from being a general one, and might have been interpreted to the exclusion of De Brunne. That such was Warton's intention is obvious from note ^a, p. 47, where he speaks of De Brunne as living, and probably composing some of his pieces, during the reign of Edward II. A date (1303) recorded in his translation of the *Manuel de Pechees*, was the cause of his being classed among the writers of the preceding reign.—EDIT.]

cessors, especially the minstrel-pieces, has been often effaced by multiplication of copies, and other causes. In the mean time it should be remarked, that the capricious peculiarities and even ignorance of transcribers, often occasion an obscurity, which is not to be imputed either to the author or his age^q.

But Davie's capital poem is the *LIFE OF ALEXANDER*, which deserves to be published entire on many accounts. It seems to be founded chiefly on Simeon Seth's romance above mentioned; but many passages are also copied from the French *ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE*, a poem in our author's age perhaps equally popular both in England and France. It is a work of considerable length^r. I will first give some extracts from the Prologue.

Divers is this myddel erde
To lewed men and to lerid^s, &c.
Notheles, ful feole and fille
Beoth y-founde in heorte and wille
That hadde levere a ribaudye
Than to here of God, other of seynte Marie;
Other to drynke a coppe ful of ale,
Than to here ony god tale:
Soche Y wolde were oute-bishett;
For sikerliche, hit weore nede.
For they no haveth no joye, y wot wele
Bote in the gutte and the barell.^t

^q Chaucer in *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* mentions "the grete diversite in English, and in writing of our tongue." He therefore prays God, that no person would *miswrite*, or *misse-metre* his poem. lib. ult. v. 1792. seq.

^r [In attributing this romance to Davie, Warton has followed the authority of Tanner, who was probably led into the mistake by finding it bound up with the remaining works of this "poetic marshall." We are indebted to Mr. Ellis for detecting—upon the force of internal evidence—this misappropriation of a very spirited composition to the insipid author of the *Legend of Saint Alexius*.

It has since been published from a transcript of the Lincoln's-Inn MS. made by Mr. Park, and forms the first volume in Mr. Weber's collection. In deference to the opinions of these gentlemen—opinions sanctioned as it would seem by the approbation of Mr. Douce and Mr. Ellis—the text has been supplied from the printed copy, though the Editor's private judgment is decidedly in favour of the Bodleian version.—*EDIT.*]

^s Leg. *lerd.* learned.

^t The work begins thus.

Whilem clerkes wel ylerid
Faire y-dyght this myddel erde,

Adam Davie thus describes a splendid procession made by Olympias.

In this tyme faire and jolif^u
 Olimpias, that faire wif,
 Wolde make a riche feste
 Of knightis and ladies honeste,
 Of burgeys and of jugoleris
 And of men of eche mesteris^v,
 For mon seith by north and south
 Wimmen beth, ever selcouth;
 Muche they desirith to schewe heore body
 Heore faire heir, heore fair rody,
 To have los^w and praisyng:
 Al hit is folie by hevene kyng!
 So dude dame Olimpias
 To schewe hire gentil face.
 Scheo hette marchal, and knyghtis
 Greythen heom to ryde anon ryghtis.
 And ladies and demoselis
 Maken heom redy, a thousand delis,
 In faire atire, in divers coyntise
 Monye ther riden in riche wise.
 A muyle, al so whit as mylk
 With sadel of gold, semely of selk
 Was y-brought to theo quene
 With mony bellis of selver schene
 Y-fastened on orfreys^x of mounde
 That hongen adoun to theo grounde.
 Forth thei ferden^y with heore roite
 A thousand ladies of o swte.

And clepid hit in here maistrie,
 Europe, Affryke, and Asyghe:
 At Asyghe al so muchul ys
 As Europe, and Affryk, I wis, &c.

And ends with this distich.

Alisaunder! me reowith thyn endyng
 That thou n'adest dyghed in cristenyng.

^u jolly.

^v of each, or every, profession, trade, sort.

^w praise.

^x embroidered work, cloth of gold.

Aurifrigium, Lat.

^y fared: went.

A speruer^z that was honeste
 So was at the ladies feste :
 Four trumpes to-fore^a hire bleow
 Mony man that day hire kneow :
 An hundred and wel mo
 Alle abowed hire to.
 Al thes toun y-honged was^b
 Ageynes^c the lady Olimpias.^d
 Orgles, tymbres, al maner glee^e
 Was dryuen ageyn that lady freo.
 Withoute the toun was mury :
 Was reised ther al maner pley^f ;
 There was knyghtis turnyng
 There was maiden carolyng
 There was champions skyrmyng^g,
 Of heom and of other wrastlyng
 Of liouns chás, of beore baityng
 And bay of bor^h of bole slatyngⁱ.
 Al the city was by-hong
 Of riche baudekyns and pellis^k among
 Dame Olimpias among this pres^l
 Sengle rod^m, al mantul-les.—
 Hire yolowe heirⁿ was fair atyred
 With ryche strynges of gold wyred
 And wryen hire abouten al^o
 To hire gentil myddel smal

^z sparrow-hawk; a hawk. ^a before.

^b "hung with tapestry." We find this ceremony practised at the entrance of lady Elisabeth, queen of Henry the Seventh, into the city of London.—"Al the strets ther whiche she shulde passe by wer clenly dressed and besene with cloth, of tappestrye and arras, and some streetes as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of golde, velvettes and silkes." This was in the year 1481. Leland. Coll. iv. Opuscul. p. 220. edit. 1770.

^c "against her coming."

^a See the description of the tournament in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, where

the city is hanged with cloth of gold. v. 2570. Urr.

^e "organs, timbrels, all manner of music."

^f "all sorts of sports."

^g skirmishing.

^h "baying or bayting of the boar."

ⁱ *slaying bulls*, bull-feasts. Chaucer says that the chamber of Venus was painted with "white *bolis* grete." Compl. of Mars and Ven. v. 86.

^k skins.

^l croud; company.

^m rode single.

ⁿ yellow hair.

^o "covered her all over."

Bryght and fair was hire face ^p
 Uche maner faired ^a in hire was ^r.

Much in the same strain the marriage of Cleopatras is described.

Tho this message was hom y-come
 Ther was mony blithe gome
 With rose and swete flores
 Was strawed halles and bouris;
 With samytes and baudekyns
 Weore cortined the gardynes.
 Alle the innes of the toun
 Haddyn litel foisoun ^s,
 That day cam Clorpatras;
 So mucle people with hire was.
 Upon a mule, whyt so mylk;
 Hire harneys gold beten with selk.
 The prynce hire ladde of Sandas,
 And of Cydoyne sire Jonatas,
 Ten thousand barouns hire come myde,
 And to chirche they ryden.
 Spoused scheo is and set on deys:
 Now ginnith the geste of noblés:

^p line 155.

^a beauty.

^r John Gower, who lived an hundred years after our author, has described the same procession. Confess. Amant. lib. vi. fol. 137. a. b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

But in that citee then was
 The quene, whiche Olimpias
 Was hote, and with solempnitee
 The feste of hir nativitee,
 As it befell, was than hold:
 And for hir lust to be behold,
 And preised of the people about,
 She shop hir for to ridenout,
 Al aftir meet al opinly.
 Anon al men were redie;
 And that was in the month of Maie:
 This lusty quene in gode araie
 Was sette upon a mule white
 To sene it was a grete delite

The joye that the citee made.
 With fresh thinges and with glade
 The noble towne was al behonged;
 And everie wight was son alonged
 To see this lustie ladie ryde.
 There was great mirth on al syde,
 When as she passed by the streate
 There was ful many a tymbre beate,
 And many a maide carolende.
 And thus throughout the town plaiende
 This quene unto the plaiene rode
 Whar that she hoved and abode
 To se divers games plaie,
 The lustie folke just and tornaye.
 An so couth every other man
 Which play with, his play began,
 To please with this noble queen.

Gower continues this story, from a romance mentioned above, to fol. 140.

^s provision.

At the feste was trumpanyng,
 Pipyng and eke taboryng,
 Sytolyng and ek harpyng^t.

We have frequent opportunities of observing, how the poets of these times engraft the manners of chivalry on antient classical history. In the following lines Alexander's education is like that of Sir Tristram. He is taught tilting, hunting, and hawking.

Now con Alisaundre of skyrmyng,
 And of stedes disrayng,
 And of sweordis turnyng,
 Apon stede, apon justyng,
 And 'sailyng, of defendyng
 In grene wode of huntynge
 And of reveryng and of haukyng^u :
 Of batail and of al thyng.

In another place Alexander is mounted on a steed of Narbone*; and amid the solemnities of a great feast, rides through the hall to the high table. This was no uncommon practice in the ages of chivalry^v.

He leap up, and hadde soon doon,
 Apon a stede of faire bon; (Narabone)
 He rod forth upon the lond
 Theo riche croune in his hond,
 Of Nicholas that he wan :
 Byside rideth a gentil man.

^t line 1023.

^u Chaucer, R. of Sir Thop. v. 3245.
 Urry's edit. p. 145.

He couth hunt al the wild dere,
 And ride an *hawkyng by the rivere*.

And in the *Squyr of low degree*, supr.
 citat. p. 179.

—— Shall ye ryde
 On *hawkyng by the river syde*.

Chaucer, *Frankleins Tale*, v. 1752. p. 111.
 Urr. edit.

These fauconers upon a faire rivere
 That with the hawkis han the *heron*
 slaine.

* [The Lincoln's Inn MS. reads
 "faire bone," which is probably the
 correcter version.—EDIT.]

^v See Observations on the Fairy Queen,
 i. § v. p. 146.

To the paleis they gonne ride
 And fond this feste in all pruyde
 Forth goth Alisaundre, saun fable
 Ryght to the heygh table.^w

His horse Bucephalus, who even in classical fiction is a horse of romance, is thus described.

An horn the forhed amyddward
 That wolde perce scheldis hard.

To which these lines may be added.

Alisaundre arisen is
 And sittith on his hygh deys
 His duykes and his barouns saun doute
 Stondith and sittith him aboute.^x

The two following extracts are in a softer strain, and not inelegant for the rude simplicity of the times.

Mury is the blast of the styvour^y
 Mury is the twynkelyng of the harpour^z;
 Swote is the smeol of flour
 Swete hit is in maidenenes bour
 Appeol swote berith faire colour
 In treowe love is swote amour.^a

Again,

In tyme of May, the nyghtyngale
 In wode makith miry gale;

^w line 1075.

^x line 3966.

^y I cannot explain this word. It is a wind-instrument.

^z This poem has likewise, in the same vein, the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners, and is perhaps the true reading, line 1163.

Swithe mury hit is in halle
 When the *burdes wawen alle*.

And in another place we have,

Mury hit is in halle to here the harpe;
 The mynstrall syngith, the jogolour
 carpith.—l. 5990.

Here, by the way, it appears, that the minstrels and juglers were distinct characters. So Robert de Brunne, in describing the coronation of king Arthur, apud Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. p. 304.

Jogeleurs wer ther inouh
 That wer queitise for the drouh,
Mynstrels many with dyvers glew, &c.

And Chaucer mentions "*minstrels* and *eke joglours*." Rom. R. v. 764. But they are often confounded or made the same.

^a line 2571.

So doth the foules grete and smale
Som on hulle, som on dale.^b

Much the same vernal delights, cloathed in a similar style, with the addition of knights turneying and maidens dancing, invite king Philip on a progress; who is entertained on the road with hearing tales of ancient heroes.

Mery time it is in May
The foules syngeth her lay;
The knighttes loueth the tornay
Maydens so dauncen and thay play.
The kyng forth rideth his journey
Now hereth gest of grete noblay.^c

Our author thus describes a battle.^d

Alisaundre to-fore is ryde
And mony gentil knyght him myde
Ac, for to abide his maignè freo
He abideth undur a treo.
xl. thousand chivalrie
He heom taketh in his batailè.
He dasscheth forth overward
Theo othres comen afterward:
He soughte his knyghtis in mischef
He tok hit in heorte agref.
He tok Bulsifal^e in the syde;
As a swalewe he can forth glide.
A duyk of Perce sone he mette
With his launce he him grette;
He perced his bruny and clewyd his scheld,
Theo heorte he carf; so he him yeilded:
Theo duyk feol down to the grounde
He starf quykliche of that wounde.
Alisaundre tho aloud saide,
Other tole nane Y payd:

^b line 2546.

^c line 5210.

^d line 3776.

^e Bucephalus.

Yut ye schole, of myn paye
 Or Y go hennes, more asay !
 Anothir launce in honde he hent ;
 Ageyns the Prynce of Tyre he went,
 And smot him thorough the breste thare
 And out of his sadel him bare ;
 And Y sey, for soth thyng
 He brak his launce in the fallyng.
 Octiater, with mucche wondur
 Antiochim hadde him undur,
 With his sweord he wolde his heved
 Fro the body have y-weved.
 He sygh Alisaundre the gode gome
 To him wardes swithe come
 He left his pray and fleygh to hors
 For to save his owne cors.
 Antiocus on stede he leop
 Of no wounde tok he kep ;
 And eke he hadde y-mad furford
 Alle y-mad with speris ord^f.
 Tholomeus and his felawe^g
 Of this socoure weore ful fawe.
 Alisaundre made a cry hardy
Ore tost, ore tost, aly ! aly !
 There knyghtis of Akaye
 Justed with heom of Arabye ;
 Tho^h of Rome, and heo of Mede
 Mony lond with othir yeode
 Egipte justed with Tire
 Simple knyghtis with riche sire ;
 There was yeve no forberyng ;
 Bytweone favasourⁱ and kyng,
 To-fore, me myghte, and by hynde
 Contek^k seche and contek fynde.

^f point.^g fellows.^h they.ⁱ servant ; subject.^k strife.

With Perciens foughte Egregies^l;
 Ther ros cry, and gret noyse.
 They kydde^m there they nere nyce
 They braken speres to sclyces:
 Me myght fynde knyghtis there,
 Mony on lost his justere:
 There was sone in litel thraweⁿ,
 Many gentil knyght y-slawe;
 Mony arm, mony hed^o,
 Was sone fro the body weved:
 Mony gentil levedy^p
 There les hire amy^q:
 There was mony mon killed
 And mony fair pencil by bled^r.
 There was sweord lakkyng^s
 There was spere bathyng^t.
 Bothe kynges there, saun doute
 Beoth y-beten, with al heore rowte;
 The on to don men of him speke
 The other his harmes for to wreke.
 Mony londes nygh and feor.
 Losten heore lordes in that weorre.
 The eorthe quakid of hir rydyng
 The weder^u thicked of heore cryeng
 Theo blod of heom that was slawen
 Ran by flodis and by lauen, &c.

I have already mentioned Alexander's miraculous horn*.

He blew his horn, saun doute

His folk come swithe aboute:

^l Greeks. ^m thought [shewed].

ⁿ short time.

^o head.

^p lady.

^q paramour.

^r "many a rich banner, or flag, sprinkled with blood."

^s clashing. ["Lakkyng seems to mean *licking* (blood) as the poet speaks of spears bathing in blood. WEBER."]—This phrase is one of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and bears a very different

import from that given by Mr. Weber: sweord-lac A. S. *gladiorum ludus*, from *lacan*, to play.—EDIT.]

^t MS. *baþing*. I do not understand the word. ^u weather, sky.

* [It is most probable that Warton interpreted this passage of Alexander's horn: Mr. Weber certainly has; though the context plainly shews that it was Darius who blew it.—EDIT.]

And he heom saide with voys clere,
 "Y bidde, freondes, ye me here!
 Alisaundre is y-come in this lond
 With stronge knyghtis, and myghty of hond."

Alexander's adventures in the deserts among the Gymnosophists, and in Inde, are not omitted. The authors whom he quotes for his vouchers, shew the reading and ideas of the times.^w

Thoo Alisaundre went thorough desert
 Many wondres he seigh apert^x
 Whiche he dude wel descryve
 By good clerkes in her lyve
 By Aristotle his maister that was
 Better clerk sithen non nas.
 He was with hym and seigh and wroot
 Alle thise wondres, (god it woot)
 Salomon that al the werlde thorough yede
 In sooth witnesse helde hym myde.
 Ysidre^y also, that was so wys
 In his bokes telleth this.
 Maister Eustroge bereth hym witnesse
 Of the wondres more and lesse.
 Seynt Jerome, yee shullen y-wyte
 Hem hath also in book y-wryte;
 And Magestene, the gode clerk
 Hath made therof mychel werk.
 Denys that was of gode memorie
 It sheweth al in his book of storie;
 And also Pompie^z of Rome lorde,
 Dude it writen every worde.
 Beheldeth me therof no fynder^a;
 Her bokes ben my shewer

^w line 4772.

^x saw openly.

^y *Isidore*. He means, I suppose, Isidorus Hispalensis, a Latin writer of the seventh century.

^z He means Justin's Trogius Pompeius the historian, whom he confounds with Pompey the Great.

^a "don't look on me as the inventor."

And the lyf of Alysaunder
 Of whom fleigh so riche sklaunder.
 Yif yee willeth yive listnyng
 Now yee shullen here gode thing.
 In somers tyde the day is long;
 Foules syngeth and maketh song
 Kyng Alisaunder y-went is,
 With dukes, erles, and folk of pris,
 With many knighth and doughtty man,
 Toward the cité of Facen;
 After kyng Porus that flowen^b was
 Into the cité of Bandas:
 He wolde wende thorough desert
 Thise wonders to seen apert.
 Gyoures he name^c of the londe
 Fyve thousande I understonde
 That hem shulden lede ryth^d,
 Thorough desert by day and nyth.
 The gyoures loveden the kyng noughth
 And wolden have hym bycaughth:
 Hy ledden hym therfore als I fynde
 In the straungest peryl of Ynde.
 Ac, so ich fynde in the book
 Hy were asshreynt in her crook.
 Now rideth Alisaunder with his ost,
 With mychel pryde and mychel boost;
 Ac ar hy comen to castel, oither toun
 Hy shullen speken another lessoun.
 Lordynges, also I fynde
 At Mede so bigynneth Ynde:
 Forsothe ich woot, it stretcheth ferrest,
 Of alle the londes in the est,
 And oth the south half sikerlyk
 To the cee taketh of Affryk;
 And the north half to a mountayne,
 That is ycleped Caucasyne^e.

^b fled.^c took.^d strait.^e Caucasus.

Forsothe yee shullen understonde
 Twyes is somer in the londe
 And never more wynter ne chalen^f.
 That londe is ful of al wele;
 Twyes hy gaderen fruyt there
 And wyne and corne in one yere.
 In the londe als I fynde, of Ynde
 Ben citès five thousynde;
 Withouten ydles and castles,
 And boroughs tounes swithe feles^g.
 In the londe of Ynde thou might lere
 Nyne thousynde folk of selcouth^h manere
 That ther non is other yliche;
 Ne held thou it noughth ferlich
 Ac by that thou understonde the gestes
 Bethe of man and ek of beestes, &c.

Edward the Second is said to have carried with him to the siege of Stirling castle, in Scotland, a poet named Robert Baston. He was a Carmelite friar of Scarborough; and the king intended that Baston, being an eye-witness of the expedition, should celebrate his conquest of Scotland in verse. Hollingshead, an historian not often remarkable for penetration, mentions this circumstance as a singular proof of Edward's presumption and confidence in his undertaking against Scotland: but a poet seems to have been a stated officer in the royal retinue when the king went to warⁱ. Baston, however, appears to have been chiefly a Latin poet, and therefore does not properly fall into our series. At least his poem on the siege of Striveling castle is written in monkish Latin hexa-

^f chill, cold.

^g very many.

^h uncommon.

ⁱ Leland. Script. Brit. p. 338. Hollingsh. Hist. ii. p. 217. 220. Tanner mentions, as a poet of England, one Gulielmus Peregrinus, who accompanied Richard the First into the Holy Land, and sung his achievements there in a Latin poem, entitled *ODOEPORICON RICARDI REGIS*, lib. i. It is dedicated

to Hurbert archbishop of Canterbury, and Stephen Turnham, a captain in the expedition. He flourished about A.D. 1200. Tann. Bibl. p. 591. See Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 441. He is called "poeta per eam ætatem excellens." See Bal. iii. 45. Pits. 266.

[See Leland. Script. Brit. p. 228. And a note in the editor's first Index, under *GULIELMUS DE CANNO*.—ADDITIONS.]

meters^j: and our royal bard being taken prisoner in the expedition, was compelled by the Scotch to write a panegyric, for his ransom, on Robert Brus, which is composed in the same style and language^k. Bale mentions his *Poemata, et Rhythmi, Tragædiæ et Comædiæ vulgares*^l. Some of these indeed appear to have been written in English: but no English pieces of this author now remain. In the mean time, the bare existence of dramatic compositions in England at this period, even if written in the Latin tongue, deserve notice in investigating the progress of our poetry. For the same reason I must not pass over a Latin piece, called a comedy, written in this reign, perhaps by Peter Babyon; who by Bale is styled an admirable rhetorician and poet, and flourished about the year 1317. This comedy is thus entitled in the Bodleian manuscript, *De Babione et Croceo domino Babionis et Viola filiastra Babionis quam Croceus duxit invito Babione, et Pecula uxore Babionis et Fodio suo, &c.*^m It is written in long and short Latin verses, without any appearance of dialogue. In what manner, if ever, this piece was represented theatrically, cannot easily be discovered or ascertained. Unless we suppose it to have been recited by one or more of the characters concerned, at some public entertainment. The story is in Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS. Whether Gower had it from

^j It is extant in Fordun's Scoti-chron. c. xxiii. l. 12.

^k Leland. ut supr. And MSS. Harl. 1819. Brit. Mus. See also Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 101.

^l Apud Tanner, p. 79.

^m Arch. B. 52.

[It is difficult to account for the decided yet erroneous manner in which Warton has spoken of this piece. In the Cotton manuscript, (Titus A. xx.) the several parts of the dialogue are distinguished by initial capitals; and on the opposite side stand marginal notices of the change of person. Thus: "Babio, Violæ; Viola, Babioni; Fodius, Babioni; Babio, Croceo."—The Comedy of Geta noticed below, and also occurring in the Cotton MS., is founded

on the ancient fable of Jupiter's intrigue with Alcmena. It is in the same style of dialogue with Babio, and has similar marginal directions; such as "Jupiter Alcmenæ; Alcmena Jovi." The line quoted by Warton occurs in what may be called the Prologue. The Cotton MS. affords no clue as to the date of these singular productions. It contains a farrago of rhythmical pieces from the time of Gualo (1160) to Baston and perhaps later. But in France such pieces appear to have been current during the twelfth century. Du Boulay has noticed a tragedy *de Flaura et Marco*, and a comedy called *Alda*, written by William of Blois in the reign of Louis VII. (1137-1180). See Hist. Univ. Par. tom. ii. p. 337.—EDIT.]

this performance I will not enquire. It appears at least that he took it from some previous book.

I find writte of Babio,
Which had a love at his menage,
Ther was no fairer of hir age,
And hight Viola by name, &c.
And had affaited to his hande
His servant, the which Spodius
Was hote, &c.
A fresh a free and friendly man, &c.
Which Croceus by name hight, &c.ⁿ

In the mean time it seems most probable, that this piece has been attributed to Peter Babyon, on account of the likeness of the name BABIO, especially as he is a ridiculous character. On the whole, there is nothing dramatic in the structure of this nominal comedy; and it has certainly no claim to that title, only as it contains a familiar and comic story carried on with much scurrilous satire intended to raise mirth. But it was not uncommon to call any short poem, not serious or tragic, a comedy. In the Bodleian manuscript, which comprehends Babyon's poem just mentioned, there follows COMEDIA DE GETA: this is in Latin long and short verses^o, and has no marks of dialogue^p. In the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge, is a piece entitled COMEDIA *ad monasterium de Hulme ordinis S. Benedicti Dioces. Norwic. directa ad Reformationem sequentem, cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477, et a morte Joannis Fastolfe militis eorum benefactoris^q precipui 17, in cujus monasterii ecclesia humatur^r*. This is nothing more than a satyrical ballad in Latin; yet

ⁿ Lib. v. f. 109. b. Edit. Berth. 1554.

^o Carmina composuit, voluitque placere poeta.

^p f. 121.

^q In the episcopal palace at Norwich is a curious piece of old wainscot brought from the monastery of Hulme at the time of its dissolution. Among other antique ornaments are the arms of Sir John Falstaff, their principal benefactor. This magnificent knight was also a benefactor

to Magdalene College in Oxford. He bequeathed estates to that society, part of which were appropriated to buy liveries for some of the senior scholars. But this benefaction, in time, yielding no more than a penny a week to the scholars who received the liveries, they were called, by way of contempt, *Falstaff's buckrammen*.

^r Miscell. M. p. 274.

some allegorical personages are introduced, which however are in no respect accommodated to scenical representation. About the reign of Edward the Fourth, one Edward Watson, a scholar in grammar at Oxford, is permitted to proceed to a degree in that faculty, on condition that within two years he would write one hundred verses in praise of the university, and also compose a COMEDY^s. The nature and subject of Dante's COMEDY, as it is styled, is well known*. The comedies ascribed to Chaucer are probably his Canterbury Tales. We learn from Chaucer's own words, that tragic tales were called TRAGEDIES. In the Prologue to the MONKES TALE—

TRAGEDY is to tell a certaine story,
As old bokis makin ofte memory,
Of hem that stode in grete prosperite,
And be fallen out of her high degree, &c.^t

Some of these, the Monke adds, were written in prose, others in metre. Afterwards follow many tragical narratives: of which he says,

TRAGIDIES first wol I tell
Of which I have an *hundred* in my cell.

Lidgate further confirms what is here said with regard to comedy as well as tragedy.

My maister Chaucer with fresh COMEDIES,
Is dead, alas! chief poet of Britaine:
That whilom made ful piteous TRAGEDIES^u.

The stories in the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES are called TRA-

^s Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. 4. col. 2.

* [In the dedication of his *Paradise* to Can della Scala, Dante thus explains his own views of Tragedy and Comedy: "Est comœdia genus quoddam poeticæ narrationis ab omnibus aliis differens. Differt ergo in materia a tragœdia per hoc, quod tragœdia in principio est admirabilis et quieta, in fine sive exitu, fœtida et horribilis.....Comœdia vero inchoat asperitatem alicujus rei, sed ejus materiam prospere terminatur.—Similiter differunt *in modo loquendi*." He has also expatiated upon the distinctive styles pe-

culiar to such compositions, in his treatise "De vulgari Eloquentia;" though his precepts when opposed to his practice have proved a sad stumbling-block to the critics: "Per Tragœdiam superiorem stylum induimus, per Comœdiam inferiorem.... Si tragice canenda vicentur, tum adsumendum est vulgare illustre. Si vero comice, tum quandoque mediocre, quandoque humile vulgare sumatur." Lib. ii. c. iv.—EDIT.]

^t v. 85. See also, *ibid.* v. 103. 786. 875.

^u Prol. F. Pr. v. i. See also Chaucer's *Troil. and Cr.* v. 1785. 1787.

GEDIES, so late as the sixteenth century^v. Bale calls his play, or MYSTERY, of GOD'S PROMISES, a TRAGEDY, which appeared about the year 1538.

I must however observe here, that dramatic entertainments, representing the lives of saints and the most eminent scriptural stories, were known in England for more than two centuries before the reign of Edward the Second. These spectacles they commonly styled MIRACLES. I have already mentioned the play of saint Catharine, acted at Dunstable about the year 1110^x. William Fitz-Stephen, a writer of the twelfth

^v The elegant Fontenelle mentions one Parasols a Limosin, who wrote *Cinque belles TRAGEDIES des gestes de Jeanne reine de Naples*, about the year 1383. Here he thinks he has discovered, so early as the fourteenth century, "une Poete tragique." I have never seen these five Tragedies, nor perhaps had Fontenelle. But I will venture to pronounce, that they are nothing more than five tragical narratives: Queen Jane murdered her four husbands, and was afterwards put herself to death. See Fontenelle's *Hist. de Theatr. Fr. Œuvr.* tom. trois. p. 20. edit. Paris, 1742. 12mo. Nor can I believe that the *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, as they are called, of Anselm Fayditt, and other early troubadours, had any thing dramatic. It is worthy of notice, that Pope Clement the Seventh rewarded Parasols for his five *tragedies* with two canonries. Compare *Recherches sur les Theatr. de France*, par M. de Beauchamps, Paris, 1735. 4to. p. 65.

^x DISSERTATION ii.

[Perhaps the plays of Roswitha, a nun of Gandersheim in Lower Saxony, who lived towards the close of the tenth century, afford the earliest specimens of dramatic composition, since the decline of the Roman Empire. They were professedly written for the benefit of those Christians, who, abjuring all other heathen writers, were irresistibly attracted by the graces of Terence, to the imminent danger of their spiritual welfare and the certain pollution of their moral feelings. Roswitha appears to have been impressed with a hope, that by contrasting the laudable chastity of Christian virtue as exhibited in her composi-

tions, with what she is pleased to term the lewd voluptuousness of the Grecian females, the Catholic world might be induced to forget the antient classic; and to receive with avidity an orthodox substitute, combining the double advantage of pleasure and instruction. How far her expectations were gratified in this latter particular, it is impossible to say; but we can easily conceive, that the almost total obliviscence of the Roman author during the succeeding ages, must have surpassed even her sanguine wishes. It does not appear that these dramas were either intended for representation, or exhibited at any subsequent period. They have been published twice: by Conrad Celtes in 1501, and Leonhard Schurzfleisch in 1707. They have also been analysed by Gottsched in his *Materials for a History of the German Stage*. Leip. 1757.—Pez (in his *Thesaur. Noviss. Anecd.* vol. ii. p. iii. f. 185) has published an ancient Latin Mystery, entitled "De Adventu et Interitu Antichristi," and which he acknowledges to have copied from a manuscript of the twelfth century. It approaches nearer to the character of a pageant, than to the dramatic cast of the later mysteries. The dumb show appears to have been considerable; the dialogue but occasional; and ample scope is given for the introduction of pomp and decoration. The passages to be declaimed are written in Latin rhyme. Lebeuf also mentions a Latin Mystery written so early as the time of Henry I. of France (1031—1061). In this, Virgil is associated with the prophets who come to offer their adorations to the new-born Messiah; and at the

century, in his DESCRIPTION OF LONDON, relates that, "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has holy plays, or the representation of miracles wrought by confessors, and of the sufferings of martyrs^y." These pieces must have been in high vogue at our present period; for Matthew Paris, who wrote about the year 1240, says that they were such as "MIRACULA VULGARITER APPELLAMUS^z." And we learn from Chaucer, that

conclusion he joins his voice with theirs in singing a long *Benedicamus*. A fragment of what may be a German translation of the same mystery, and copied from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, will be found in Dieterich's *Specimen Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, p. 122. Marburg 1642. But here, Virgil appears as an acknowledged heathen; and he is only admitted with the other prophets from his supposed predictions of the coming Messiah contained in his *Pollio*. In conformity with this opinion, Dante adopted him as his guide in the *Inferno*.—EDIT.]

^y "Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum." Ad calc. STOWE'S SURVEY OF LONDON, p. 480. edit. 1599. The reader will observe, that I have construed *sanctiores* in a positive sense. Fitz-Stephen mentions at the end of his tract, "Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam. &c." p. 483. Henry the Third did not accede till the year 1216. Perhaps he implied *futurum regem tertium*. [Fitz-Stephen is speaking of Henry the younger, son of Henry II. and grandson to the empress Matilda, who was crowned king in the lifetime of his father; and is expressly styled *Henricus Tertius* by Matthew Paris, William of Newbery, and several other of our early historians.—RITSON.]

^z Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639.

[William de Wadigton (who possibly was a contemporary of Matthew Paris) has left a violent tirade against this general practice of acting Miracles. As it contains some curious particulars relative to the manner in which they

were conducted, and the places selected for exhibiting them, an extract from it may not be out of place here.

Un autre folie apert
Unt les fols clers cuntrové;
Qe miracles sunt apelé.
Lur faces unt la deguise,
Par visers li forsene,
Qe est defendu en decree;
Tant est plus grant lur peché.
Fere poent representement,
Mes qe ceo seït chastement.
En office de seint eglise
Quant hom fet la, Deu servise.
Cum Ihu Crist le fiz Dee,
En sepulcre esteit posé;
Et la resurrectiun :
Par plus aver devociun.
Mes fere foles assemblez,
En les rues des citez,
Ou en cymiters apres mangiers,
Quant venent les fols volonters,
Tut dient qe il le funt pur bien :
Crere ne les devez pur rien,
Qe fet seït pur le honur de Dee.
E iuz del Deable pur verité.
Seint Ysidre me ad testimonie,
Qe fut si bon clerc lettré.
Il dit qe cil qe funt spectacles,
Cum lem fet en miracles,
Ou iuz qe vus nomames einz,
Burdiz ou turnemens,
Lur baptesme unt refusez,
E Deu de ciel reneiez, &c.
Ke en lur iuz se delitera,
Chevals ou harneis les apresterá,
Vesture ou autre ournement,
Sachez il fet folement.
Si vestemens serent dediez,
Plus grant dassez est le pechez.
Si prestre ou clerc le ust preste,
Bien dust estre chaustie;
Car sacrilege est pur verité.
E ki par vanité les verrunt,
De lur fet partaverunt.

Harl. MS. 273. f. 141.—EDIT.]

in his time PLAYS of MIRACLES were the common resort of idle gossips in Lent.

Therefore made I my visitations,
To prechings eke and to pilgrimagis,
To PLAYS of MIRACLES, and mariagis, &c.^a

This is the genial WIFE OF BATH, who amuses herself with these fashionable diversions, while her husband is absent in London, during the holy season of Lent. And in PIERCE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these MIRACLES as not less frequented than markets or taverns.

We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten,
Att markets and MIRACLES we medeley us never^b.

Among the plays usually represented by the guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, on that festival, LUDUS FILIORUM ISRAELIS was acted in the year 1355^c. Our drama seems hitherto to have been almost entirely confined to religious subjects, and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the times. I do not find expressly, that any play on a profane subject, either tragic or comic, had as yet been exhibited in England. Our very

^a Prol. Wif. B. v. 555. p. 80. Urr.

^b Signat. A. iii. b. edit. 1561.

^c Masters's Hist. C. C. C. C. p. 5. vol. i. [Perhaps the earliest English *Miracle-Play* extant, is "Our Saviours Descent into Hell," noticed by Mr. Strutt in his "Manners and Customs of the People of England," vol. 2. It has been recently transcribed for publication from a MS. temp. Edward II. Mr. Croft in his "Excerpta Antiqua" has given a specimen of the Corpus Christi pageant as it was exhibited at York in the thirteenth century.—EDIT.] What was the antiquity of the *Guary-Miracle*, or *Miracle-Play* in Cornwall, has not been determined. In the Bodleian library are three Cornish interludes, written on parchment. B. 40. Art. In the same library there is also another, written on paper in the year 1611. Arch. B. 31.

Of this last there is a translation in the British Museum. MSS. Harl. 1867. 2. It is entitled the CREATION OF THE WORLD. It is called a Cornish play or opera, and said to be written by Mr. William Jordan. The translation into English was made by John Keigwin of Moushole in Cornwall, at the request of Trelawney, bishop of Exeter, 1691. Of this William Jordan I can give no account. In the British Museum there is an antient Cornish poem on the death and resurrection of Christ. It is on vellum, and has some rude pictures. The beginning and end are lost. The writing is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. MSS. Harl. 1782. 4to. See the learned Lwhyd's Archæol. Brit. p. 265. And Borlase's Cornwall, Nat. Hist. p. 295. edit. 1758.

early ancestors scarce knew any other history than that of their religion. Even on such an occasion as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into the city of London, or other places, the pageants were almost entirely Scriptural^d. Yet I must observe, that an article in one of the pipe-rolls, perhaps of the reign of king John, and consequently about the year 1200, seems to place the rudiments of histrionic exhibition, I mean of general subjects, at a much higher period among us than is commonly imagined. It is in these words: "Nicola uxor Gerardi de Canvill, reddit computum de centum marcis pro maritanda Matildi filia sua cuicunque voluerit, exceptis MIMICIS regis^e." — "Nicola, wife of Gerard of Canville, accounts to the king for one hundred marks for the privilege of marrying his [her] daughter Maud to whatever person she pleases, the king's MIMICS excepted." Whether or no MIMICI REGIS are here a sort of players kept in the king's household for diverting the court at stated seasons, at least with performances of mimicry and masquerade, or whether they may not strictly imply MINSTRELLS, I cannot indeed determine. Yet we may remark, that MIMICUS is never used for MIMUS, that certain theatrical entertainments called mascarades, as we shall see below, were very antient among the French, and that these MIMICI appear, by the context of this article, to have been persons of no very respectable character^f. I likewise find in the wardrobe-rolls of Edward the Third, in the year 1348, an account of the dresses, *ad faciendum LUDOS domini regis ad ffestum Natalis domini celebratos apud Guldeford*, for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in the castle of Guildford at the feast

^d When our Henry the Sixth entered Paris in 1431, in the quality of king of France, he was met at the gate of Saint Denis by a Dumb Shew, representing the birth of the Virgin Mary and her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, and the parable of the sower. This pageant indeed was given by the French: but the readers of Hollingshead will recollect many instances im-

mediately to our purpose. See Monstrelet. apud Fonten. Hist. Theatr. ut supr. p. 37.

^e Rot. incert. ut videtur Reg. Johann. Apud MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vii. p. 104.

^f John of Salisbury, who wrote about 1160, says, "Histriones et mimi non possunt recipere sacram communio-nem." POLICRAT. i. 8.

of Christmas^g. In these LUDI, says my record, were expended eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes, that is, fourteen of the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beards, fourteen of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests^h, fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons: fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourteen heads of swans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, fourteen tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silverⁱ. In the rolls of the wardrobe of king Richard the Second, in the year 1391, there is also an entry which seems to point out a sport of much the same nature. “Pro xxi coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis pro LUDO regis tempore natalis domini anno xii^k.” That is, “for twenty-one linen coifs for counterfeiting men of the law in the king’s play at Christmas.” It will be sufficient to add here on the last record, that the serjeants at law at their creation, antiently wore a cap of linen, lawn, or silk, tied under the chin: this was to distinguish them from the clergy who had the tonsure. Whether in both these

^g Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magnæ Garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. I. ad ann. 23. Membr. ix.

^h I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place. viz. “xiiij Crestes cum tibiis reversatis et calceatis, xiiij Crestes cum montibus et cuniculis.” Among the stuffs are “viii pelles de Roan.” In the same wardrobe rolls, a little above, I find this entry, which relates to the same festival. “Et ad faciendum vi pennecellos pro tubis et clarionibus contra ffestum natalis domini, de syndone, vapulatos de armis regis quartellatis.” Membr. ix.

ⁱ Some perhaps may think, that these were dresses for a MASQUE at court. If so, Hollingshead is mistaken in saying, that in the year 1512, “on the daie of Epiphanie at night, the king with eleven others were disguised after the manner of Italie called a maske, a thing not seen before in England. They were

apparelled in garments long and broad wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold,” &c. Hist. vol. iii. p. 812. a. 40. Besides, these maskings most probably came to the English, if from Italy, through the medium of France. Hollingshead also contradicts himself: for in another place he seems to allow their existence under our Henry the Fourth, A. D. 1400. “The conspirators ment upon the sudden to have set upon the king in the castell of Windsor, under colour of a maske or mummerie,” &c. ibid. p. 515. b. 50. Strype says there were PAGEAUNTS exhibited in London when queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236. And for the victory over the Scots by Edward the First in 1298. Anecd. Brit. Topograph. p. 725. Lond. edit. 1768.

^k Comp. Magn. Garderob. an. 14. Ric. II. f. 193. b.

instances we are to understand a dumb shew, or a dramatic interlude with speeches, I leave to the examination of those who are professedly making enquiries into the history of our stage from its rudest origin. But that plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of entertainment in the royal palaces of England, at least at the commencement of the fifteenth century, may be collected from an old memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, in the palace of Westminster. It is in the year 1489. "This cristmas I saw no disguysings, and but *right few* PLAYS. But ther was an abbot of Misrule, that made much sport, and did right well his office." And again, "At nyght the kynge, the qweene, and my ladye the kynges moder, cam into the Whitehall, and ther hard a PLAY¹."

As to the religious dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy festivals in or about the churches. In the register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited, against the exhibition of SPECTACULA in the cemetery of his cathedral^m. Whether or no these were dramatic SPECTACLES, I do not pretend to decide. In several of our old scriptural plays, we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubric in the missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribeⁿ. "In the dayes of cere-

¹ Leland. Coll. iii. Append. p. 256. edit. 1770.

^m Registr. lib. iii. f. 88. "Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum *spectacula* facere, saltationes et alios ludos inhonestos frequentare, choreas," &c. So in Statut. Eccles. Nannett. A.D. 1405. No "mimi vel joculariores, ad *monstra larvarum* in ecclesia et cemeterio," are permitted. Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. iv. p. 993. And again, "Joculatores, histriones, saltatrices, in ecclesia, cemeterio, vel porticu.—nec aliquæ choreæ." Statut.

Synod. Eccles. Leod. A.D. 1287. apud Marten. ut supr. p. 846. Fontenelle says, that antiently among the French, comedies were acted after divine service, in the church-yard. "Au sortir du sermon ces bonnes gens alloient a la *Comedie*, c'est a dire, qu'ils changeoint de Sermon." Hist. Theatr. ut supr. p. 24. But these were scriptural comedies, and they were constantly preceded by a BENEDICTE, by way of prologue, The French stage will occur again below.

ⁿ Pag. 459. edit. 1730. 4to.

monial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a shew, or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once sawe in Poule's church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntide; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Gost was set forthe by a white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the roofe of the greate ile, and by a longe censer which descendinge out of the same place almost to the verie grounde, was swunged up and downe at suche a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathinge out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome shewes also, they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the nativitie, passion, and ascension," &c.

This practice of acting plays in churches, was at last grown to such an enormity, and attended with such inconvenient consequences, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth, Bonner, bishop of London, issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting "all maner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels," &c.^o This fashion seems to have remained even after the Reformation, and when perhaps profane stories had taken place of religious^p. Archbishop

^o Burnet, Hist. Ref. i. Coll. Rec. pag. 225.

^p From a puritanical pamphlet entitled
THE THIRD BLAST OF RETRAIT FROM

Grindal, in the year 1563, remonstrated against the danger of interludes: complaining that players “did especially on holy days, set up bills inviting to their play^q.” From this ecclesiastical source of the modern drama, plays continued to be acted on sundays so late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles the First, by the choristers or singing-boys of Saint Paul’s cathedral in London, and of the royal chapel.

It is certain, that these MIRACLE-PLAYS were the first of our dramatic exhibitions. But as these pieces frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called MORALITIES. The miracle-plays, or MYSTERIES, were totally destitute of invention or plan: they tamely represented stories according to the letter of scripture, or the respective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatic art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious. It may be also observed, that many licentious pleasantries were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy, and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Mystery^r of the MASSACRE OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous council of Constance, in the year 1417^s, a low buffoon of Herod’s court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem.

PLAIES, &c. 1580. 12mo. p. 77. Where the author says, the players are “permitted to publish their mamettrie in everie temple of God, and that, throughout England,” &c. This abuse of acting plays in churches is mentioned in the canon of James the First, which for-

bids also the profanation of churches by court-leets, &c. The canons were given in the year 1603.

^q Strype’s Grindall, p. 82.

^r MSS. Digb. 134. Bibl. Bodl.

^s L’Enfant. ii. 440.

This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy. It is in an enlightened age only that subjects of scripture history would be supported with proper dignity. But then an enlightened age would not have chosen such subjects for theatrical exhibition. It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comic and the serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, composed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *the Old and New Testament*^t,

^t MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that city. *The Fall of Lucifer* by the Tanners. *The Creation* by the Drapers. *The Deluge* by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedech, and Lot* by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam* by the Cap-pers. *The Salutation and Nativity* by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night* by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings* by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings* by the Mercers. *The Killing of the Innocents* by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification* by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation* by the Butchers. *The last Supper* by the Bakers. *The Blindmen and Lazarus* by

the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers* by the Corvesarys. *Christ's Passion* by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into Hell* by the Cooks and Inn-keepers. *The Resurrection* by the Skinners. *The Ascension* by the Taylors. *The election of S. Mathias, Sending of the holy ghost, &c.* by the Fishmongers. *Antechrist* by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment* by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these COMBINATIONS. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play:—God enters creating the world: he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his

Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness: this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the

fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis quibus tegamus Pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter: The former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished, &c.

[A few brief extracts from this collection will be found in the second volume of Mr. Strutt's "Manners and Customs of the People of England," and in Mr. Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (co. Cheshire). See also Mr. Ormerod's *Hist. of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 296.—The contradictions in the Chester registers, which record the exhibition of these plays, have caused a diversity of opinion as to the period of their appearance, and the name of their author. If Sir John Arnwaie were mayor of Chester in the year 1269, "in [which] yere," it is said, "the Whitson plays were invented in Chester by one Rondoll Higden, a monk in the Abby of Chester," (Harl. MS. 2125. f. 272 verso) it is very evident that they could not have been written by the same Randall Higden who continued the *Polychronicon* to 1344, and whose death is placed by Bale in 1363. There are, however, some suspicious circumstances attending the document which contains this statement, that render its accuracy extremely questionable. It professes to be a catalogue of Mayors from the 24th of Henry III. which however it dates in the year 1257—a trifling error of seventeen years,

—it acknowledges a difference of chronology from all preceding registers, which it justifies by the stale device of having consulted "true and ancient deeds;" and it attempts to invalidate the accounts generally received, by saying they were all compiled *so late* as the reign of Edward III. The document itself is of the seventeenth century; and as the Chester antiquaries have been unable to adduce any collateral testimonial favouring its authenticity, it may not be too much to affirm: that the whole account bears strong internal marks of being a blundering attempt to fill a vacancy in the Chester annals between the reigns of Henry and Edward. The existence of one John Arnwaie at this period (noticed by Mr. Ormerod), who be it observed is styled neither knight nor mayor of Chester, can hardly be considered as corroborative evidence. If we reject the authority of this catalogue, the chronological discrepancies become trifling. Sir John Arnwaie and Randall Higden are then made contemporaries; and the later traditions—for such they seem to be—may easily be reconciled with historical facts. In Geo. Bellen's *Catalogue of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Chester*, from 1317 to 1622, (Harl. MS. 2125. f. 197.) we find it stated under the year 1327, when Sir John Arnwaie was mayor: The Whitson playes first made by one Dan Randall [Higgenett] a moonke of Chester Abbey [who was thrise at Rome before he could obtayn leave of the Pope to have them in the English tonge]. The passages within brackets appear to be the additions of a later hand. In the Harl. MS. 1948. f. 48, it is also said, under the year 1339,—that one Randall Higden, a monk in the Abbaye of Chester, did translate the same (Whitson

sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity: and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.

In the mean time, profane dramas seem to have been known in France at a much earlier period^u. Du Cange gives the following picture of the king of France dining in public before the year 1300. During this ceremony, a sort of farces or drolls seems to have been exhibited. All the great officers of the crown and the houshold, says he, were present. The

playes) into Englishe. The plays accord with this declaration, and attribute the authorship to one Don Rondall. A proclamation bound up with them, and bearing date 24th Henry VIII. (1533) assigns their first appearance to the mayoralty of John Arnwaie, though it contains the following notice of the author: "a play...was devised and made by one Sir Henry Frances sometyne Moonck of this monastery dissolved who obtayning and gat of Clemant then bushop of Rome a 1000 dayes of pardon and of the bushop of Chester at that tyme 40 dayes of pardon...to every person resorting in peaceable maner with good devotion to heare and see the sayd playes," &c.—In all these accounts the tradition is consistent, that the mysteries originated during the mayoralty of Sir John Arnwaie; and, with the exception of the last-mentioned document, that they were written by Don Randall or Randoll Higden. To this assertion of the proclamation, we can oppose the decided testimony of the prologue to the plays; and Mr. Lysons has suggested an easy solution of the difficulty, by supposing Frances to have been instrumental only in procuring the indulgence from Pope Clement. This, if obtained of Clement VI. (as there is every reason to believe), must have occurred between the years 1342-1352; and the distance of time would account for the confusion of his labours with those of Higden. There is nothing improbable in the statement that Higden translated these plays from the Latin; though his journeys to Rome, enshrined as they are in the mystic number three, savour strongly of traditionary

exaggeration. Perhaps in this we have the counterpart to the narrative in the proclamation; for the equity of tradition rather delights in awarding reciprocal compensations, than in restoring to the contending claimants their original property.—EDIT.]

^u John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century, speaking of the common diversions of his time, says, "Nostra ætas prolapsa ad fabulas et quævis inania, non modo aures et cor prostituit vanitati," &c. POLICRAT. i. 8. An ingenious French writer, Mons. Duclos, thinks that PLAYS are here implied. By the word *Fabula*, says he, something more is signified than dances, gesticulation, and simple dialogue. *Fable* properly means composition, and an arrangement of things which constitute an action. Mem. Acad. Inscr. xvii. p. 224. 4to. But perhaps *fabula* has too vague and general a sense, especially in its present combination with *quævis inania*, to bear so precise and critical an interpretation. I will add, that if this reasoning be true, the words will be equally applicable to the English stage.—At Constantinople it seems that the stage flourished much under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 540. For in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress *μη αναχαρσειν της πορνειας*. Tom. vii. p. 682. edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The antient Greek fathers, particularly saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama: and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the Gospel.

company was entertained with the instrumental music of the minstrells, who played on the kettle-drum, the flagellet^w, the cornet, the Latin cittern, the Bohemian flute, the trumpet, the Moorish cittern, and the fiddle. Besides there were “des FARCEURS, des jongleurs, et des plaisantins, qui divertisseoient les compagnies par leur faceties et par leur COMEDIES, pour l’entretien.” He adds, that many noble families in France were entirely ruined by the prodigious expences lavished on those performers^x. The annals of France very early mention buffoons among the minstrells at these solemnities; and more particularly that Louis le Debonnaire, who reigned about the year 830, never laughed aloud, not even when at the most magnificent festivals, players, buffoons, minstrels, singers, and harpers, attended his table^y. In some constitutions given to a cathedral church in France, in the year 1280, the following clause occurs. “Nullus SPECTACULIS aliquibus quæ aut in *Nuptiis* aut in *Scenis* exhibentur, intersit^z.” Where, by the way, the word *Scenis* seems to imply somewhat of a professed stage, although the establishment of the first French theatre is dated not before the year 1398.*

^w I believe, a sort of pipe. This is the French word, viz. Demy-canon. See Carpent. Du Cange, Gl. Lat. i. p. 760.

^x Dissertat. Joinv. p. 161. ^y Ibid.

^z Montfauc. Cat. Manuscrip. p. 1158. See also Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iv. p. 506. Stat. Synod. A.D. 1468. “*Larvaria ad Nuptias, &c.*” Stowe, in his SURVEY OF LONDON, mentions the practice of acting plays at weddings.

* [A modern French antiquary (M. Roquefort) has claimed a much higher antiquity for the establishment or rather origin of the French stage; though upon principles, it must be allowed, which have a decided tendency to confound all distinctions between the several kinds of poetic composition. The beautiful tale of Aucassin and Nicolette, is the corner stone upon which this theory reposes; and which, as the narrative is interspersed with song, seems to have induced a belief, that the recitations were made by a single Trouvere, and the poetry chaunted by a band of attendant minstrels. Ad-

mitting this to be the case—yet for which no authority is offered—the approximation to dramatic composition is equally remote as when left in the hands of a solitary declaimer. Upon this ground every ballad, or romantic tale, which is known to have been accompanied by music and the voice, might be styled “a monument of theatric art;” and by analogy the rhapsodists of Greece, who sang the Iliad at the public games, might be said to have “enacted the plays” of Homer. Nor is the argument in favour of the *Jeux-partis*, or such fabliaux as the *deux Bordeors ribauds*, in any degree more admissible. In all these pieces there is nothing more than a simple interchange of opinion, whether argumentative or vituperative, without pretension to incident, fable, or development of character. Indeed, if a multiplicity of interlocutors would alone constitute a drama, the claim of Wolfram von Eschenbach to be the founder of the German stage (as some of his countrymen have main-

The play of ROBIN and MARIAN is said to have been performed by the school-boys of Angiers, according to annual custom, in the year 1392^a. A royal carousal given by Charles the Fifth of France to the emperor Charles the Fourth, in the year 1378, was closed with the theatrical representation of the *Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign*, which was ex-

tained) would be undeniable. In his "Krieg auf Wartburg," a singular monument of early (1207) improvisatorial skill, the declaimers in the first part are six and in the second three Master or Minne-singers. But this poem, like the *Tensons* of the Troubadours, is a mere trial of poetical ingenuity, and bears a strong resemblance both in matter and manner to the *Torneyamens* of the same writers. That it was not considered a play in earlier times, is clear from an illumination published by Mr. Docen; where the actors in this celebrated contest are represented seated and singing together, and above them is this decisive inscription: Hie krieget mit sange, Herr walther von der vogilweide, &c. *Here bataileth in song, &c.* However, should this theory obtain, Solomon, bishop of Constance in the tenth century, will perhaps rank as the earliest dramatist at present known: *Metro primus et coram Regibus plerumque pro ludicro cum aliis certator.* Ekkehardus de Casibus S. Galli, p. 49.—EDIT.]

^a The boys were *deguisiez*, says the old French record: and they had among them *un Fillette desguisee*. Carpent. ubi supr. V. ROBINET. PENTECOSTE. Our old character of MAYD MARIAN may be hence illustrated. It seems to have been an early fashion in France for school-boys to present these shews or plays. In an antient manuscript, under the year 1477, there is mentioned "Certaine MORALITE, ou FARCE, que les escolliers de Pontoise avoit fait, ainsi qu'il est de coutume." Carpent. ubi supr. V. MORALITAS. The MYSTERY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT is said to have been represented in 1424, by the boys of Paris placed like statues against a wall, without speech or motion, at the entry of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. See J. de Paris, p. 101. And Sauval, Ant. de Paris, ii. 101.

[*Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, the piece alluded to in the text, has been analysed by M. le Grand in the second volume of his "Fabliaux et Contes." It is there called *Le Jeu du Berger et de la Bergere*, and by him attributed to Adan de le Hale, nicknamed le Boçu d'Arras. In this he is followed by M. Meon, the editor of Barbazan's Fabliaux, who also ascribes to the same author a play called *Le Jeu du Mariage*. M. Roquefort catalogues "Robin et Marion" among the works of Jehan Bodel d'Arras, the author of three plays called *Le Jeu de Pelegrin*, *Le Jeu d'Adam ou de la Feuillée*, *Le Jeu de St. Nicholas*; and a mystery called *Le Miracle de Theophile*. This latter may be the same referred to below. Adan de la Hale appears to have lived in the early part of the thirteenth century (Roquefort, p. 103), and Jehan Bodel during the reign of Saint Louis (1226-70). These perhaps are the earliest specimens extant of any thing resembling dramatic composition in the French language. It is true M. de la Rue (Archæol. vol. xiv.) has noticed an early drama, which from finding it bound up with a sermon written by Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (in 1207), he is disposed to attribute to that prelate. But the outline he has given of its contents clearly shows it to be nothing more than a dramatic disposition of the same arguments, which fill the "Chateau d'Amour" quoted above. We have there seen, that the author professes to follow an original of some kind by Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, Langton's contemporary; and unless we choose to reject this statement as fictitious, M. de la Rue's conjecture as to the author of the drama becomes more than doubtful. The primate, who was a man of considerable learning, would hardly have dramatized for vulgar readers the mystic rhapsodies of his erudite suffragan.—EDIT.]

hibited in the hall of the royal palace^b. This indeed was a subject of a religious tendency; but not long afterwards, in the year 1395, perhaps before, the interesting story of PATIENT GRISILDE appears to have been acted at Paris. This piece still remains, and is entitled *Le MYSTERE de Grisildis marquise de Saluce*^c. For all dramatic pieces were indiscriminately called MYSTERIES, whether a martyr or a heathen god, whether saint Catharine or Hercules was the subject.

In France the religious MYSTERIES, often called PITEAUX, or PITOUX, were certainly very fashionable, and of high antiquity: yet from any written evidence, I do not find them more antient than those of the English. In the year 1384, the inhabitants of the village of Aunay, on the Sunday after the feast of Saint John, played the MIRACLE of Theophilus, “ou quel Jeu avoit un personnage de un qui devoit getter d’un canon^d.” In the year 1398, some citizens of Paris met at Saint Maur to play the PASSION of CHRIST. The magistrates of Paris, alarmed at this novelty, published an ordonnance, prohibiting them to represent “aucuns jeux de personages soit de vie de saints ou autrement,” without the royal licence, which was soon afterwards obtained^e. In the year 1486, at Anjou, ten pounds were paid towards supporting the charges of acting the PASSION of CHRIST, which was represented by masks, and, as I suppose, by persons hired for the purpose^f. The chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave four pounds and ten shillings to the PLAYERS of the PASSION^g. But the French MYSTERIES

^b Felib. tom. ii. p. 681.

^c It has been printed, more than once, in the black letter. Beauchamps, p. 110.

^d Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange Lat. Gl. V. LUDUS.

^e Beauchamps, ut supr. p. 90. This was the first theatre of the French: the actors were incorporated by the king, under the title of the *Fraternity of the Passion of our Saviour*. Beauch. ibid. See above, Sect. ii. p. 95. n. The *Jeu de personages* was a very common play of the young boys in the larger towns, &c. Carpentier, ut supr. V. PERSONAGIUM.

And LUDUS PERSONAG. At Cambray mention is made of the shew of a boy *larvatus cum maza in collo* with drums, &c. Carpent. ib. V. KALENDÆ JANUAR.

^f “Decem libr. ex parte nationis, ad onera supportanda hujus Misterii.” Carpent. ut supr. V. PERSONAGIUM.

^g Carpent. ut supr. V. LUDUS. Who adds, from an antient Computus, that three shillings were paid by the ministers of a church, in the year 1537, for parchment, for writing LUDUS RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.

were chiefly performed by the religious communities, and some of their FETES almost entirely consisted of a dramatic or personated shew. At the FEAST of ASSES, instituted in honour of Baalam's Ass, the clergy walked on Christmas day in procession, habited to represent the prophets and others. Moses appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and rod. David had a green vestment. Baalam with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass, which inclosed a speaker. There were also six Jews and six Gentiles. Among other characters the poet Virgil was introduced as a gentile prophet and a translator of the Sibylline oracles. They thus moved in procession, chanting versicles, and conversing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Christ, through the body of the church, till they came into the choir. Virgil speaks some Latin hexameters, during the ceremony, not out of his fourth eclogue, but wretched monkish lines in rhyme. This feast was, I believe, early suppressed^h. In the year 1445, Charles the Seventh of France ordered the masters in Theology at Paris to forbid the ministers of the collegiateⁱ churches to celebrate at Christmas the FEAST of FOOLS in their churches, where the clergy danced in masques and antic dresses, and exhibited *plusieurs mocqueries spectacles publics, de leur corps deguisements, farces, rigmereis*, with various enormities shocking to decency. In France as well as England it was customary to celebrate the feast of the boy-bishop. In all the collegiate churches of both nations, about the feast of Saint Nicholas, or the Holy

^h See p. 43.

ⁱ Marten. Anecd. tom. i. col. 1804. See also Belet. de Divin. offic. cap. 72. And Gussanvill. post. Not. ad Petr. Blesens. Felibien confounds *La Fete de Fous et la Fete de Sotise*. The latter was an entertainment of dancing called *Les Saultes*, and thence corrupted into *Soties* or *Sotise*. See Mem. Acad. Inscript. xvii. 225, 226. See also Probat. Hist. Antissiodor. p. 310. Again, the *Feast of Fools* seems to be pointed at in Statut. Senonens. A. D. 1445. Instr. tom. xii. Gall. Christian. Coll. 96. "Tempore

divini servitii larvatos et monstruosos vultus deferendo, cum vestibus mulierum, aut lenonum, aut histrionum, choreas in ecclesia et choro ejus ducendo," &c. With the most immodest spectacles. The nuns of some French convents are said to have had *Ludibria* on saint Mary Magdalene's and other festivals, when they wore the habits of seculars, and danced with them. Carpent. ubi supr. V. KALENDÆ. There was the office of *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church, prohibited 1391. Dugd. Mon. iii. Append. 7.

Innocents, one of the children of the choir completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, bore the title and state of a bishop, and exacted canonical obedience from his fellows, who were dressed like priests. They took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices^j, the mass excepted, which might have been celebrated by the bishop and his prebendaries^k. In the statutes of the archiepiscopal cathedral of Tullies, given in the year 1497, it is said, that during the celebration of the festival of the boy-bishop, "MORALITIES were presented, and shews of MIRACLES, with farces and other sports, but compatible with decorum.—After dinner they exhibited, without their masks, but in proper dresses, such farces as they were masters of, in different parts of the city^l." It is probable that the same entertainments attended the solemnisation of this ridiculous festival in England^m: and from this supposition some

^j In the statutes of Eton-college, given 1441, the EPISCOPUS PUERORUM is ordered to perform divine service on saint Nicholas's day. Rubr. xxxi. In the statutes of Winchester-college, given 1380, PUERI, that is the boy-bishop and his fellows, are permitted on Innocent's-day, to execute all the sacred offices in the chapel, according to the use of the church of Sarum. Rubr. xxix. This strange piece of religious mockery flourished greatly in Salisbury cathedral. In the old statutes of that church there is a chapter DE EPISCOPO CHORISTARUM: and their *Processionale* gives a long and minute account of the whole ceremony. edit. Rothom. 1555.

^k This ceremony was abolished by a proclamation, no later than 33 Hen. VIII. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. Tit. B 1. f. 208. In the inventory of the treasury of York cathedral, taken in 1530, we have "Item una mitra parva cum petris pro episcopo puerorum, &c." Dugd. Monast. iii. 169. 170. See also 313. 314. 177. 279. See also Dugd. Hist. S. Paul's, p. 205. 206. Where he is called EPISCOPUS PARVULORUM. See also Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. 309. Where, instead of *Nihilensis*, read *Nicolensis*, or NICOLATENSIS.

^l Statut. Eccles. Tullens. apud Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. KALENDÆ.

^m It appears that in England, the boy-bishop with his companions went about to different parts of the town; at least visited the other religious houses. As in Rot. Comp. Coll. Winton. A. D. 1461. "In Dat. episcopo Nicolatensi." This I suppose was one of the children of the choir of the neighbouring cathedral. In the statutes of the collegiate church of S. Mary Ottery, founded by bishop Grandison in 1337, there is this passage: "Item statuimus, quod nullus canonicus, vicarius, vel secundarius, pueros choristas in festo sanctorum Innocentium extra Parochiam de Otery trahant, aut eis licentiam vagandi concedant." cap. 50. MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. quat. 9. In the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III. an. 12. we have this entry, which shews that our mock-bishop and his chapter sometimes exceeded their adopted clerical commission, and exercised the arts of secular entertainment. "EPISCOPO PUERORUM ecclesiæ de Andeworp cantanti coram domino rege in camera sua in festo sanctorum Innocentium, de dono ipsius dom. regis. xliis. vi d."

critics may be inclined to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the choir-boys of St. Paul's church, and the chapel royal, which continued, as I before observed, till Cromwell's usurpation. The English and French stages mutually throw light on each other's history. But perhaps it will be thought, that in some of these instances I have exemplified in nothing more than farcical and gesticulatory representations. Yet even these traces should be attended to. In the mean time we may observe upon the whole, that the modern drama had its foundation in our religion, and that it was raised and supported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the ecclesiastical societies were almost the only persons who could read, and their numbers easily furnished performers: they abounded in leisure, and their very relaxations were religious.

I did not mean to touch upon the Italian stage. But as so able a judge as Riccoboni seems to allow that Italy derived her theatre from those of France and England, by way of an additional illustration of the antiquity of the two last, I will here produce one or two MIRACLE-PLAYS, acted much earlier in Italy than any piece mentioned by that ingenious writer, or by Crescimbeni. In the year 1298, on "the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays, the representation of the PLAY OF CHRIST, that is of his passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mission of the holy ghost, was performed by the clergy of Civita Vecchia, *in curia domini patriarchæ Austriæ civitatis honorifice et laudabiliter*ⁿ." And again, "In 1304, the chapter of Civita Vecchia exhibited a Play of the creation of our first parents, the annunciation of the virgin Mary, the birth of Christ, and other passages of sacred scripture^o." In the mean time, those critics who con-

ⁿ Chron. Forojul. in Append. ad Monument. Eccl. Aquilej. pag. 30. col. 1.

[An earlier record of the exhibition of these miracle-plays in Italy will be found in the "Catalogo de' Podestà di Padova: In quest' anno (1243) fu fatta la rappresentazion della Passione e Resurrezione di Christo nel Pra della

Valle." Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. v. 8. p. 365.—The chief object of the *Compagna del Confalone* instituted at Rome in the year 1264, was to represent the Mysteries "della Passione del Redentore." Tiraboschi, vol. iv. p. 343.—EDIT.]

^o Ibid. page 30. col. 1. It is extra-

tend for the high antiquity of the Italian stage, may adopt these instances as new proofs in defence of that hypothesis.

In this transient view of the origin and progress of our drama, which was incidentally suggested by the mention of Baston's supposed Comedies, I have trespassed upon future periods. But I have chiefly done this for the sake of connection, and to prepare the mind of the reader for other anecdotes of the history of our stage, which will occur in the course of our researches, and are reserved for their respective places. I could have enlarged what is here loosely thrown together, with many other remarks and illustrations: but I was unwilling to transcribe from the collections of those who have already treated this subject with great comprehension and penetration, and especially from the author of the Supplement to the Translator's Preface of Jarvis's *Don Quixote*^p. I claim no other merit from this digression, than that of having collected some new anecdotes relating to the early state of the English and French stages, the original of both which is intimately connected, from books and manuscripts not easily found, nor often examined. These hints may perhaps prove of some service to those who have leisure and inclination to examine the subject with more precision.

ordinary, that the Miracle-plays, even in the churches, should not cease in Italy till the year 1660.

^p See also Doctor Percy's very ingenious ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH STAGE, &c.

SECTION VII.

EDWARD the Third was an illustrious example and patron of chivalry. His court was the theatre of romantic elegance. I have examined the annual rolls of his wardrobe, which record various articles of costly stuffs delivered occasionally for the celebration of his tournaments; such as standards, pennons, tunics, caparisons, with other splendid furniture of the same sort: and it appears that he commanded these solemnities to be kept, with a magnificence superior to that of former ages, at Litchfield, Bury, Guildford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windsor, in little more than the space of one year^a. At his triumphant return from Scotland, he was met by two hundred and thirty knights at Dunstable, who received their victorious monarch with a grand exhibition of these martial exercises. He established in the castle of Windsor a fraternity of twenty-four knights, for whom he erected a round table, with a round chamber still remaining, according to a similar institution of king Arthur^b. Anstis treats the notion, that Edward in this establishment had any retrospect to king Ar-

^a Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magn. Garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. III. ad ann. 23. supr. citat. I will give, as a specimen, this officer's accompt for the tournament at Canterbury. "Et ad faciendum diversos apparatus pro corpore regis et suorum pro hastiludio Cantuariensi, an. reg. xxii. ubi Rex dedit octo hernesia de syndone ynde facta, et vapulata de armis dom. Stephani de Cosyngton militis, dominis principibus comiti Lancastriæ, comiti Suffolciæ, Johanni de Gray, Joh. de Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Joh. Chandos, et dom. Rogero de Beauchamp. Et ad faciendum unum harnesium de bokeram albo pro rege, extencellato cum argento, viz. tuni-

cam et scutum operata cum dictamine Regis,

"*Hay Hay the wythe swan*

By Godes soule I am thy man."

"Et croparium, pectorale, testarium, et arcenarium extencellata cum argento. Et ad parandum i. tunicam Regis, et i. clocam et capuciam cum c. garteriis paratis cum boucles, barris, et pendentibus de argento. Et ad faciendum unum dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente, circa manicas et fimbriam, unam borduram de panno longo viridi operatam cum nebulis et vineis de auro, et cum dictamine Regis. *It is as it is.*" Membr. xi. [A. D. 1349.]

^b Walsing. p. 117,

thur, as an idle and legendary tradition^c. But the fame of Arthur was still kept alive, and continued to be an object of veneration long afterwards: and however idle and ridiculous the fables of the round table may appear at present, they were then not only universally known, but firmly believed. Nothing could be more natural to such a romantic monarch, in such an age, than the renovation of this most antient and revered institution of chivalry. It was a prelude to the renowned order of the garter, which he soon afterwards founded at Windsor, during the ceremonies of a magnificent feast, which had been proclaimed by his heralds in Germany, France, Scotland, Burgundy, Heynault, and Brabant, and lasted fifteen days^d. We must not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to some degree of refinement, by those of our own. Nothing is more probable, than that this latter foundation of Edward the Third, took its rise from the exploded story of the garter of the countess of Salisbury^e. Such an origin is interwoven with the manners and ideas of the times. Their attention to the fair sex entered into every thing. It is by no means unreasonable to suppose, that the fantastic collar of Esses, worn by the knights of this Order, was an allusion to her name. Froissart, an eye-witness and well acquainted with the intrigues of the court, relates at large the king's affection for the countess; and particularly describes a grand carousal which he gave in consequence of that attachment^f. The first festival of this order was not only adorned by the bravest champions of Christendom, but by the presence of queen Philippa, Ed-

^c Ord. Gart. ii. 92.

^d Barnes, i. ch. 22. p. 292. Froissart, c. 100. Anstis ut supr.

^e Ashmole proves, that the orders of the *Annunciada*, and of the *Toison d'Or*, had the like origin. Ord. Gart. p. 180. 181. Even in the ensigns of the order of the Holy Ghost, founded so late as 1578, some love-mysteries and emblems were concealed under cyphers introduced into the blasonrie. See Le Laboureur, Contin. des Mem. de Castelnau, p. 895. "Il y eut plus de mystères d'amourettes que de religion," &c. But I cannot in

this place help observing, that the fantastic humour of unriddling emblematical mysteries, supposed to be concealed under all ensigns and arms, was at length carried to such an extravagance, at least in England, as to be checked by the legislature. By a statute of queen Elizabeth, a severe penalty is laid, "on all fond phantastical prophecies upon or by the occasion of any arms, fields, beastes, badges, or the like things accustomed in arms, cognisaunces, or signetts," &c. Statut. v. Eliz. ch. 15. A. D. 1564.

^f Ubi supr.

ward's consort, accompanied with three hundred ladies of noble families^g. The tournaments of this stately reign were constantly crowded with ladies of the first distinction; who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose^h. In a tournament exhibited at London, sixty ladies on palfries appeared, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the Tower to Smithfieldⁱ. Even Philippa, a queen of singular elegance of manners^k, partook so much of the heroic spirit which was universally diffused, that just before an engagement with the king of Scotland, she rode round the ranks of the English army encouraging the soldiers, and was with some difficulty persuaded or compelled to relinquish the field^l. The countess of Montfort is another eminent instance of female heroism in this age. When the strong town of Hennebond, near Rennes, was besieged by the French, this redoubted amazon rode in complete armour from street to street, on a large courser, animating the garrison^m. Finding from a high tower that the whole French

^g They soon afterwards regularly received robes, with the knights companions, for this ceremony, powdered with garters. Ashmol. Ord. Gart. 217. 594. And Anstis, ii. 123.

^h Knyghton, Dec. Script. p. 2597.

ⁱ Froissart apud Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 718. edit. 1616. At an earlier period, the growing gallantry of the times appears in a public instrument. It is in the reign of Edward the First. Twelve jurymen depose upon oath the state of the king's lordship at Woodstock: and among other things it is solemnly recited, that Henry the Second often resided at Woodstock, "pro amore cujusdam mulieris nomine Rosamunda." Hearne's Avesbury, Append. p. 331.

^k And of distinguished beauty. Hearne says, that the statuaries of those days used to make queen Philippa a model for their images of the Virgin Mary. Gloss. Rob. Brun. p. 349. He adds, that the holy virgin, in a representation of her assumption was constantly figured young and beautiful; and that the artists before the

Reformation generally "had the most beautiful women of the greatest quality in their view, when they made statues and figures of her." *ibid.* p. 550.

^l Froissart, i. c. 138.

^m Froissart says, that when the English proved victorious, the countess came out of the castle, and in the street kissed Sir Walter Manny the English general, and his captains, one after another, twice or thrice, *comme noble et valliant dame*. On another like occasion, the same historian relates, that she went out to meet the officers, whom she kissed and sumptuously entertained in her castle. i. c. 86. At many magnificent tournaments in France, the ladies determined the prize. See Mem. anc. Cheval. i. p. 175. seq. p. 223. seq. An English squire, on the side of the French, captain of the castle of Beaufort, called himself *le Poursuivant d'amour*, in 1369. Froissart, l. i. c. 64. In the midst of grand engagements between the French and English armies, when perhaps the interests of both nations are vitally concerned, Froissart

army was engaged in the assault, she issued, thus completely accoutred, through a convenient postern at the head of three hundred chosen soldiers, and set fire to the French campⁿ. In the mean time riches and plenty, the effects of conquest, peace, and prosperity, were spread on every side; and new luxuries were imported in great abundance from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their possession precious articles of dress or furniture; such as silks, fur, tapestry, embroidered beds, cups of gold, silver, porcelain, and crystal, bracelets, chains, and necklaces, brought from Caen, Calais, and other opulent foreign cities^o. The increase of rich furniture appears in a foregoing reign. In an act of Parliament of Edward the First^p, are many regulations, directed to goldsmiths, not only in London, but in other towns, concerning the sterling allay of vessels and jewels of gold and silver, &c. And it is said, "Gravers or cutters of stones and seals shall give every one their just weight of silver and gold." It should be remembered, that about this period Europe had opened a new commercial intercourse with the ports of India^q. No less than eight sumptuary laws, which had the usual effect of not being observed, were enacted in one session of parliament during this reign^r. Amid these growing elegancies and superfluities, foreign manners, especially of the French, were perpetually increasing; and the native simplicity of the English people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced. It is not quite uncertain that masques had their beginning in this reign^s. These shews, in which the greatest personages of the court often bore

gives many instances of officers entering into separate and personal combat to dispute the beauty of their respective mistresses. Hist. l. ii. ch. 33. 43. On this occasion an ingenious French writer observes, that Homer's heroes of antient Greece, are just as extravagant, who in the heat of the fight, often stop on a sudden, to give an account of the genealogy of themselves or of their horses. Mem. anc. Cheval. ubi supr. Sir Walter

Manny, in 1343, in attacking the castle of Guigard exclaims, "Let me never be beloved of my mistress, if I refuse this attack," &c. Froissart, i. 81.

ⁿ Froissart, i. c. 80. Du Chesne, p. 656. Mezeray, ii. 3. p. 19. seq.

^o Walsing. Ypodigm. 121. Hist. 159.

^p A. D. 1300. Edw. I. an. 28. cap. xx.

^q Anderson, Hist. Comm. i. p. 141.

^r Ann. 37 Edw. III. cap. viii. seq.

^s See supr. p. 71, 72.

a part, and which arrived at their height in the reign of Henry the Eighth, encouraged the arts of address and decorum, and are symptoms of the rise of polished manners^t.

In a reign like this, we shall not be surprised to find such a poet as Chaucer: with whom a new era in English poetry begins, and on whose account many of these circumstances are mentioned, as they serve to prepare the reader for his character, on which they throw no inconsiderable light.

But before we enter on so ample a field, it will be perhaps less embarrassing, at least more consistent with our prescribed method, if we previously display the merits of two or three poets, who appeared in the former part of the reign of Edward the Third, with other incidental matters.

The first of these is Richard Hampole, an eremite of the order of saint Augustine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a solitary life near the nuns of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster in Yorkshire. The neighbourhood of this female society could not withdraw our recluse from his devotions and his studies. He flourished in the year 1349^u. His Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse, are numerous; in which Leland justly thinks he has displayed more erudition than eloquence. His principal pieces of English rhyme are a Paraphrase of part of the Book of Job, of the Lord's Prayer, of the seven penitential Psalms, and the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE. But our hermit's poetry, which indeed from these titles promises but little entertainment, has no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance. The following verses are extracted from the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE, one of the most common manuscripts in our libraries, and I prophesy that I am its last transcriber. But I must observe first, that this piece is divided into seven parts. I. Of man's nature. II. Of the world. III. Of death. IV. Of purgatory. V. Of the day of judg-

^t This spirit of splendor and gallantry was continued in the reign of his successor. See the genius of that reign admirably characterized, and by the hand of a master, in bishop Lowth's LIFE OF

WYKEHAM, p. 222. See also Hollingsh. Chron. sub ann. 1399. p. 508. col. 1.

^u Wharton, App. ad Cave, p. 75. Sæcul. Wicklev.

ment. VI. Of the torments of hell. VII. Of the joys of heaven^w.

Monkynde [mad] to [do] godus wille,
 And alle his biddyngus to fulfille.
 Ffor of al his makyng more and les,
 Man most principal creature es.
 All that he made for man hit was done,
 As ye schal here aftir [sone]¹
 God to monkynde had gret love,
 When he ordeyned to monnes behove,
 This world and heven hym to glade.
 [Here]² in myddulerd mon last he made,
 To his likenes in feire stature;
 To be most worthy creature,
 Beforen all creatures of kynde,
 He yef hym wit skile and mynde,
 Ffor too knowe bothe good and ille:
 And als he yaf him a fre wille,
 Fforto chese and forto holde,
 Good or yvel whedur he wolde;
 And as he ordeyned mon to dwelle,
 To lyve in erthe in flessch and fell,
 To knowe his workus and hym worshepe,
 And his comaundement to kepe,
 And yif he be to god buxome,
 To endeles blis aftir to come,
 And yif he wrongly here wende,
 To peyne of helle withouten ende.

^w *STIMULUS CONSCIENTIÆ* *thys boke ys namyd.* MS. Ashmol. fol. No. 41. There is much transposition in this copy. In MS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 87. it is called *THE KEY OF KNOWING.* Princ.

The migt of the fader almiti
 The wisdom of the sone al witti.

[The Lansdowne MS. of the "Pricke of

Conscience" (no. 348) agrees so closely both in matter and orthography with that contained in the Ashmole library, that little doubt can be entertained but one has been copied from the other. The few variations noticed in the text have arisen most probably from inattention in the transcriber.—EDIT.]

¹ lone. W.

² there. W.

God made to his owne likenes,
 Eche mon lyving here more and les;
 To whom he hath gyven wit and skil,
 Ffor to knowe bothe good and il,
 And wille to [chese³] as they vouchsave,
 Good or evil whether thei wole have.
 He that his wille to good wole bowe,
 God wole hym with gret mede allowe;
 He that wukudnes wole and wo,
 Gret peyne shall he have also.
 That mon therfore holde [I]⁴ for wood,
 That chesuth the evel and leveth the good.
 God made mon of most dignite,
 Of all creatures most fre,
 And namely to his owne liknes,
 As bifore tolde hit es,
 And most hath gyven and yit gyveth,
 Than to any creature that lyveth;
 And more hath het hym yit therto,
 Hevene blis yif he wel do.
 And yit when he had don amys,
 And hadde lost that ilke blis,
 God tok monkynde for his sake,
 And for his love deth wolde take,
 And with his blod boughte hem ayene,
 To his blisse fro endeles peyne.

PRIMA PARS DE MISERIA HUMANÆ CONDITIONIS.

Thus gret love God to man kidde,
 And mony goode dedus to hym didde.
 Therefore eche mon lernd and lewed,
 Schulde thynke on love that he hem schewed,
 And these gode dedus holde in mynde,
 That he thus dide to monkynde;
 And love and thanke hym as he con,
 And ellus he is unkynde mon,

³ these. W.

⁴ is. W.

Bot he serve hym day and nyght,
 And his yiftes usen hem right,
 To spende his wit in godus servyse;
 Certainly ellus he is not wise,
 Bot he knowe kyndely what god es,
 And what mon is that is les.
 [How]⁵ febul mon is soule and body,
 [How] strong god is and myghty,
 [How] mon greveth god that doth not welle,
 [How] mon is worthi therefore to fele,
 [How] mercyfull and gracious god is,
 And [how] full of alle goodness,
 [How] right wis and [how] sothfaste,
 What he hath done and shal atte laste,
 And eche day doth to monkynde.
 This schulde eche mon have in mynde,
 Ffor the rihte waye to that blis,
 That leduth mon thidur that is [wis]⁶,
 The waye of mekenes principally,
 To love and drede god almighty.
 This is the waye into wisdom,
 Into whuche waye non may come,
 Withouten knowing of god here,
 His myghtus and his workes sere.
 But ar he to that knowyng wynne,
 Hymself he mot knowe withynne.
 Ellus knowyng may not be,
 To wisdom way non entre.
 Some han wit to undurstonde,
 And yit thei are ful unknowonde.
 And some thing hath no knowyng,
 That myght them sture to good lyving.
 Tho men had nede to lerne eche day,
 Of men that con more then thay,
 That myhte to knowynge hem lede,
 In mekenes to love god and drede.

⁵ In this and the six following lines Warton reads "thou."

⁶ this. W.

Which is waye and goode wissyng,
 That may to heven blis men brynge.
 In gret pil [peril] of sowle is that mon,
 That hath wit, mynde, and no good con,
 And wole not lerne for to knawe,
 The workus of god and his lawe.
 He nyle do afturmest no lest,
 Bot lyveth lyke an unskilfull best,
 That nouthur hath skil, wit, nor mynde.
 That mon lyveth ayeyn his kynde,
 [Hyt]⁷ excuseth not his unknowyng,
 That his wit useth not in leryng,
 Namely in that him oweth to knowe,
 To meke his herte and make it lowe.
 The unknowyng schulde have wille,
 To lerne to know [bothe] good and ille.
 He that ought con, schulde lere more,
 To knowe al that nedeful wore,
 For the unknowyng by lerning,
 May brought be to understondyng,
 Of mony thyngus to knowe and se
 That hath bin, is, and shal be,
 And so to mekenes sture his wille,
 To love and drede god and leve al ille.
 Mony ben glad triful to here,
 And vanitees woll gladly lere;
 Bisy they bin in word and thought,
 To lerne that soul helputh nought;
 Bot that that nedeful were to knowe,
 To here they are wondur-slowe.
 Therefore con thei nothing se,
 The pereles [that] thei schulde drede and fle,
 And what weye thei schulde take,
 And whiche weye thei schulde forsake.
 No wondur is though thei go wronge,
 In derknes of unknowyng they gonge;

⁷ yit. W.

Without light of undurstondynge,
 Of that that falluth to right knowynge.
 Therefore eche cristen mon and wommon,
 That wit and wisdom any con,
 That [con]⁸ the righte weye not sen,
 Nor flie the periles that wise flen,
 Schulde buxom be and bisy,
 To heren and leren of hem namely,
 That undurstonden and knowen [skyl]⁹
 Wheche weye is good and wheche is il.
 He that wole right weye of lyving loke,
 Shall thus bigynne, seith the boke :
 To know first what hymself is ;
 So may he come to mekenys,
 That ground of all virtues is last,
 On whiche all virtues may be stedefast.
 He that knoweth well and con se,
 What he is, was, and schal be,
 A wisere man may be told,
 Whethur he be young or old,
 Then he that con al other thing,
 And of hymself hath no knowyng.
 He may no good knowe, ny fele,
 Bot he furst knowe hym selven wele.
 Therefore a mon schulde furst lere,
 To knowe hymself purpurly here.
 Ffor yif he knewe hymself kyndely,
 Then may he knowe god almighty.
 And on [hys] endyng thinke schulde he,
 And on the last day that schal be.
 Knowe schulde he what this worlde es,
 Full of pompe and lecherousnes,
 And lerne to knowe and thynke with alle,
 What schal aftir this lyf bifalle.
 Knowyng of this schulde hym lede,
 To mete with mekenes and with drede.

⁸ tou. W.⁹ stil. W.

So may he come to good lyvyng,
 And atte last to good endyng.
 And when he of this worlde schal wende,
 Be brought to blis withouten ende.
 The bigynnyng of this proces,
 Right knowyng of a mon hymself hit es.
 Bot somme mon han gret lettynge,
 That thei may have no right knowyng.
 Of hemselfe that thei schulde first knawe,
 That first to mekenes schulde hem draw.
 Ther of [foure]¹⁰ thyngus I fynde,
 That monnes wit makuth ofte blynde.
 And knowyng of hymself hit lettuth,
 Wherefore he hymself foryetuth.
 To this witnes Bernard answers,
 And tho four are written in thes vers^x, &c.

In the Bodleian library I find three copies of the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE very different from that which I have just cited. In these this poem is given to Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned^y. With what probability, I will not stay to enquire; but hasten to give a specimen. I will only premise, that the language and hand-writing are of considerable antiquity, and that the lines are here much longer. The poet is describing the future rewards and punishments of mankind.

The goode soule schal have in his herynge
 Gret joye in hevene and grete lykyng:
 Ffor hi schulleth yhere the aungeles song,
 And with hem hi schulleth^z synge ever among,
 With delitable voys and swythe clere,
 And also with that hi schullen have [there]¹

^x Compare Tanner, Bibl. p. 375. col. 1. And p. 374. col. 1. Notes. And GROSTHEAD. And MSS. Ash. 52. pergamen. 4to.

^y Laud. K. 65. pergamen. And G. 21. And MSS. Digb. 14. Princ.

“The migt of the fader of hevene
 The wit of his son with his giftes
 sevene.”

^z shall.

¹⁰ some. W.

¹ ire—and rendered, *ever, always*. W.

All other maner of ech a melodye,
 Off well lykyng noyse and menstralsye,
 And of al maner tenes^b of musike,
 The whuche to mannes herte² migte like,
 Withoute eni maner of travayle,
 The whuche schal never cesse ne fayle:
 And so schil^c schal that noyse bi, and so swete,
 And so delitable to smale and to grete,
 That al the melodye of this worlde heer
 That ever was yhuryd ferre or neer
 Were therto bote^d as sorwe^e and care
 To the blisse that is in hevene well zare^f.

Of the contrarie of that blisse.

Wel grete sorwe schal the synfolke^g bytyde,
 Ffor he schullen yhere in ech a syde^h,
 Well gret noyse that the feondesⁱ willen make,
 As thei al the worlde scholde alto schake;
 And alle the men lyvyng that migte hit yhure,
 Scholde here wit^k loose, and no lengere alyve dure^l.
 Thanne hi^m schulleth for sorwe here hondes wringe,
 And ever weilaway hi schullethe be cryinge, &c.
 The gode men schullethe have worschipes grete,
 And eche of them schal be yset in a riche sete,
 And ther as kynges be ycrownid fayre,
 And digte with riche perrieⁿ and so ysetun^o in a chayre,
 And with stones of vertu and precieuse of choyse,
 As David [thus sayth³] to god with a mylde voyse,

Posuisti, domine, super caput eorum, &c.

“Lorde,” he seyth, “on his heved thou settest wel arigt
 A coronne of a pretious ston richeliche ydigte.”

^b tunes.
^e sorrow.
^g sinners.

^c shrill.
^f prepared.
^h either side.

^d but.

ⁱ devils.

^l remain.

ⁿ precious stones.

^k senses.

^m they.

^o seated.

² beorte. W.

³ thy said. W.

[Ac⁴] so fayre a coronne nas never non ysene,
 In this worlde on kynges hevede^p, ne on quene:
 Ffor this coronne is the coronne of blisse,
 And the ston is joye whereof hi schilleth never misse, &c.
 The synfolke schulleth, as I have afore ytold,
 Ffele outrageous hete, and afterwards to muche colde;
 Ffor now he schulleth freose, and now brenne^q,
 And so be ypyned that non schal other kenne^r,
 And also be ybyte with dragonnes felle and kene,
 The whuche schulleth hem destrye outrigte and clene,
 And with other vermyn and bestes felle,
 The whiche beothe nought but fendes of helle, &c.

We have then this description of the New Jerusalem.

This citie is yset on an hei hille,
 That no synful man may therto tille^s:
 The whuche ich likne to beril clene,
 [Ac⁵] so fayr berel may non be ysene.
 Thulke hyl is nought elles to understondynge
 Bote holi thugt, and desyr brennynge,
 The whuche holi men hadde heer to that place,
 Whiles hi hadde on eorthe here lyves space;
 And i likne, as ymay ymagene in my thought,
 The walles of hevene, to walles that were ywrougt
 Of all maner preciouise stones yset yfere^t,
 And ysemented with gold brigt and clere;
 Bot so brigt gold, ne non so clene,
 Was in this worlde never ysene, &c.
 The wardes of the cite of hevene brigt
 I likne to wardes that wel were ydygt,
 And clenly ywrougt and sotely enteyled,
 And on silver and gold clenly anamayled^u, &c.

^p head.

^q This is the Hell of the monks, which
 Milton has adopted.

^r know.

^s come.

^u aumayled.

^t together.

⁴ and. W.

⁵ and. W.

The torettes^w of hevene grete and smale
I likne to the torrettes of clene cristale, &c.

I am not, in the mean time, quite convinced that any manuscript of the *PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE* in English belongs to Hampole. That this piece is a translation from the Latin appears from these verses.

Therefore this boke is in Englis drawe
Of fele^x matters that bene unknowe
To lewed men that are unkonande^y
That con no latyn undirstonde^z.

The Latin original in prose, entitled *STIMULUS CONSCIEN-
TIÆ*^a, was most probably written by Hampole: and it is not very likely that he should translate his own work. The author and translator were easily confounded. As to the copy of the English poem given to bishop Grosthead, he could not be the

^w turrets.

^x many.

^y ignorant.

^z MSS. Digb. ut supr. 87. ad princip.

[Mr. Ritson conceived this passage "by no means conclusive of a Latin original," and inferred that it might "be nothing more than [Hampole's] reason for preferring English to Latin." Lydgate, however, considered Hampole as a translator only:

In perfit living which passeth poysie
Richard hermite contemplative of sen-
tence

Drough in Englishe, the *Pricke of Con-
science.* Bochas, f. 217. b.

And this opinion is confirmed by the express acknowledgment of the King's MS.

Now have I firste as I undertoke
Fulfilled the sevene materes of this boke,
And oute of Latyn I have hem idrawe
The whiche to som man is unknowe,
And namely to lewed men of Yngelonde
That konneth no thinge but Englishe
undirstonde.

And therfor this tretys oute drawe I wolde
In Englishe that men undirstonde hit
sholde,

And prikke of conscience is this tretys
yhote, &c.

For the love of our Lord Jesu Christ now
Praieth specially for hym that hit oute
drow,

And also for hym that this boke hath
iwrite here

Whether he be in water other in londe
ferre or nere.

Indeed it would be difficult to account for the existence of two English versions, essentially differing in metre and language; though generally agreeing in matter, unless we assume a common Latin original. Which of these is Hampole's translation, can only be decided by inspecting a copy once in the possession of Dr. Monro; and which Hampole "left to the society of Friars-minors at York, after his and his brother's death." No manuscript which has fallen under the Editor's notice, makes mention of Hampole in the text; nor has he been able to discover any shadow of authority, for attributing to this sainted bard, the pieces numbered from 6 to 16 in Mr. Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*.—EDIT.]

^a In the Cambridge manuscript of Hampole's *PARAPHRASE ON THE LORD'S PRAYER*, above mentioned, containing a prolix description of human virtues and vices, at the end, this remark appears. "Explicit quidam tractatus super Pater

translator, to say nothing more, if Hampole wrote the Latin original. On the whole, whoever was the author of the two translations, at least we may pronounce with some certainty, that they belong to the reign of Edward the Third.*

noster *secundum* Ric. Hampole qui obiit A. D. MCCCLXXXIV." [But the true date of his death is in another place, viz. 1348.] MSS. More, 215. Princ.

"Almighty God in trinite
In whom is only personnes thre."

The PARAPHRASE ON THE BOOK OF JOB, mentioned also before, seems to have existed first in Latin prose under the title of PARVUM JOB. The English begins thus:

"Lieff lord my soul thou spare."

In Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. F 77. 5, &c. &c. It is a paraphrase of some Excerpta from the book of Job. THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS begin thus:

"To goddis worschippe that dere us
bought."

MSS. Bodl. Digb. 18. Hampole's EXPOSITIO IN PSALTERIUM is not uncommon in English. It has a preface in English rhymes in some copies, in praise of the author and his work. Pr. "This blessyd boke that hire." MSS. Laud. F 14, &c. Hampole was a very popular writer. Most of his many theological pieces seem to have been translated into English soon after they appeared: and those pieces abound among our manuscripts. Two of his tracts were translated by Richard Misyn, prior of the Carmelites at Lincoln, about the year 1435. The INCENDIUM AMORIS, at the request of Margaret Hellingdon a recluse. Princ. "To the askynge of thi desire." And DE EMEN-

DATIONE VITÆ. "Tarry thou not to oure." They are in the translator's own handwriting in the library of C. C. C. Oxon. MSS. 237. I find other antient translations of both these pieces. Particularly, *The PRICKE OF LOVE after Richard Hampol treeting of the three degrees of love.* MSS. Bodl. Arch. B. 65. f. 109. As a proof of the confusions and uncertainties attending the works of our author, I must add, that we have a translation of his tract DE EMENDATIONE under this title. *The form of perfyt living, which holy Richard the hermit wrote to a recluse named Margarete.* MS. Vernon. But Margarete is evidently the recluse, at whose request Richard Misyn, many years after Hampole's death, translated the INCENDIUM AMORIS. These observations, to which others might be added, are sufficient to confirm the suspicions insinuated in the text. Many of Hampole's Latin theological tracts were printed very early at Paris and Cologne.

* [Much about the same period, Lawrence Minot, not mentioned by Tanner, wrote a collection of poems on the principal events of the reign of king Edward the Third, preserved in the British Museum. MSS. Cotton. GALB. E ix.—ADDITIONS.]

[The poems of Minot were published by Mr. Ritson in 1796. They are noticed hereafter, and a few specimens of his style are given.—EDIT.]

SECTION VIII.

THE next poet in succession is one who deserves more attention on various accounts. This is Robert Longlande, author of the poem called the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, a secular priest, and a fellow of Oriel college, in Oxford. He flourished about the year 1350^a [1362]. This poem contains a series of distinct visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on Malverne-hills in Worcestershire. It is a satire on the vices of almost every profession: but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition. These are ridiculed with much humour and spirit, couched under a strong vein of allegorical invention. But instead of availing himself of the rising and rapid improvements of the English language, Longland prefers and adopts the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets. Nor did he make these writers the models of his language only: he likewise imitates their alliterative versification, which consisted in using an aggregate of words

^a I have here followed a date commonly received. But it may be observed, that there is in this poem an allusion to the fall of Edward the Second. The siege of Calais is also mentioned as a recent fact; and *Bribery* accuses *Conscience* of obstructing the conquest of France. See more in *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, ii. § xi. p. 281.

[Mr. Tyrwhitt has shown that the Visions must have been written after or during the year 1362, since they mention "the south western winde on Saturday at even," which is thus recorded by Thorn, apud Decem Scriptores. "A. D. MCCCLXII. 15 die Januarii, circa horam vespertarum, ventus vehemens notus australis Africus tantâ rabie erupit," &c.

Of the author he has said in another place: "The Visions of (i. e. concerning) Pierce Ploughman are generally ascribed to one Robert Langland; but the best MSS. that I have seen, make the Christian name of the author William, without mentioning his surname; so in MS. Cot. Vesp. D xvi. at the end of page 1, is this rubric: "Hic incipit secundus Passus de visione Willelmi de Petro Ploughman." And in verse 5. of page 2. "*And sayde sonne, slepest thou?*" the MS. has: "*And sayde Wille slepest thou?*" See also the account of MS. Harl. 2376, in the Harleian catalogue." This subject will be considered in a note at the end of this volume.—EDIT.]

beginning with the same letter. He has therefore rejected rhyme, in the place of which he thinks it sufficient to substitute a perpetual alliteration. But this imposed constraint of seeking identical initials, and the affectation of obsolete English, by demanding a constant and necessary departure from the natural and obvious forms of expression, while it circumscribed the powers of our author's genius, contributed also to render his manner extremely perplexed, and to disgust the reader with obscurities. The satire is conducted by the agency of several allegorical personages, such as Avarice, Bribery, Simony, Theology, Conscience, &c. There is much imagination in the following picture, which is intended to represent human life, and its various occupations.

And than gan I to mete a mervelyous swevene,
 That I was in [a?] wyldyrnese, wyst I never qwere :
 And as I beheld on hey, est on to the sonne
 I saw a towr on a toft, ryaly emaked,
 A depe dale be nethe, a donjoun therein,
 With depe dykys and dyrke, and dredful of sygth :
 A fayr feld ful of folke fond I ther betwene,
 Of al maner of men, the mene and the ryche,
 Werkyng and wanderyng, as the world askyth ;
 Summe put hem to the plow, pleyid hem ful seelde,
 In syttyng and sowyng [swonken full harde¹ :]
 And wan that wastors with gloteny dystroid
 And somme put [hem] to pryde, &c.^b

The following extracts are not only striking specimens of our author's allegorical satire, but contain much sense and observation of life, with some strokes of poetry.^c

^b Fol. i. a. edit. 1550. By Roberte Crowley, 4to. He printed three editions in this one year. Another was printed [with Pierce Plowman's CREDE annexed] by Owen Rogers, 1561. 4to. See Strype, Ann. Reformat. i. 135. And Ames, Hist. Print. p. 270.

^c F. 39. seq. Pass. viii. seq. edit. 1550. [This single passage has been collated with the Harl. MS. No. 3954. On further inspection, this manuscript was not only found incomplete, but essentially varying from the printed copy of Crowley. Its orthography has a strong pro-

¹ travelyd ful sore. MS.

Thus yrobed in russet, I romed me aboute
 Al a somer seson, for to seche DOWEL^d
 And frayned^e ful este, of folk that I mette
 If eny wyghtte wiste, where DOWEL was at inne^f,
 And what man he myghtte be, of many men I askid,
 Was never wyghtte as I wente, that me wyse couthe^g
 Where this leede logged^h, lasse other more,
 Til hit bifel on Friday, two freris I mette
 Maistris of the menoursⁱ, men of gret witte,
 I halsed hem hendeliche^k, as I hadde lerned
 And preied hem per charite, er thei passeden ferther
 If thei knewen eny countrye or coostes as thei wente
 Wher that DOWELL dwellyth, doith me to wyte^l
 For thei ben men of this mold, that most [wide²] walken
 And knowe contrees and [courts³,] and many kynnes^m places
 Bothe prencis paleis, and pore mennys cotis

vincial cast; its details both of character and description are frequently mere sketches in comparison with the later visions; its alliteration, though often varying to advantage, is as frequently faulty and confused, and it closes with the second Passus de Dobet. The remaining passages have been collated with the Cotton MS. Caligula A xi. which, though it has a different commencement from Crowley's edition, was found to agree very closely throughout with the printed text after the fourth Passus. In fact, Crowley's MS. appears to have been a very excellent one; and, with the exception of the orthographical differences, which it may be presumed were intentional, the printed copy has conferred nearly as many favours upon the present text as have been gleaned from the Cotton manuscript. The latter for the sake of consistency has been made the basis of the text; its erroneous or doubtful readings—more especially such as offended against the alliteration—have been removed to the notes below, and those of Crowley's edition substituted in their stead. These are all inclosed

within brackets.—For the gratification of the scrupulous antiquary, the corresponding passages from Dr. Whitaker's edition, corrected by two MSS. in the British Museum, will be given in an Appendix to this volume, together with the Editor's reasons for adopting the present text. An examination of the laws of Alliterative Metre, &c. will also be given.—EDIT.]

^d Do-well.

^e enquired.

^f lived.

^g inform me. [Crowley constantly reads *wysh*, *wyshed*, &c.; not I conceive from ignorance, as asserted by Dr. Whitaker, but in conformity with the orthography of his MS. Thus the Museum copy of *The Pricke of Conscience* reads "wysschyng" where the Ashmole MS. has "wissyng." This must have arisen from the different enunciation given the (double) ss in different counties. In many parts of Germany the words *stein*, *stehen*, &c. are pronounced as if they were written *shtein*, *shtehen*.—EDIT.]

^h lived.

ⁱ the friers minors.

^k saluted them civilly.

^l know.

^m sorts of.

² wylde.

³ townes.

And DOWEL and DOEVEL, wher thei dwellen bothe,
 Amongis us that man is dwellyng coth [the] mynours,
 And ever hath as I hope, and [ever] shal heraftir,
 Contra coth I, as a clerk, and comsed to disputen
 And seide hem sothly, Septies in die cadit justus,
 Sevene sythesⁿ on the day seith the book, synneth the rightful,
 And who so synneth [I say⁴,] doth evel as me thynketh,
 And DOEVEL and DOWEL mowe not dwelle togedris,
 Ergo he is nat alwey among you freris
 He is other whiles elles wher, to wisse the peple.
 I sey the my sone, seide the frere thanne
 Howe sevene sithes the sad^o man on a day synneth,
 Bi a [⁵forvisne^p] coth the frere, I shal the faire shewe
 Let brynge a man in a boot, amydde the brood watir
 The wynd and the watir, and the boot waggyng
 Makith the man many a time, [to fall than to stonde⁶]
 For stonde [he] nevere so styfe, he [stumbleth⁷] yf he meveth
 And yit is he save and sound, and so hym behoveth,
 For if he ne arise the rathur, and raughte to the stere,
 The wynd wold with the watur the boot overthrowe.
 And thanne were his lyf lost thorgh laches^q of hymselfe.
 And thus hit falleth coth the frere, by folk here on erthe
 The watir is likened to the worlde, that [waneth⁸] and wexith
 The goodes of this ground arn like to the grete wawes
 That as wynd and wedris wawen aboute.
 The boot is likened to our bodies, that brotel ben of kynde
 That thorgh the fende and the fleisch, and the freil worlde
 Synneth the sad man a day, sevene sithes
 Ac dedly synne doth he nat, for DOWEL hym kepith
 And that is CHARITE the champion, chief help agenst synne,
 For he strengtheth man to stonde, and sterith mannys soule

ⁿ times.^o sober ; good.^p similitude.^q laziness.⁴ seide he.⁵ an example.

⁶ Crowley and the Harl. MS. read "to fall and to stande." A better reading is given by Dr. Whitaker "to fall if he stande." Perhaps the original text was : to fall and (*quasi*, and if) he stand.

⁷ tumbleth.⁸ wanteth.

And doith thi body bowe, as boot doth in the watir,
 Ay is thi soul save, but if thi silf wole
 Do a dedlye synne, and drenche [so] thi soule
 God wole sofre wel thy slewthe, if thi silf liketh
 For he yaf the to yeresyves to yeme wel thiself
 And that is witte and frewille, to every wyghtte a porcion
 To fleyng foules, to fisches, and also to bestes
 Ac man hath most therof, and most is to blame
 But if he worche wel therwith, as DOWEL hym techith.
 I have no kynde knowyng coth I, to conceyve al your wordes
 Ac if I may live and loke, I shal go lerne better
 I bykenne the Crist, that on the crois diede
 And I seide the same, save you from myschaunce
 And yeve you grace on this grounde good men to worthe.
 And thus I wente wyde where, walkyng by myn one
 By [a wide⁹] wilderness, and by a wodis syde,
 The blisse of the briddes, broughtte me a slepe,
 And undir [a] lynde^r [on¹⁰] a launde, lenede I me a stounde^s
 To [lyth¹¹] the laies^t, that the lovely foules maden,
 Myrthe of hire mouthes made me there to slepe
 The merveilous meteles, me mette^u thanne
 That ever dremyd wyghtte, in world as I wene.
 A much man as me thoughtte, and lik to my silve,
 Com and callid me, be my kinde^w name
 What art thou coth I tho, that thou my name knowest
 That thou wost wel coth he, and no wyghtte better
 Wot I what thou art? THOUGHTTE seide he thanne,
 I have suwid^x the this sevene yere, sey thou me no rather?
 Art thou THOUGHTTE coth I tho, [thou couldest me wysshe¹²]
 Wher that DOWEL dwellith, and do me that to knowe
 DOWEL and DOBET, and DOBEST the thirde coth he
 Arn thre fair vertues, and ben not fer to fynde,
 Who so is trew of his tonge, and of his two handes

^r lime tree. ^s a while. ^t listen. ^u dreamed. ^w own. ^x sought.

⁹ wilde.

¹⁰ undir.

¹¹ hiren.

¹² knowest ywisse.

And thorgh his labour and his londes his lyflode wynneth^y
 And is trusty of hys taylyng^z, taketh but his owne
 And is nat dronkelew^a ne deynous, DOWEL him folweth
 DOBET doth ryght thus, and doith best moch more
 He is low as a lambe, and lovelich of spech
 And helpeth alle men, aftir that hem nedith
 The bagges and the bigurdles, he hath [to brok¹²] hem alle^b,
 That erl avarus helde and his heires
 And thus with mammones money he [hath¹³] made hym frendis
 And is ronnen to religion, and hath rendrid^c the bible
 And precheth to the peple, seynt Poulis wordis.
 Libenter suffertis insipientes cum sitis ipsi sapientes,
 [And suffereth the unwyse, wyth you for to lyve
 And with glad wil doth he good, for so god you hoteth]¹⁴
 DOBEST is above bothe, and berith a bieschopis crois
 And is hokid on that on ende to halie^d men fro helle
 And a pike is in the poynt^e to putte adon the [wyked¹⁵]
 That waiten eny wickednesse, to do DOWELL to tene
 And DOWELL [and] DOBET, amonges hem have [ordeyned¹⁶]
 To croune one to be kyng, to reulen hem bothe
 That if DOWELL or DOBET, diden ayenst DOBEST
 Thanne shal the kynge come, and [cast¹⁷] hem in yrens
 And but if DOBEST [byd^{*}] for hym, there to be for ever
 Thus DOWEL and DOBET, and DOBEST the thridde
 Crouned one to [be¹⁸] king, to [kepen¹⁹] hem alle
 And to reule the reme, by hire^g thre wittes
 And in none other wise, but as thei thre assenteth.
 I thanked THOUGHTTE tho, that he me [thus] taughtte
 And [yet²⁰] savoreth me noght thi segge, I covyt to lerne,

^y getts.^a drunkard.^z dealing; reckoning.^b broke to pieces.^c translated.^e staff.^d draw.^g their.¹² broken.¹³ had.¹⁴ For these two lines the MS. reads

“And to the unwise ye don good for so god you hotith.”

¹⁵ helle.¹⁶ ordeyneth.¹⁷ putte.^{*} dide.¹⁸ the.¹⁹ helpe.²⁰ aright:—perhaps we should read “Ac aright.”

How DOWEL, DOBET, and DOBEST, don among the peple
 But WITT con wisse the^h coth THOUGHTTE, wer theiⁱ iii dwellen
 Els wot I noon that can the telle, that now lyveth.
 THOUGHTTE and I thus, thre daies [we]^k yeden^k
 Disputyng upon DOWELL, day aftir othir.
 And er we wer war, with WITTE ganne we mete
 He was long and lene, liche to non othir
 Was no pride on his apparail, ne povert neither
 Sadde of his semblant, and of softe chere
 I durst mene no mater, to make hym to jangle,
 But as I bad THOUGHTTE tho be mene bytwene
 And put forth some purpose, to preve his wittes
 What was DOWEL fro DOBET, and DOBEST fram hem bothe.
 Thanne THOUGHTTE in that tyme, seide these wordes
 Where DOWEL, DOBET, and DOBEST [ben²⁰] in londe
 Here is wille wold wite, if WITT couth teche hym
 And whather he be man or [woman²¹,] this man [fain] wold asprie
 And worchen as thei thre wolde, this is his entente,
 Syre DOWEL dwellith coth WITT, nogt a day hennes
 In a castel that kynde^l made, of four kynnes thinges
 Of erthe and of aier is hit made, medled togedris
 With wynde and with watir, wittirly^m enjoyned
 KYNDE hath closed therynne, craftely withalle
 A Lemmanⁿ that he loveth, lyk to hym silve
 ANIMA she hatte, ac Envy hire hateth
 A proud prikiere of Fraunce, princeps hujus mundi
 And wold wyne hire away with wiles and he myghtte
 Ac KYNDE knoweth this wel, and kepith hire the bettre
 [And²²] doth hire with sire DOWEL is duk of these marchis
 DOBET is hire damsel, sire DOWELLYS doughtter
 To serve this lady leely^o, bothe late and rathe^p.
 DOBEST is above bothe a bieschopis pere,

^h thee. ⁱ they. ^k went.
^l nature. ^m cunningly.

ⁿ paramour. ^o fair lady; [loyally.]
^p early.

²⁰ was.

²¹ noman.

²² as.

That he bitt mot be don⁹ he reuleth hem alle
 ANIMA that lady, is lad by his leryng,
 Ac the constable of that castel, that kepith al the watche,
 Is a wise knightte withalle, sire Inwitt he hatte
 And hath fyve fair sones bi his first wyf
 Sire Seewel and Saywel, and Huyrewel the end
 Sir Worchewel with thyn hond, a wyghtte man of strengthe
 And Sire Godfray Gowel, grete lordis forsothe
 These fyve ben y-sette, to save this lady Anima
 Til KYNDE come or sende, to saven hire for ever
 What [kins] thing is KYNDE coth I, canst thou me telle
 Kynde coth Witt is a creatour, of al kynnes thynges
 Fadir and formour of alle, that ever was maked
 And that is the gret god that bygynnyng hadde never
 Angelis and al thyng arn at his wille,
 Lord of lyf and of lyghtte, of blisse and of peyne
 Ac man is hym most lik, of merke^r and of shafte,
 For thorgh the word that he spak, woxen forth bestes
 And made [Adam²³] likest [to] hym self one
 And Eve of his rib bon, withouten any [meane²⁴]
 For he was synguler hym self, and seid faciamus
 [As²⁵] who seith more mote herto, than my word one
 My myghtte mote helpe now with my speche,
 Right as a lord shulde make letirs, and hym lackid perchement
 Though he couthe write never so wel, [if he hadde a pen²⁶]
 The lettre for al the lordship, I lyve were never ymaked
 And so hit semyth by hym, as the book tellith,
 Ther hit seith, Dixit et facta sunt.
 He moste worche with his word, and his witt shewe
 And in this maner was man made, thorgh myghtte of God al-
 mighty
 With his word and workmanschip, and with lyf to laste

⁹ must be done.^r fashion ; similitude.²³ man.²⁴ mede.²⁵ and.²⁶ Crowley reads "if he had no pen"; which may be right.

And thus God gaf hym a goste^s, of the godhede of hevene
 And of his gret grace, grauntid hym blisse
 And that is lyf that ay shal laste, to al [our] lynage aftir
 And that is the [castel²⁸] that KYNDE made, Caro it hatteth
 And is as moch to mene, as man with a soule
 And that he wroughtte with werke, and with word bothe
 Thorgh myght of the mageste, man was ymakid
 Ynwyttes and Alwittes, closid ben therynne
 For love of the ladie Anima, that lyf is ynempned^t
 [Over al in mans body, she walketh and wandreth]
 Ac in the herte is [hir²⁹] home, and [hir²⁹] most^u reste
 Ac [In]witt is in the heed, and to the herte he loketh
 What Anima is lef or loth^w, he ledith hire at his wille.—
 Thanne hadde WITT a wyf, that was hote dame STUDIE,
 That leve was of lire, and of lith bothe.
 She was wondurlich wrooth, Wytt me thus taughtte
 And al staryng dame Studie, sternliche seide.
 Wel art you wys coth she to Wytt, eny wysdomes to telle
 To flatereris or to folis, that frentik ben of witte
 And blamed hym and banned^x hym, and bad hym be stille
 Wyth such wyse wordis, to wissen eny sottis
 And seide, Noli mittere man, Margerye Perlis
 Amonges hogges, that have hawes at wille.
 Thei don but drevel theron, draf^y wer hem lever^z,
 Than al the precious peré that in paradys wexeth^a.
 I seie hit by suche, coth she, that shewen by hire werkes,
 That hem were lever lond^b, and lordship on erthe,
 [Or³⁰] richesse [or³¹] rentis, and reste at hire wille,
 Than al the sothe sawes, that Salamon saide evere.
 Wysdom and wytt, now is nat worthe a kerse^c
 But if he be carded with coveityse^d, as clotheris kembern wolle

^s spirit.^t named.^u greatest.^z rather.^a grow.^w unwilling.^x cursed.^b they had rather.^y See Draffesack. Chauc. Urr. p. 33.^c not worth a straw.

v. 1098.

^d covetousness.²⁸ catel.²⁹ his.³⁰ of.³¹ and of.

Whoso can contreve desceytes, and conspire wronges
 And lede forth a love day^e, to lette wyth treuthe.
 He that such craftis can, to counseil is clepid oft,
 Thei leden lordis with lesynges, and beliyeth treuthe
 Job the gentil in his gestis, gretly wytnesseth
 That wicked men welden the welthe of this world
 And that thei ben lordis of eche lond that out of lawe libbeth
 Quare impii vivunt, bene est omnibus qui prevaricantur et in-
 ique agunt

The sauter seth the same, by suche that done ille
 Ecce ipsi peccatores habundantes in seculo obtinuerunt divitias.
 Loo seith holy lettrur, which lordis ben these [shrewes?³²]
 Thilke that god most geveth, lest good thei delith
 And most unkynde [be] to the commune, that most catel weldith^f.
 Que perfecisti destruxerunt, justus autem &c.
 Harlotis for her harlotrie, may have of here goodes
 And japers and jogelers^g, and jangleris of gestis
 And he that hath holy wrytt, ay in his mouthe
 And can telle of Thobie, and of the twelve apostles
 Or prechen of [the] penaunce, that Pilat falsely wroughtte
 To Jesu the gentil, that Jewes to drowe:
 Ful litel is he loved, that suche a lesson shewith
 Or daunteth or drawith forth, I do hit on [god] hym silve³³
 But thei^h that feynen hem fooles, and with faytyngⁱ libbeth
 Ayen the lawe of our lord, and liyen on hem silve
 Spitten and spewen, and speken foule wordes
 Drynken and dryvelen, and do men for to iape
 Lykne men, and liyen on hem, that leneth hem no gestes
 Thei kennen^k no more mynstracy ne musik men to glade
 Than Mundy the muller, of multa fecit deus.

^e lady. [A day appointed for the amicable settlement of differences was called a *love-day*.—TYRWHITT.]

^f commands.

^g jugglers.

^h they.

ⁱ deceiving.

^k know.

³² shrewes.

³³ The Harl. MS. reads, with manifest improvement of the sense,

“Or dauntid or drawe forth these discours wite the sothe.”

Ne were hire vile harlotrie, have god my trowthe
 Sholde never kyng ne knyghtte, ne chanon of seynt Poulis
 Yeve hem to hire yeres-yeve, the yifte of a grote,
 Ac myrthe and mynstracie amongis men is naught
 But lecherie, and losyngerie^l, and losellis talis,
 Glotonye and grete othes, this myrthe thei loveth,
 Ac if thei carpen^m of Christ, thise clarkis and thise lewid.
 At the mete in myrthes, whan mynstrelis ben stille
 Thanne telle thei of the trinyte, a tale othr tweyne
 And bryngen forth a ballid reson, and taken Bernardⁿ to
 witnesse

And putten forth a presumption to preve the sothe
 Thus thei dryvelen at hire deys^o the deyte to knowe
 And gnawen God wit the gorge^p whanne hire guttis ben fulle
 Ac the careful^q may crye, and carpen at the gate
 Bothe [a-fingred^l] and a [furste²,] and for chele^r quake
 Is there noon to nymen hem nere, his noye^s to amend
 But houlen on hym as on an hound, and hoten hym go thennes,
 Litel loveth he that lord that lente hym al that blisse,
 That thus parteth withe the pore, a percelle whan hym nedith
 Ne were mercy in mene men, more than in riche
 Mendynauntis meteles^t, myghtten go to bedde.
 God is moche in the gorge of thise gret maistres,
 And amonges mene men, his mercy and his werkes
 And so seith the sauter, I have seiye hit ofte.
 Ecce audivimus eam in effrata et invenimus eam in campis silve
 Clerkis and other kynnes men, carpen of god faste
 And haven hym mochil in mouthe, ac mene men in herte
 Freris and faytours, han founden such questions
 To plesse wyth proud men, sithen the pestilence tyme
 And prechen at S. Poulis, for pure envye of clerkes
 That folke is nat fermed in the feith, ne free of hire goodes
 Ne sory for hire synnes, so is pryde woxen,

^l lying.^m speak.^p throat.^q poor.^r cold.ⁿ S. Bernard.^o their table.^s trouble.^t beggars supperless.¹ an hungred.² a thurste.

In religion, and in al the reume, among riche and pore
 That praier have no power, the pestilence to lette
 And yut the wretches of this worlde, are non yware by other
 Ne for drede of the deth, withdrawe naughte of hire pride
 Ne beth plentous to the pore, as pure charite wolde
 But in gaynesse and glotenye, [forglote³⁴] hire good hem silve
 And breken naughtte to the beggere, as the book techeth.
 Frange esurienti panem tuum &c.
 And the more he wynneth and weldeth, welthis and riches
 And lord of leedis and londis, the lasse good he delith
 Thobie tellith you nat so, taketh hede ye riche
 Howe the book of the bible, of hem berith witnesse,
 Si tibi sit copia habundanter tribue
 Si autem exiguum illud impartiri stude libenter
 Who so hath moche, [spend manly, so meaneth³⁵] Thobie
 [And] who so litil weldith, reule hym thereaftir,
 For we have no lettre of our lyf, hou long hit shal endure
 Suche lessons lordis, sholde lovye to huyre
 And how thei myghtten most meyne, manliche fynde
 And how nogt to fare as a [fideler³⁶] or a frere for to seke festes,
 Homlich at other men houses, and haten hire owen,
 Elynge^u is that halle eche day in the wyke
 Ther the lorde [ne³⁷] the lady liketh nat to sitte
 Nowe hath eche ryche a reule^w, to eten by hym silve
 In a privey parlour, for pore mennys sake
 Or in a chaumbre wyth a chymney, and leve the cheef halle
 That was mad for melis, men to eten inne.—
 And whanne that Wytt was yware, what dame Studie tolde
 He[became³⁸] so [confuse³⁹] he couthe nat loke
 And as dombe as [death⁴⁰] he droug him [arere^x 41]
 And for no carpyng [I cold⁴²] aftir, ne knelyng to the grounde

^u strange, deserted. Henry VIII. in *lengness* since her departure. Hearne's
 a letter to Anne Bullen, speaks of his *El-* Avesb. p. 360. ^w custom. ^x back.

³⁴ forgotten.

³⁷ and.

⁴² he couthe,

³⁸ was.

³⁵ dispens moche semeth Thobie.

³⁹ ysconfited.

⁴⁰ deaf.

³⁶ vitelere.

⁴¹ al ayere.

I myghtte no greyn get, of his grete wittis
 But al laughynge he loutid, and loked upon Studie
 In signe that I shold, biseche hire of grace
 [And when I was war of his wil, to his wife I loutid]
 And seide mercy madame, your man shal I worthe
 As long as I lyve bothe late and rathe
 [For⁴³] to worchen your wille, the while my lyf dureth
 With [this] that ye kenne me kyndely, to know what is Dowel
 For thi meknesse man coth she, and for thi mylde speche
 I shal kenne the to my cosyn, that Clergie is hoten^y
 He hath weddid a wyf, withynne thise sexe monthes
 That is sibbe^z to the sevene ars, Scripture is hire name
 Thei two as I hope, after my techyng
 Shullen wisse the to Dowel, I dare hit undir take.
 Thanne was I al so fayn^a, as foul^b on fair morwe
 And gladder thanne the gleman^c that golde hath to yifte
 And axid hire the hiye weye wher that Clergie^d dwelte
 And telle me some tokene coth I, for tyme is that I wende
 Axe the hiye weie coth Studie hennes to Suffre
 Bothe wel and woo, if that thou wole lerne
 And ride forth by Richesse, and rest nat therynne,
 For if thou couplest the therwith to clergie comest thou never,
 And also the likerous launde that lecherie hatteth
 Leve hit on thi lift half, a large myle or more,
 Til thou come to a court, kepe wel thi tonge
 Fro lesynges and lither^e speche, and likerous drynkes
 Thanne shalt thou see Sobrete, and Sympilte of speche
 That eche wyghtte be in wille, his witte to shewe
 And thus shalt thou come to Clergie that can many thynges
 [Saye hym thys signe⁴⁴,] that I sette hym to scole
 And that I grete wel his wyf, for I wrot hire many bokes
 And sette hire [to] Sapience, and [to] the sauter I glosid

^y named.^z mother [allied].^c harper.^d learning.^a chearful.^b bird.^e wanton.⁴³ for I.⁴⁴ telle hym this tokene.

Logik I lernyd hire, and many other lawes,
 And alle the musones to musik, I mad hire to knowe,
 Plato the poite, I put him [firste] to book,
 Aristotil and other moe, to argue I hem taughtte
 Grammer for girles, I gart first wryte
 And bet hem with a balays, but if thei wolde lerne
 Of alle kyn craftes, I counturfetid tolis
 Of carpentrie of kervers, and compassid masons
 And lernyd hem leevel and lyne, though I loke dymme.
 [Ac⁴⁵] Theologie hath tened me, ten score tymys,
 The more I muse therynne, the mystier hit semyth
 And the depper I dyvyne, the derker me hit thynketh.

The artifices and persuasions of the monks to procure donations to their convents, are thus humorously ridiculed, in a strain which seems to have given rise to Chaucer's *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*.

Thanne he asoyled hire sone, and sythen he sayde:
 We haven a wyndow in a working, wole sitten us ful hiye,
 Woldest thu glase that gable, and grave therynne thi name,
 Ful siker sholde thi soule be hevene to have, &c.^f

^f fol. xii. a. b. These, and the following lines, are plainly copied by Chaucer, viz.

And I shall cover your kyrke, and your
 cloisture do maken.

Chaucer, *Sompn. T.* p. 93. v. 835.
 edit. Urr. But with new strokes of humour.

Yeve me then of thy golde to make our
 cloyster,
 Quod he, for many a muscle and many
 an oyster,
 Whan othir men have been full well at
 ease,
 Have ben our fode our cloyster for to
 reyse.
 And yet, god wote, unnethe the funda-
 ment
 Parfourmid is, ne of our pavement

Thar is not yet a tile within our wones,
 Bigod, we owe fourtie pound for stones.

So also in the *PLOUGHMAN'S CREDE*, hereafter mentioned. Sign. B. iii. A friar says,

So that thou mow amende our house
 with money other els
 With som catal, other corn or cuppes of
 sylvere.

And again, Sign. A. iii. *ibid.*

And mightest on amenden as with money of thine own,
 Thou sholdest knely bfore Christ in
 compas of gold,
 In the wide wyndowe westward, wel
 nigh in the midel.

That is, "your figure shall be painted in glass, in the middle of the west window," &c. But of this passage hereafter. [See *infra*, p. 135.]

⁴⁵ Taken from Dr. Whitaker's edition.—Crowley reads "And," which by him appears constantly to have been substituted for "Ac."

COVETISE or Covetousness, is thus drawn in the true colours of satirical painting.

And thanne cam COVETISE, kan I hym nat discribe,
 So hungerly and holwe sire hervy him loked,
 He was [bittle⁴⁶] browed and baburlipped bothe;
 With two blerid eiyen as a blynde hagge,
 And as a letherne pors lollid his chekes,
 Well sidder than his chynne thei cheverid for elde:
 And as a bond man of his bacon his berd was bydrivelid,
 With an hood on his hede, [and] a lowsy hatte above.
 And in a taunie tabard^g of twelve wynter age,
 Alto toryn and baudy, and full of luys crepyng;
 But yf a louse couth have lopen the bettre,
 She shold not have walkid [on⁴⁷ the welte,] so was hit thredbar.
 I have be Covetyse, coth this caitef, I knewe hit never,
 For summetime I servyd Symme at style,
 And was his prentis yplyght, his profyte to wayte.
 First I lerned to lye, a leef other tweyne
 Wickedlich to weye, was my furst lesson:
 To Wy* and to Winchester^h I went to the faire

^g tabard. A coat.

* [Wy is probably Weyhill in Hampshire, where a famous fair still subsists. —ADDITIONS.]

^h Antiently, before many flourishing towns were established, and the necessities or ornaments of life, from the convenience of communication and the increase of provincial civility, could be procured in various places, goods and commodities of every kind, were chiefly sold at fairs; to which, as to one universal mart, the people resorted periodically, and supplied most of their wants for the ensuing year. The display of merchandise, and the conflux of customers, at these principal and almost only emporia of domestic commerce, was prodigious: and they were therefore often held on open and extensive plains. One of the chief of them seems to have been that of St. Giles's hill or down near Winchester, to which our poet here refers. It was

instituted and given as a kind of revenue to the bishop of Winchester, by William the Conqueror; who by his charter permitted it to continue for three days. But in consequence of new royal grants, Henry the Third prolonged its continuance to sixteen days. Its jurisdiction extended seven miles round, and comprehended even Southampton, then a capital trading town: and all merchants who sold wares within that circuit, forfeited them to the bishop. Officers were placed at a considerable distance, at bridges and other avenues of access to the fair, to exact toll of all merchandise passing that way. In the mean time, all shops in the city of Winchester were shut. In the fair was a court called the pavilion, at which the bishop's justiciaries and other officers assisted, with power to try causes of various sorts for seven miles round: nor among other singular claims could any lord of a manor hold

⁴⁶ betir.

⁴⁷ there.

With many maner marchaundises, as my maister me hightte.—
 Than drewe I me among drapers my donetⁱ to [lerne,⁴⁸]
 To draw the lyser along, the lenger hit semyd
 Among the rich raiyes, &c.^k

a court-baron within the said circuit, without licence from the pavilion. During this time, the bishop was empowered to take toll of every load or parcel of goods passing through the gates of the city. On Saint Giles's eve, the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Winchester, delivered the keys of the four city gates to the bishop's officers; who, during the said sixteen days, appointed a mayor and bailiff of their own to govern the city, and also a coroner to act within the said city. Tenants of the bishop, who held lands by doing service at the pavilion, attended the same with horses and armour, not only to do suit at the court there, but to be ready to assist the bishop's officers in the execution of writs and other services. But I cannot here enumerate the many extraordinary privileges granted to the bishop on this occasion; all tending to obstruct trade, and to oppress the people. Numerous foreign merchants frequented this fair; and it appears, that the justiciaries of the pavilion, and the treasurer of the bishop's palace of Wolvesey, received annually for a fee, according to antient custom, four basons and ewers, of those foreign merchants who sold brassen vessels in the fair, and were called *mercatores diaunteres*. In the fair several streets were formed, assigned to the sale of different commodities; and called the *Drapery*, the *Pottery*, the *Spicery*, &c. Many monasteries, in and about Winchester, had shops, or houses, in these streets, used only at the fair, which they held under the bishop, and often lett by lease for a term of years. One place in the fair was called *Speciarium Sancti Swythini*, or the *Spicery of Saint Swithin's monastery*. In the revenue-rolls of the antient bishops of Winchester, this fair makes a grand and separate article of reception, under this title. *FERIA. Computus fferiæ sancti Egidii*. But in the revenue-roll of bishop Will. of Wayn-

flete, [an. 1471.] it appears to have greatly decayed: in which, among other proofs, I find mention made of a district in the fair being unoccupied, "*Ubi homines Cornubiæ stare solebant.*" From whence it likewise appears that different counties had their different stations. The whole reception to the bishop this year from the fair, amounted only to 45*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* Yet this sum, small as it may seem, was worth upwards of 400*l.* Edward the First sent a precept to the sheriff of Hampshire, to restore to the bishop this fair; which his escheator Malcolm de Harlegh had seized into the king's hands, without command of the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, in the year 1292. Registr. Joh. de Pontissara, Episc. Wint. fol. 195. After the charter of Henry the Third, many kings by charter confirmed this fair, with all its privileges, to the bishops of Winchester. The last charter was of Henry the Eighth to bishop Richard Fox and his successors, in the year 1511. But it was followed by the usual confirmation-charter of Charles the Second. In the year 1144, when Brian Fitz-count, lord of Wallingford in Berkshire, maintained Wallingford castle, one of the strongest garrisons belonging to Maud the empress, and consequently sent out numerous parties for contributions and provisions, Henry de Blois bishop of Winchester enjoined him not to molest any passengers that were coming to his fair at Winchester, under pain of excommunication. *Omnibus ad FERIAM MEAM venientibus*, &c. MSS. Dodsworth. vol. 89. f. 76. Bibl. Bodl. This was in king Stephen's reign. In that of Richard the First, in the year 1194, the king grants to Portsmouth a fair lasting for fifteen days, with all the privileges of Saint Giles's fair at Winchester. Anders. Hist. Com. i. 197. In the year 1234, the eighteenth of Henry the Second, the fermier of the city of Winchester paid

⁴⁸ lere. These words are frequently confounded, though their distinction is equally great with that of cause of effect—Leran A. S. to teach; Leornan A. S. to learn.

Our author, who probably could not get preferment, thus inveighs against the luxury and diversions of the prelates of his age.

twenty pounds to Ailward chamberlain of Winchester castle, to buy a robe at this fair for the king's son, and divers silver implements for a chapel in the castle. Madox, Exch. p. 251. It appears from a curious record now remaining, containing *The Establishment and Expences of the houshold* of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, in the year 1512, and printed by doctor Percy, that the stores of his lordship's house at Wresille, for the whole year, were laid in from fairs. "He that standes charged with my lordes house for the houll yeir, if he may possible, *shall be at all FAIRES* where the groice emptions shall be boughte for the house for the houlle yeire, as wine, wax, beiffes, multons, wheite, and maltie." p. 407. This last quotation is a proof, that fairs still continued to be the principal marts for purchasing necessities in large quantities, which now are supplied by frequent trading towns: and the mention of *beiffes* and *multons*, which were salted oxen and sheep, shews that at so late a period they knew but little of breeding cattle. Their ignorance of so important an article of husbandry, is also an evidence, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth the state of population was much lower among us than we may imagine.

In the statutes of Saint Mary Ottery's college in Devonshire, given by bishop Grandison the founder, the stewards and sacrist are ordered to purchase annually two hundred pounds of wax for the choir of the college, at this fair. "Cap. lxxvii. — Pro luminaribus vero omnibus supradictis inveniendis, etiam statuimus, quod senescalli scaccarii per visum et auxilium sacriste, omni anno, in NUNDINIS WYNTON, vel alibi apud Torington et in partibus Barnstepol, ceram sufficientem, quam ad ducentas libras æstimamus pro uno anno ad minus, faciant provideri." These statutes were granted in the year 1338. MS. apud Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. In Archiv. Wolves. In the accompts of the Priories of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, and of Bicester in Oxfordshire, under the reign of Henry the Sixth, the monks appear to have laid

in yearly stores of various yet common necessities, at the fair of Sturbridge in Cambridgeshire, at least one hundred miles distant from either monastery. It may seem surprising, that their own neighbourhood, including the cities of Oxford and Coventry, could not supply them with commodities neither rare nor costly, which they thus fetched at a considerable expence of carriage. It is a rubric in some of the monastic rules, *De Euntibus ad Nundinas*. See Dugd. Mon. Angl. ii. p. 746. It is hoped the reader will excuse this tedious note, which at least developes antient manners and customs.

ⁱ Lesson. Properly a *Grammar*, from *Ælius Donatus* the grammarian. Chaucer, Testam. L. p. 504. b. edit. Urr. "No passef to vertues of this Margarete, but therin al my *donet* can I lerne." In the statutes of Winchester-college, [written about 1386,] grammar is called "*Antiquus donatus*," i. e. the *old donat*, or the name of a system of grammar at that time in vogue, and long before. The French have a book entitled "*LE DONNET, traité de grammaire, baillé a feu roi Charles viii.*" Among Rawlinson's manuscripts at Oxford, I have seen *Donatus optimus noviter compilatus*, a manuscript on vellum, given to Saint Alban's, by John Stoke, abbot, in 1450. In the introduction, or *lytell Proheme*, to Dean Colet's GRAMMATICES RUDIMENTA, we find mention made of "certayne introducyons into latyn speche called *Donates*," &c. Among the books written by bishop Pecock, there is the *DONAT into christian religion*, and the *Follower to the DONAT*. Lewis's PECOCK, p. 317. I think I have before observed, that John of Basing, who flourished in the year 1240, calls his Greek Grammar *DONATUS GRÆCORUM*. Pegge's WESEHAM, p. 51. Wynkyn de Worde printed *DONATUS ad Anglicanarum scholarum usum*. Cotgrave (in V.) quotes an old French proverb, "*Les diables estoient encores a leur DONAT, The devils were but yet in their grammar.*"

^k fol. xxiii. a. b.

And now is religion a ridere, a romere bi streetis,
 A ledar of lovedaiyes^l and a loud^m bigere,
 A prikere on a palfray from maner to maner,
 An hep of houndes at his ars as he a lord wereⁿ.
 And but his knave knele, that shall hym hys cuppe brynge,
 He loureth on hym, and axeth who taughtte hym curtesie^o.

There is great picturesque humour in the following lines.

HUNGER in haste than hent wastour by the mawe,
 And he wrong hym so by the wombe that bothe his eiyen
 wattred:

He buffetid the brytoner aboute the chekes
 That he loked lik a lanterne al his lifetyme.^p

^l levadies. ladies. [vid. supra p. 110, Note ^e.] ^m lewd. [importunate.]

ⁿ Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, bequeathes by will his pack of hounds to the king, in 1256. Blomefield's Norf. ii. 347. See Chaucer's Monke, Prol. v. 165. This was a common topic of satire. It occurs again, fol. xxvii. a. See Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE, p. 492. col. ii. Urr. The archdeacon of Richmond, on his visitation, comes to the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, in 1216, with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, Dugd. Mon. ii. 65.

^o Fol. l. a. The following prediction, although a probable conclusion, concerning a king, who after a time would suppress the religious houses, is remarkable. I imagined it was foisted into the copies, in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. But it is in manuscripts of this poem older than the year 1400. fol. l. a. b.

And THER SHALL COME A KING, and confesse
 fesse your religions,
 And bete you as the bible telleth, for
 breking of your rule:
 And amende moniales, monkes and
 chanoines.—
 And then friers in her freytor shall fynd
 a key
 Of Constantynes coffers, in which is the
 catal
 That Gregories godchyl dren had it dis-
 pended.

And than shall the abot of Abingdon,
 and all his issue for ever,
 HAVE a KNOCKE of a KING, and INCUR-
 RABLE THE WOUND.

Again, fol. lxxxv. a. Where he alludes to the knights-templars, lately suppressed.

—Men of holie kirke
 Shall turne as templars did, *the tyme*
approcheth nere.

This, I suppose, was a favourite doctrine in Wickliffe's discourses. I cannot help taking notice of a passage in Piers Plowman, which shews how the reigning passion for chivalry infected the ideas and expressions of the writers of this period. The poet is describing the crucifixion, and speaking of the person who pierced our Saviour's side with a spear. This person our author calls *a knight*, and says that he came forth "*with his spere in hand, and justed with Jesus.*" Afterwards for doing so base an act as that of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced a disgrace to *knighthood*: and our "*Champion chevaler chyese knyght*" is ordered to *yield himself recreant*. fol. lxxxviii. b. This knight's name is Longis, and he is blind: but receives his sight from the blood which springs from our Saviour's side. This miracle is recorded in the GOLDEN LEGENDE. He is called Longias, "*A blinde knight men ycallid Longias,*" in Chaucer, *Lam. Mar. Magd.* v. 177.

^p fol. xxiii. b.

And in the following, where the Vices are represented as converted and coming to confession, among which is the figure of Envy.

Of a freris frocke weren the fore sleves,
And as a leeke [that] hadde yleye longe in the sonne
So loked he with lene chekis, lourynge foule.^q

It would be tedious to transcribe other strokes of humour with which this poem abounds. Before one of the Visions the poet falls asleep while he is bidding his beads. In another he describes Antichrist, whose banner is borne by Pride, as welcomed into a monastery with ringing of bells, and a solemn congratulatory procession of all the monks marching out to meet and receive him.^r

These images of mercy and truth are in a different strain.

Out of the west coost, a wenche as me thoughtte,
Come wandrynge in the weie, to helleward she loked;
Mercy hyghtte that mayde, a meke thyng withalle,
A ful benyng berd, and buxom of speche;
Hire soster, as hit semyd, come softly walkyng,
Evene out of the este, and westward she lokid,
A ful [comely⁴⁹] creature, [Truth⁵⁰] she hightte,
For the vertu that hire folwid aferd was she never.
Whanne thise maydens metten, Mercy and Treuthe,
Eyther axid other of this grete wondir,
Of the dene and of the derknesse, &c.^s

The imagery of Nature, or KINDE, sending forth his diseases from the planets, at the command of CONSCIENCE, and of his attendants AGE and DEATH, is conceived with sublimity.

KYNDE CONSCIENCE tho herde, and cam out of the planetts,
And sent forth his forreous Feveris, and Fluxes,

^q fol. xlii. a.

^r fol. cxii. a.

^s fol. lxxxviii. b.

⁴⁹ manly.

⁵⁰ treuly.

Coughes, and Cardyacles, Crampes, and Tothe-aches,
 Reumes, and Redegoundes, and roynous Skalles,
 Buyles, and Botches, and brennynge Agwes,
 Frennesyes and foule Evelis, forageris of KYNDE!
 There was "Harrow! and Helpe! here cometh KYNDE!
 With Deeth that is dredful, to undon us alle!"
 The lord that lyved aftir lust tho lowde criede.—
 [*Age the hoore, he was in the vaw-ward,*
And bare the banner before Death: by ryght he it claimed.]
 KYNDE cam aftir, with many kene soris,
 As Pockes and Pestilences, and moch peple shente.
 So KYNDE thorgh corruptions, killid ful manye:
 DEETH cam dryvyng aftir, and al to dust [pashed⁵¹]
 Kyngs and knyghttes Kaysours, and popis.—
 Many a lovely lady, and lemmanys of knyghttes,
 Swowed and sweltid for sorwe of DETH's dentes.
 CONSCIENCE, of his curtesye, to KYNDE he besoughtte
 To [cease⁵²] and sofre, and see whether thei wolde
 Leve Pryde prively, and be parfyt Christene,
 And KYNDE cecyd tho, to see the peple amende.^c

These lines at least put us in mind of Milton's Lazarhouse.^u

..... Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appeared, sad, noisome, dark:
 A lazar-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
 Numbers of all diseas'd: all maladies
 Of gastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
 Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
 Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
 Intestine stone, and ulcer, cholic pangs,
 Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence:
 Dropsies and asthma, and joint-racking rheum.

^c fol. cxiii. a.

^u Par. L. ii. 475.

⁵¹ passid.

⁵² sec.

Dire was the tossing ! Deep the groans ! DESPAIR
 Tended the sick, busy from couch to couch ;
 And over them triumphant DEATH his dart
 Shook, but delay'd to strike, &c.

At length FORTUNE or PRIDE sends forth a numerous army
 led by LUST, to attack CONSCIENCE.

And gadrid a grete oste, alle agayn CONSCIENCE :
 This LECHERIE leyde on, with a laughyng chere,
 And with prive speche, and peynted wordes,
 Armed hym in idilnesse and in hiegh berynge.
 He bare a bowe in his hand, and many bloody arwes,
 Weren fetherid with faire byheste, and many a false treuthe^w.

Afterwards CONSCIENCE is besieged by Antichrist, and seven
 great giants, who are the seven capital or deadly sins : and the
 assault is made by SLOTH, who conducts an army of more than
 a thousand prelates.

It is not improbable, that Longland here had his eye on the
 old French ROMAN D'ANTECHRIST, a poem written by Huon
 de Meri, about the year 1228. The author of this piece sup-
 poses that Antichrist is on earth, that he visits every profession
 and order of life, and finds numerous partisans. The VICES
 arrange themselves under the banner of ANTECHRIST, and the
 VIRTUES under that of CHRIST. These two armies at length
 come to an engagement, and the battle ends to the honour of
 the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices. The BANNER
 OF ANTICHRIST has before occurred in our quotations from
 Longland. The title of Huon de Meri's poem deserves notice.
 It is [LE] TURNOYEMENT DE L'ANTECHRIST. These are the
 concluding lines.

Par son droit nom a peau cet livre
 Qui tresbien s' avorde a l' escrit
 Le *Tournoient de l'Antechrist*.

^w fol. cxiii. a.

The author appears to have been a monk of St. Germain des Pres, near Paris. This allegory is much like that which we find in the old dramatic MORALITIES. The theology of the middle ages abounded with conjectures and controversies concerning Antichrist, who at a very early period was commonly believed to be the Roman pontiff^x.

^x See this topic discussed with singular penetration and perspicuity, by doctor Hurd, in TWELVE SERMONS INTRO-

DUCTORY TO THE STUDY OF THE PROPHECIES. Lond. 1772. p. 206. seq.

SECTION IX.

TO the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN has been commonly annexed a poem called PIERCE THE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, and which may properly be considered as its appendage^a. It is professedly written in imitation of our VISION, but by a different hand. The author, in the character of a plain uninformed person, pretends to be ignorant of his creed; to be instructed in the articles of which, he applies by turns to the four orders of Mendicant friars. This circumstance affords an obvious occasion of exposing in lively colours the tricks of those societies. After so unexpected a disappointment, he meets one Pierce, or Peter, a plowman, who resolves his doubts, and teaches him the principles of true religion. In a copy of the CREDE lately presented to me by the bishop of Gloucester, and once belonging to Mr. Pope, the latter in his own hand has inserted the following abstract of its plan. "An ignorant plain man having learned his Pater-noster and Ave-mary, wants to learn his creed. He asks several religious men of the several orders to teach it him. First of a friar Minor, who bids him beware of the Carmelites, and assures him they can teach him nothing, describing their faults, &c. But that the friars Minors shall save him, whether he learns his creed or not. He goes next to the friars Preachers, whose magnificent monastery he describes: there he meets a fat friar, who declaims against the Augustines. He is shocked at his pride,

^a The first edition is by R. Wolfe, London, 1553. 4to. In four sheets. It was reprinted, and added to Rogers's, or the fourth edition of the *Vision*, 1561. It was evidently written after the year 1384. Wickliffe died in that year, and he is mentioned as no longer living in Signat.

C. ii. edit. 1561. Walter Britte or Brithe, a follower of Wickliffe, is also mentioned, Signat. C. iii. Britte is placed by Bale in 1390. Cent. vi. 94. See also Fuller's *Worth*. p. 8. *Wales*. The reader will pardon this small anticipation for the sake of connection.

and goes to the Augustines. They rail at the Minorites. He goes to the Carmes; they abuse the Dominicans, but promise him salvation, without the creed, for money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an honest poor PLOWMAN in the field, and tells him how he was disappointed by the four orders. The plowman answers with a long invective against them."

The language of the CREDE is less embarrassed and obscure than that of the VISION. But before I proceed to a specimen, it may not be perhaps improper to prepare the reader, by giving an outline of the constitution and character of the four orders of Mendicant friars, the object of our poet's satire: an enquiry in many respects connected with the general purport of this History, and which, in this place at least, cannot be deemed a digression, as it will illustrate the main subject, and explain many particular passages, of the PLOWMAN'S CREDE^b.

Long before the thirteenth century, the monastic orders, as we have partly seen in the preceding poem, in consequence of their ample revenues, had degenerated from their primitive austerity, and were totally given up to luxury and indolence. Hence they became both unwilling and unable to execute the purposes of their establishment: to instruct the people, to check the growth of heresies, or to promote in any respect the true interests of the church. They forsook all their religious obligations, despised the authority of their superiors, and were abandoned without shame or remorse to every species of dissipation and licentiousness. About the beginning therefore of the thirteenth century, the condition and circumstances of the church rendered it absolutely necessary to remedy these evils, by introducing a new order of religious, who being destitute of fixed possessions, by the severity of their manners, a professed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perseverance in the duties of preaching and prayer, might restore respect to the monastic institution, and recover the honours of the church. These were the four orders of mendicant or begging friars,

^b And of some perhaps quoted above from the VISION.

commonly denominated the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustines^d.

These societies soon surpassed all the rest, not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges, and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the success which attends all novelties, their reputation arose quickly to an amazing height. The popes, among other uncommon immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions, without reserve or restriction: and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the highest esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time they gained still greater respect, by cultivating the literature then in vogue, with the greatest assiduity and success. Gianoni says, that most of the theological professors in the university of Naples, newly founded in the year 1220, were chosen from the Mendicants^e. They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris, the school where this science had received its origin^f. At Oxford and Cambridge respectively, all the four orders had flourishing monasteries. The most learned scholars in the university of Oxford, at the close of the thirteenth century, were Franciscan friars: and long after this period, the Franciscans appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university^g. Hence it was

^d The Franciscans were often styled friars-minors, or minorites, and grey-friars: the Dominicans, friars-preachers, and sometimes black-friars; the Carmelites, white-friars; and the Austins, grey-friars. The first establishment of the Dominicans in England was at Oxford in 1221. Of the Franciscans, at Canterbury. These two were the most eminent of the four orders. The Dominican friary at

Oxford stood in an island on the south of the city, south-west of the Franciscan friary, the site of which is hereafter described.

^e Hist. Nap. xvi. 3.

^f See Boul. Hist. Academ. Paris. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248, &c.

^g This circumstance in some degree roused the monks from their indolence, and induced the greater monasteries to procure the foundation of small colleges

that bishop Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peter-house at Cambridge, orders in his statutes given about the year 1280, that some of his scholars should annually repair to Oxford for improvement in the sciences^h. That is, to study under the Franciscan readers. Such was the eminence of the Franciscan friary at Oxford, that the learned bishop Grosthead, in the year 1253, bequeathed all his books to that celebrated seminaryⁱ. This was the house in which the renowned Roger Bacon was educated; who revived, in the midst of barbarism, and brought to a considerable degree of perfection, the knowledge of mathematics in England, and greatly facilitated many modern discoveries in experimental philosophy^k. The same fraternity is likewise said to have stored their valuable library with a multitude of Hebrew manuscripts, which they purchased of the Jews on their banishment from England^l. Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, author of *PHILOBIBLON*, and the founder of a library at Oxford, is prolix in his praises of the

in the universities for the education of their novices. At Oxford the monks had also schools which bore the name of their respective orders: and there were schools in that university which were appropriated to particular monasteries. Kennet's *Paroch. Ant.* p. 214. Wood, *Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 119. Leland says, that even in his time, at Stamford, a temporary university, the names of halls inhabited by the novices of Peterborough, Sempringham, and Vauldrey abbies, were remaining. *Itin.* vi. p. 21. And it appears, that the greater part of the proceeders in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, just before the Reformation, were monks. But we do not find, that in consequence of all these efforts, the monks made a much greater figure in literature.—In this rivalry which subsisted between the Mendicants and the monks, the latter sometimes availed themselves of their riches: and with a view to attract popularity, and to eclipse the growing lustre of the former, proceeded to their degrees in the universities with prodigious parade. In the year 1298, William de Brooke, a Benedictine of Saint Peter's abbey at Glou-

cester, took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford. He was attended on this important occasion by the abbot and whole convent of Gloucester, the abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with one hundred noblemen and esquires, on horses richly caparisoned. These were entertained at a sumptuous feast in the refectory of Gloucester college. But it should be observed, that he was the first of the Benedictine order that attained this dignity. Wood, *Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 25. col. 1. See also Stevens, *Mon.* 1. 70.

^h "De scholaribus emittendis ad universitatem Oxonie pro doctrina." Cap. xviii.

ⁱ Leland. *Script. Brit.* p. 283. This house stood just without the city walls, near Little-gate. The garden called *Paradise* was their grove or orchard.

^k It is probable, that the treatises of many of Bacon's scholars and followers, collected by Thomas Allen in the reign of James the First, still remain among the manuscripts of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Bodleian library.

^l Wood, *ubi sup.* 1. 77. col. 2.

Mendicants for their extraordinary diligence in collecting books^m. Indeed it became difficult in the beginning of the fourteenth century to find any treatise in the arts, theology, or canon law, commonly exposed to sale: they were all universally bought up by the friarsⁿ. This is mentioned by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, in his discourse before the pope at Avignon in 1357, their bitter and professed antagonist; who adds, without any intention of paying them a compliment, that all the Mendicant convents were furnished with a “*grandis et nobilis libraria*.” Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars in London, which was one hundred and twenty-nine feet long, and twelve broad, with twenty-eight desks^p. About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for transcribing the profound Nicholas de Lyra, in two volumes, to be chained in this library^q. Leland relates, that Thomas Wallden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the same library as many manuscripts of approved authors, written in capital Roman characters, as were then estimated at more than two thousand pieces of gold^r. He adds, that this library, even in his time, exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies^s. Among many other instances which might be given of the learning of the Mendicants, there is one which greatly contributed to establish

^m Philobibl. cap. v. This book was written 1344.

ⁿ Yet I find a decree made at Oxford, where these orders of friars flourished so greatly, in the year 1373, to check the *excessive multitude* of persons selling books in the university without licence. Vet. Stat. Univ. Oxon. D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

^o MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *Propositio coram papa, &c.* And MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 182. *Propositio coram, &c.* See a translation of this Sermon by Trevisa, MSS. Harl. 1900. fol. Pergam. 2. See f. 11. See also Browne's append. Fascic. Rer. expetend. fugiend. ii. p. 466. I believe this discourse has been printed twice or thrice at Paris. In which, says the archbishop, there were thirty thousand scholars at Oxford in my youth, but now (1357)

scarce six thousand. At Bennet in Cambridge, there is a curious manuscript of one of Fitzrauf's Sermons, in the first leaf of which there is a drawing of four devils, hugging four mendicant friars, one of each of the four orders, with great familiarity and affection. MSS. L. 16. This book belonged to Adam Eston, a very learned Benedictine of Norwich, and a witness against Wickliffe at Rome, where he lived the greatest part of his life, in 1370.

^p Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 255. edit. 1599.

^q Stowe, *ibid.* p. 256. Stevens, Monast. i. 112.

^r Aurei.

^s Script. Brit. p. 441. And Collectan. iii. p. 52.

their literary character. In the eleventh century, Aristotle's philosophy had been condemned in the university of Paris as heretical. About a hundred years afterwards, these prejudices began to subside; and new translations of Aristotle's writings were published in Latin by our countryman Michael Scotus, and others, with more attention to the original Greek, at least without the pompous and perplexed circumlocutions which appeared in the Arabic versions hitherto used. In the mean time the Mendicant orders sprung up: who happily availing themselves of these new translations, and making them the constant subject of their scholastic lectures, were the first who revived the doctrines of this philosopher, and acquired the merit of having opened a new system of science^t. The Dominicans of Spain were accomplished adepts in the learning and language of the Arabians; and were employed by the kings of Spain in the instruction and conversion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions^u.

The buildings of the Mendicant monasteries, especially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much

^t See Joann. Laun. de varia Aristotel. Fortun. in Acad. Paris. p. 78. edit. Paris. 1662.

^u R. Simon's Lett. Chois. tom. iii. p. 112. They studied the arts of popular entertainment. The Mendicants, I believe were, the only religious in England who acted plays. The CREATION OF THE WORLD, annually performed by the Grey friars at Coventry, is still extant. See supr. vol. i. p. 95. and vol. ii. p. 76. And they seem to have been famous abroad for these exhibitions. Gualvanei de la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, has the following curious passage in his chronicle of the VICECOMITES of Milan, published by Muratori. In the year 1336, says he, on the feast of Epiphany, the first feast of the three kings was celebrated at Milan, by the convent of the friars Preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, body-guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of S. Law-

rence, where king Herod was represented with his scribes and wise-men. The three kings ask Herod where Christ should be born: and his wise-men having consulted their books, answer him at Bethlehem. On which, the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of S. Eustorgius, with all their attendants; preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics, was such as never before was beheld, &c. Rer. Italic. Scriptor. tom. xii. col. 1017. D. fol. Mediolan. 1728. Compare p. 84. supr. This feast in the ritual is called *The feast of the Star*. Joann. Episcop. Abrinc. de Offic. Eccl. p. 30.

exceeded those of the endowed convents of the second magnitude. As these fraternities were professedly poor, and could not from their original institution receive estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches: and for these and other purposes they did not want address to procure multitudes of patrons, which was facilitated by the notion of their superior sanctity. It was fashionable for persons of the highest rank to bequeath their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments^w. In the noble church of the Grey friars in London, finished in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, besides upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained till the Dissolution^x. These interments imported considerable sums of money into the Mendicant societies. It is probable that they derived more benefit from casual charity, than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty^y.

On the whole, two of these Mendicant institutions, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, for the space of near three centuries, appear to have governed the European church and state with an absolute and universal sway: they filled, during that period, the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations, taught in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition, and maintained the disputed prerogative of the Roman pontiff against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since. They disregarded their monastic character and profession, and were employed, not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest conse-

^w Their churches were esteemed more sacred than others.

^x Weav. Fun. Mon. p. 388.

^y See Baluz. Miscellan. tom. iv. 490. vii. 392.

quence; in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances: they presided in cabinet councils, levied national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machines of every important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.

From what has been here said, it is natural to suppose that the Mendicants at length became universally odious. The high esteem in which they were held, and the transcendent degree of authority which they had assumed, only served to render them obnoxious to the clergy of every rank, to the monasteries of other orders, and to the universities. It was not from ignorance, but from a knowledge of mankind, that they were active in propagating superstitious notions, which they knew were calculated to captivate the multitude, and to strengthen the papal interest; yet at the same time, from the vanity of displaying an uncommon sagacity of thought, and a superior skill in theology, they affected novelties in doctrine, which introduced dangerous errors, and tended to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. Their ambition was unbounded, and their arrogance intolerable. Their encreasing numbers became, in many states, an enormous and unwieldy burthen to the commonwealth. They had abused the powers and privileges which had been entrusted to them; and the common sense of mankind could not long be blinded or deluded by the palpable frauds and artifices, which these rapacious zealots so notoriously practised for enriching their convents. In England, the university of Oxford resolutely resisted the perpetual encroachments of the Dominicans^z; and many of our theologists attacked all the four orders with great vehemence and severity. Exclusive of the jealousies and animosities which naturally subsisted between four rival institutions, their visionary refinements, and love of disputation, introduced among them the most violent dissensions. The Dominicans aimed at popularity, by an obstinate denial of the immaculate conception. Their pretended sanctity became at length a term of reproach,

^z Wood, ut supr. i. 150. 154. 196.

and their learning fell into discredit. As polite letters and general knowledge encreased, their speculative and pedantic divinity gave way to a more liberal turn of thinking, and a more perspicuous mode of writing. Bale, who was himself a Carmelite friar, says, that his order, which was eminently distinguished for scholastic erudition, began to lose their estimation about the year 1460. Some of them were imprudent enough to engage openly in political controversy; and the Augustines destroyed all their repute and authority in England by seditious sermons, in which they laboured to supplant the progeny of Edward the Fourth, and to establish the title of the usurper Richard^a. About the year 1530, Leland visited the Franciscan friary at Oxford, big with the hopes of finding, in their celebrated library, if not many valuable books, at least those which had been bequeathed by the learned bishop Grosthead. The delays and difficulties with which he procured admittance into this venerable repository, heightened his curiosity and expectations. At length, after much ceremony, being permitted to enter, instead of an inestimable treasure, he saw little more than empty shelves covered with cobwebs and dust^b.

After so prolix an introduction, I cannot but give a large quotation from our *CREDE*, the humour and tendency of which will now be easily understood: and especially as this poem is not only extremely scarce, and has almost the rarity of a manuscript, but as it is so curious and lively a picture of an order of men who once made so conspicuous a figure in the world.*

For first I frayned^c the freres, and they me full tolden,
That al the fruyt of the fayth, was in her foure orders,

^a Newcourt, Repert. i. 289.

^b Leland describes this adventure with some humour. "Contigit ut copiam peterem videndi bibliothecam Franciscanorum, ad quod obstreperunt asini aliquot, rudentes nulli prorsus mortalium tam sanctos aditus et recessus adire, nisi Gardiano et sacris sui collegii baccalariis. Sed ego urgebam, et principis diplomate munitus, tantum non coegi ut sacraria illa aperirent. Tum unus e majoribus

asinis multa subrudens tandem fores ægre reseravit. Summe Jupiter quid ego illic inveni? Pulverem autem inveni, telas aranearum, tineas, blattas, situm denique et squallorem. Inveni etiam et libros, sed quos tribus obolis non emerem." Script. Brit. p. 286.

* [The British Museum contains but one manuscript (King's MSS. 18. B. xvi.) of the *Crede*, and that of no early date. It agrees closely in orthography

And the cofres of Christendom, and the keie bothen
And the lock of byleve^d, lyeth locken in her hondes.

Then wennede^e I to Wytte, and with a whight I mette
A Minoure in amorwetide, and to this man I saide,
Sir for greate godes love, the graith^f thou me tell,
Of what myddel erde man myght I best lerne
My crede, for I can it nought, my care is the more,
And therefore for Christes love, thy counseyl I preie,
A Carme^g me hath ycovenant, [the crede¹] me to teche.
But for thou knowest Carmes wel, thy counsaile I aske.

This Minour loked on me, and laughyng he sayde
Leve Christen man, I leve^h that thou madde.
Whough² shuld thei teche the god³, that con non hemselfe?
They ben but jugulers, and japers of kynde,
Lorels and lechures, and lemans holden,
Neyther in order ne out but unneth lybbethⁱ,
And byjapeth the folk with gestes^k of Rome.
It is but a faynt folke, yfounded up on japes,
They maketh hem Maries men^l, and so thei men tellen.
And leieth on our lady many a long tale.
And that wicked folk wymmen betraieth,
And begileth hem of her good with glavering wordes.
And ther with holden her^m hous in harlotes warkes.
And so save me God I hold it great synne,
To gyven hem any good, swiche glotones to fynde
To maintaine swiche maner men the michel good destruieth

and matter with the printed copy, and is perhaps not much older. A few of its variations have been inserted in the text, and others of less importance given in the notes below. The rejected readings of the black-letter copy are distinguished by the letter P.—A reprint of Roger's edition of 1553, appeared in 1814.—
EDIT.]

^c asked.

^d belief.

^e thought.

^f truth.

^g Carmelite.

^h believe.

ⁱ deceiveth [liveth].

^k legends.

¹ The Carmelites, sometimes called the brethren of the Blessed Virgin, were fond of boasting their familiar intercourse with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, they pretended that the Virgin assumed the Carmelite habit and profession: and that she appeared to Simon Sturckius, general of their order, in the thirteenth century, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of those Christians who died with the Carmelite scapulary upon their shoulders should infallibly escape damnation. ^m their.

¹ ye nede. P.

² how.

³ God. P.

Yet seynⁿ they in her sultie, to sottis in townes
 Thei comen out of Carmeli, Christ for to folwen.
 And feyneth hem with holynesse, the yvele hem bisemeth.
 Thei lyven more in lecherie, and lieth in her tales,
 Than ⁴suen^o any good liif, but lurken in her selles,
 But wynnen werdliche^p good, and wasten it in synne,
 And gif^q thei couthen^r her crede other on Christ leveden
 Thei weren nought so hardy, swyche harlotri usen,
 Sikerli I can nought fynden who hem first founded,
 But the foles foundeden hem self freres of the pye,
 And maken hem mendyans, and marre the [people^b]
 But what glut of the gomes may any good kachen,
 He wil kepen it hem selfe, and cofrene⁶ it faste.
 And thoigh his felawes fayle good, for [him⁷] he mai sterve
 Her monei mai bi quest, and testament maken
 And none obedience here, but don as hym luste.
 And right as Robartes men raken aboute
 At feyres and at full ales, and fylle the cuppe^s
 And precheth al of pardon, to plesen the puple,
 But patience is al [passyd]⁸ and put out to ferme
 And pride is in her povertie, that litell is to preisen
 And at the lullyng of our lady^t, the wymmen to lyken

ⁿ say.^o follow.^p worldly.^q if.^r knew.

^s [Robartes men, or Roberdsmen, were a set of lawless vagabonds, notorious for their outrages when *PIERCE PLOWMAN* was written, that is, about the year 1350 [1362]. The statute of Edward the Third (an. reg. 5. c. xiv.) specifies "divers manslaughters, felonies, and robberies, done by people that be called *Roberdesmen*, Wastours, and drawlatches." And the statute of Richard the Second (an. reg. 7. c. v.) ordains, that the statute of king Edward concerning *Roberdsmen* and *Drawlacches* shall be rigorously observed. Sir Edward Coke (*INSTIT.* iii. 197.) supposes them to have been originally the followers of Robert Hood in the reign of Richard the First.

See Blackstone's *COMM.* B. iv. ch. 17. Bishop Latimer says, that in a town where he intended to preach, he could not collect a congregation, because it was *Robinhoodes daye*. "I thought my rochet would have been regarded, though I were not: but it would not serve, it was faine to give place to *Robinhoodes men*." *SERMONS*, fol. 74. b. This expression is not without an allusion to the *bad* sense of *Roberdsmen*.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^t The Carmelites pretended that their order was originally founded on Mount Carmel where Elias lived: and that their first convent was placed there, within an antient church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in the year 1121.

⁴ shewin.⁵ pule. P.⁶ coferen.⁷ he. P.⁸ pased. P.

And miracles of mydwyves, and maken wymmen to wenen
 That the lace of our lady smok lighteth hem of children.
 Thei ne prechen nought of Powel^u, ne penaunce for synne,
 But al of merci and ⁹mensk^w, that Marie may helpen.
 With sterne staves and stronge, thei overlond straketh,
 Thider as here lemans liggeth, and lurketh in townes.
 Grey grete heded quenes, with gold by the eighen,
 And seyne that her sustern thei ben that sojourneth aboute,
 And thus abouten the gon and godes¹⁰ folke betrayeth,
 It is the puple that Powel preched of in his tyme.
 He seyde of swiche folke that so aboute wente
 Wepyng, I warne you of walkers aboute,
 It beth enemyes of the cros that Christ upon tholede.
 Swiche slomreers^x in slepe slaughte^y is her end.
 And glotonye is her god, with glopping of drink^{*}
 And gladnesse in gleees, and grete joye ymaked
 In the shending^z of swiche shal mychel folk lauwghe.
 Therefore frend for thy feith fond to don beter,
 Leve nought on tho losels, but let hem forth pasen,
 For thei ben fals in her faith, and feelee mo other.

Alas frere, quath I tho, my purpos is yfailed,
 Now is my comfort a cast, canstou no bote,
 Wher I might meten with a man that might me wysse
 For to conne my crede, Christ for to folwen.

Certeyn felawe, quath the frere, withouten any fayle
 Of al men upon mold^a we Minorites most sheweth
 The pure aposteles lif¹¹, with penance on erthe,
 And suen^b hem in sanctite, and sufferen wel harde.
 We haunten not tavernes, ne hobelen^c abouten
 At marketes and miracles we medeley us never^d.

^u St. Paul.

^w mercy [humanity].

^x slumberers.

^y sloth.

^{*} [In the *LIBER PÆNITENTIALIS* there is this injunction, "Si monachus per EBRIETATEM vomitum fecerit, triginta dies

pæniteat." MSS. JAM. V. 237. Bibl. Bodl.—ADDITIONS.]

^z destroying.

^a earth.

^b follow.

^c skip, run [*hobble*].

^d See *supr.* p. 70.

⁹ mary and melk.

¹⁰ gode.

¹¹ leif. P.

We houlden^e no moneye, but [menelich¹²] faren^f
 And haven hunger at the mete, at ich a mel ones¹³.
 We haven forsaken the world, and in wo libbeth^g
 In penaunce and poverte, and prechethe the puple^h
 By ensample of our liif, soules to helpen
 And in poverte preien, for al oure parteneres
 That gyveth us any good, God to honouren
 Other bel other book, or bred to our foode,
 Other catel other cloth, to coveren [with¹⁴] oure bonesⁱ.
 Money, other money worth, here mede is in hevene
 For we buildeth a burugh^k, a brod and a large,
 A chirch and a chapitle^l, with chaumbers a lofte.
 With wide wyndowes ywrought, and walles wel heye
 That mote ben portreid, [paynted¹⁵] and pulched ful clene^m.
 With gay glitering glas, glowing as the sunne,
 And mightestou amenden us with moneyⁿ of thyne owen,
 Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wyde windowe westward wel neigh in the middell^o,
 And saint Franceis him self, shal folde the in his cope,
 And present the to the trinite, and praye for thy synnes,
 Thy name shal noblich be wryte and wrought for the nones
 And in remembraunce of the, [irade]¹⁶ ther for ever^p,

^e collect, hide, possess, hoard.

^f live like monks, like men dedicated to religion. Or rather, moneyless, poor.

^g live. ^h people.

ⁱ Either bells, or books, or bread, or cattel, &c.

^k a house.

^l A chapter-house; *Capitulum*.

^m Must be painted and beautifully adorned. [*Mote* is often used in Chaucer for must.—ADDITIONS.]

ⁿ If you would help us with your money.

^o Your figure kneeling to Christ shall be painted in the great west window. This was the way of representing bene-

factors in painted glass. See *supr.* p. 114.

^p Your name shall be written in our table of benefactors for whose souls we pray. This was usually hung up in the church. Or else he means, Written in the windows, in which manner benefactors were frequently recorded.

[Most of the printed copies read *praid*. Hearne, in a quotation of this passage, reads *grad*. GUL. NEWBRIG. p. 770. He quotes an edition of 1553. "Your name shall be richly written in the windows of the church of the monastery, which men will READ there for ever." This seems to be the true reading.—ADDITIONS.]

¹² moneliche. P.
 suppression of this word. In the manuscript it appears to have been written and afterwards erased.

¹³ ilche a mele onys.

¹⁵ and paint. P.

¹⁴ The context requires the

¹⁶ praid. P.

And brother be thou nought aferd, bythenkin thyne hert
Though thou cone^a nought thy crede, care thou no more
I shal asoilen^r the syr, and setten it on my soule.

And thou may maken this good, thenke thou non other.

Sir (I sayde) in certaine I shal gon and asaye,
And he set on me his hond, and asoiled me clene,
And there I parted him fro, withouten any peyne,
In covenant that I come agayn, Christ he me be taught.

Than saide I to myself, here semeth litel treuthe,
First to blame his brother, and bakbyten hym foule,
There as curteis Christ clerliche sayde :
Whow might thou in thy brothers eighe a bare mote loke
And in thyne owen eighe nought a beme toten,
See first on thy self, and sithen on a nother,
And clense clene thy sight, and kepe wel thyne eighe,
And for another mannes eighe, ordeyne after
And also I see coveitise, catel to fongen^s,
That Christ hath clerliche forboden^t, and clenliche destruede
And sayde to his sueres^u, for sothe on his wyse :
Nought thy neighbors good coveyte in no tyme.
But charite and chastite, ben chased out clene,
But Christ seide by her fruit, men shal hem ful knowen.
Thanne saide I, certeine syr, thou demest ful trewe.

Than thought I to frayne^w the first of this foure ordres.
And presed to the Prechoures^x, to proven her wille.
Ich highed to her house^y, to herken of more,
And when I came to that court, I gaped about,
Swich a bild bold ybuld upon erthe heichte,
Say I nought in certeyn syththe a long tyme^z.
I [^ayemyd¹⁷] upon that hous, and yerne^b theron loked,
Whow the pileres weren ypaint and [^cpulched¹⁸] ful clene,

^a know.^r absolve.^y I went to their monastery.^s take, receive.^t forbidden.^z It is long since I have seen so fine^u followers.^w to ask.^a building.^a gazed.^x I hastened to the friars-preachers.^b earnestly [eagerly].^c polished.¹⁷ semed, P.¹⁸ poleched.

And queyntly ycorven, with curious knottes,
 With wyndowes wel ywrought, wyde up alofte,
 And than I entred in, and even forthe wente,
 And all was walled that wone^d, though it wiid were
 With posternes in privite to passen when hem liste.
 Orcheyardes, and erberes^e [euesed¹⁹] wel clene,
 And a curious cros, craftly entayled^f,
 With tabernacles ytight to toten^g al abouten.
 The pris of a ploughlond, of penies so rounde,
 To aparaile that pyler, were pure litel^h,
 Than I munteⁱ me forth, the mynstere^k to knowen,
 And awayted^l it [anon²⁰] wonderly wel ybild,
 With arches on everich half, and bellyche^m ycorven
 With crochetes on [corneres]²¹, with knottes of gold.
 Wyde wyndowes ywrought ywriten ful thikkeⁿ
 Shynen with shapen sheldes^o, to shewen aboute,
 With merkes of merchauntes^p, ymedeled betwene,

^d house, habitation.^e arbours.^f carved. See Spenser, ii. 3. 27. 6. 29.^g to look.^h The price of a carucate of land would not raise such another building.ⁱ went.^k church.^l I saw.^m beautifully.ⁿ with texts, or names.^o That is, coats of arms of benefactors painted in the glass. So in an antient roll in verse, exhibiting the descent of the family of the lords of Clare in Suffolk, preserved in the Austin friary at Clare, and written in the year 1356.Dame Mault, a lady full honorable,
 Borne of the Ulsters, as sheweth ryfe
 Hir *armes of glasse* in the eastern gable.————— So conjoynd be
 Ulstris armes and Glocestris thurgh and
 thurgh,As shewith our *Wyndowes* in houses thre,
 Dortur, chapiter-house, and fraitour,
 which she
 Made out the grounde both plancher
 and wall.

Dugdale cites this roll, Mon. Angl. i.

p. 535. As does Weaver, who dates it in 1460. Fun. Mon. p. 734. But I could prove this fashion to have been of much higher antiquity.

^p [By *Merkes of merchauntes* we are to understand their symbols, cyphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. Of this passage I have received the following curious explication from Mr. Cole, rector of Blechley in Bucks, a learned antiquary in the heraldic art. "*Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors stand also the MARKS of tradesmen and merchants, who had no Arms, but used their Marks in a Shield like Arms.* Instances of this sort are very common. In many places in Great Saint Mary's church in Cambridge such a SHIELD of MARK occurs: the same that is to be seen in the windows of the great shop opposite the Conduit on the Market-hill, and the corner house of the Petty Curry. No doubt, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, the owner of these houses was a benefactor to the building, or glasing Saint Mary's church. I have seen like instances in Bristol cathedral;¹⁹ usyd.²⁰ woon. P.²¹ With crochers the corneres.

Mo than twentie and two, twyse ynoumbbred;
 Ther is non heraud that hath half swich a rolle^q
 Right as a rageman hath rekned hem newe
 Tombes upon tabernacles, tylde upon lofte^r,
 Housed^s in hornes harde set abouten^t
 Of armede alabaustre, clad for the nones,
 Maad opon marbel in many manner wyse
 Knyghtes in ther conisante^u clad for the nones
 Alle it semed seyntes, ysacred opon erthe,
 And lovely ladies ywrought, leyen by her sydes
 In many gay garnemens, that weren gold beten,
 Though the tax of ten yere were trewely gadered,
 Nolde it nought maken that hous, half as I trowe.
 Than cam I to that cloystre, and gaped abouten,
 Whough it was pilered and peynt, and portreyd well clene
 Alhyled^w with leed, lowe to the stones,

and the churches at Lynn are full of them."—In an antient system of heraldry in the British Museum, I find the following illustration, under a shield of this sort. "Theys be none armys, bvt a MARKE as MARCHAUNTS vse, for every mane may take hyme a Marke, but not armys, without an herawde or purcyvaunte." MSS. Harl. 2259. 9. fol. 110. —ADDITIONS.]

^q such a roll. ^r set up on high.

^s [But perhaps we should read HURNES, interpreted, in the short Glossary to the CREDE, CAVES, that is, in the present application, *niches*, *arches*. See GLOSS. Rob. Glouc. p. 660. col. i. HURN, is *angle*, *corner*. From the Saxon *þýrn*, *Angulus*. Chaucer FRANKEL. T. Urr. p. 110. v. 2677.

Seeking in every halke [nook], and every herne.

And again, CHAN. YEM. Prol. p. 121. v. 679.

Lurking in *hernis* and in *lanis* blind.
 Read the line, thus pointed.

Housed in HURNES hard set abouten.

The sense is therefore: "The tombs were within lofty-pinnacled tabernacles,

and enclosed in a multiplicity of thick-set arches." HARD is *close* or *thick*. This conveys no bad idea of a Gothic sepulchral shrine.—ADDITIONS.]

[Mr. Ellis asks "Why not harnés, harness, i. e. armour?" which would hardly be characteristic of the *architecture* of a tomb. Warton is doubtlessly right. The term occurs in the poem of Beowulf:

sele hlifade,	hall rose,
heah and horn-geap,	high and arched.
	EDIT.]

^t Placed very close or thick about the church.

^u In their proper habiliments. In their *cognisances*, or surcoats of arms. So again, Signat. C. ii. b.

For though a man in her minstre a masse wolde heren,

His sight shall also byset on sondrye workes,

The pennons, and the poinells, and pointes of sheldes

Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his harte.

That is, the banners, atchievements, and other armorial ornaments, hanging over the tombs.

^w covered.

And ypaved, with [²²poynttyl^x,] ich point after other
 With cundites of clene tyn closed al aboute^y,
 With lavoures of lattin^z, loveliche ygreithed^a
 I trowe the gaynage of the ground, in a gret shyre
 Nold aparaile that place, oo poynt tyl other ende^b.
 Thane was the chapitre house wrought as a greet chirch
 Corven and covered, ant quentelyche entayled^c
 With semliche selure yseet on lofte^d
 As a parlement hous ypeynted aboute^e.

^x *Point en point* is a French phrase for *in order*, exactly. This explains the latter part of the line. Or *poyntill* may mean tiles in squares or dies, in chequer-work. See Skinner in *POINT*, and Du Fresne in *PUNCTURA*. And then *ich POINT after other* will be *one square after another*. So late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, so magnificent a structure as the refectory of Christ-church at Oxford was, at its first building, paved with green and yellow tiles. The whole number was two thousand six hundred, and each hundred cost three shillings and six-pence. MSS. Br. Twyne, Archiv. Oxon. 8. p. 352. Wolsey's great hall at Hampton Court, evidently built in every respect on the model of this at Christ-church, was very probably paved in the same manner. See *OBSERVAT. ON SPENS.* vol. ii. § p. 232. [pantiles, Ellis.]

^y Spouts. Or channels for conveying the water into the lavatory, which was usually placed in the cloyster.

^z laten, a metal so called.

^a prepared, adorned.

^b from one end to the other.

^c The chapter-house was magnificently constructed in the style of church-architecture, finely vaulted, and richly carved.

^d A seemly ceiling, or roof, very lofty.

^e That they painted the walls of rooms, before tapestry became fashionable, I have before given instances, *OBSERVAT. SPENS.* vol. ii. § p. 232. I will here add other proofs. In an old French romance on the *MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN*, liv. i.

Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. LAMBROISSARE.

Lors moustiers tiennent ors et sals,
 Et lor cambres, et lor grans sales,
 Font lambroissier, paindre, et pourtraire.

Gervasius Dorobernensis, in his account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1174, says, that not only the beam-work was destroyed, but the ceiling underneath it, or concameration called *cælum*, being of wood beautifully painted, was also consumed. "*Cælum inferius egregie depictum*," &c. p. 1289. Dec. Script. Lond. 1652. And Stubbes, *Actus Pontif. Eboracensium*, says, that archbishop Aldred, about 1060, built the whole church of York from the Presbytery to the Tower, and "*superius opere pictorio quod Cælum vocant auro multiformiter intermixto, mirabili arte construxit*." p. 1704. Dec. Script. ut supr. There are many instances in the pipe-rolls, not yet printed. The roof of the church of Cassino in Italy is ordered to be painted in 1349, like that of St. John Lateran at Rome. Hist. Cassin. tom. ii. p. 545. col. 1. Dugdale has printed an antient French record, by which it appears that there was a hall in the castle of Dover called *Arthur's hall*, and a chamber called *Geneura's chamber*. Monast. ii. 2. I suppose, because the walls of these apartments were respectively adorned with paintings of each. *Geneura* is Arthur's queen. In the pipe-rolls of Henry the Third we have this notice, A.D. 1259. "*Infra portam castri et birbecanam, etc. ab exitu CAMERÆ ROSAMUNDÆ usque*

Thanne ferd I into fraytoure^f, and fond there a nother,
 An halle for an hygh kynge, an houshold to holden,
 With brod bordes abouten, ybenched wel clene,
 With wyndowes of glass, wrought as a chirche^g.
 Than walkede I ferrer^h, and went al abouten
 And seighⁱ halles ful heygh, and houses ful noble,
 Chambres with chymneys, and chapels gaye,
 And kychenes for an high kynge, in castels to holden,
 And her dortoure^k ydight, with dores ful stronge
 Fermerye and fraitur^l, with fele mo houses^m
 And al strong ston wal sterne upon heithe
 With gaye garites, and grete, and iche hole glased.
 And other houses ynowe, to hereberwe the queeneⁿ,
 And yet these bilderes wiln beggen a bagge ful of whete
 Of a pure pore man, that may onethe^o paye
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde.

Than turned I ayen whan I hadde al ytoted^p
 And fond in a freitoure a frere on a benche,
 A greet chorl and a grym, growen as a tonne,
 With a face so fat, as a ful bleddere^r,
 Blownen bretful of breth, and as a bagge honged.
 On bothen his chekes, and his chyn, with a chol lollende

capellam sancti Thomæ in Castro Wyn-
 ton." Rot. Pip. Hen. III. an. 43.—
 This I once supposed to be a chamber
 in Winchester castle, so called because
 it was painted with the figure or some
 history of fair Rosamond. But a Ro-
 SAMUND-CHAMBER was a common apart-
 ment in the royal castles, perhaps in
 imitation of her BOWER at Woodstock,
 literally nothing more than a chamber,
 which yet was curiously constructed and
 decorated, at least in memory of it. The
 old prose paraphrast of the Chronicle of
 Robert of Gloucester says, "BOURES
 hadde the Rosamonde a bout in Enge-
 londe, which this kynge [Hen. II.] for
 hir sake made: atte Waltham bishope's,
 in the castelle of Wynchester, atte park
 of Fremantel, atte Marteleston, atte
 Woodestoke, and other fele [many]
 places." Chron. edit. Hearne, 479. This
 passage indeed seems to imply, that

Henry the Second himself provided for
 his fair concubine a BOWER, or chamber
 of peculiar construction, not only at
 Woodstock, but in all the royal palaces:
 which, as may be concluded from the
 pipe-roll just cited, was called by her
 name. Leland says, that in the stately
 castle of Pickering in Yorkshire, "in
 the first court be a foure Toures, of the
 which one is caullid *Rosamundes Toure*."
 Itin. fol. 71. Probably because it con-
 tained one of these bowers or chambers.
 Or, perhaps we should read ROSAMUN-
 DES BOURE. Compare Walpole's Anecd.
 Paint. i. p. 10. 11. ^f fratriy.

^g a series of stately Gothic windows.

^h further. ⁱ saw.

^k dormitory. ^l infirmary, &c.

^m many other apartments.

ⁿ to lodge the queen.

^o scarcely.

^p observed.

^r bladder.

So greet [as] a gos ey, growen [al²³] of grece.
 That al wagged his fleish, as a quick mire^s,
 His cope that biclypped^t him, wel clene was it folden
 Of double worstede ydyght, doun to the hele.
 His kyrtel of clene whiit, clenlyche ysewed
 Hit was good ynow of ground, greyn for to baren.
 I haylsede that [hirdman²⁴] and hendliche I sayde,
 Gode sire for godes love, canstou me graith tellen,
 To any worthely wiight, that wissen me couthe,
 [How²⁵] I shuld conne my crede, Christ for to folwe,
 That [levid²⁶] lelliche^u hym selfe, and lyved ther after,
 That feynede no falshede, but fully Christ suwede,
 For [suche²⁷] a certeyn man syker wold I trosten
 That he wold tell me the trewth, and turn to none other.
 And an Austyn this ender day, egged^w me faste
 That he wold techen me wel, he plyght me his treuthe
 And seyde me certeyn [sythyn²⁸] Christ deyed
 Oure ordre was [evels²⁹], and erst yfounde.

First felawe quath he, fy on his [pilche³⁰]
 He is but abortiif, eked with cloutes.
 He holdeth his ordinaunce with hores and theves,
 And purchaseth hem privileges, with penyes so rounde.
 It is a pure pardoners craft, prove and asay
 For have they thy money, a moneth therafter
 Certes theigh thou come agen, he wil ye nought knowen.
 But felawe oure fundament was first of the other
 And we ben founded fulliche, withouten fayntise
 And we ben clerkes renowen, cunning in schole
 Proued in procession by processe of lawe.
 Of oure order ther beth bichopes wel manye,
 Seyntes on sundry stedes, that suffreden harde
 And we ben proved the priis of popes at Rome
 And of grettest degre, as gospels telleth.

^s quag-mire.^t covered.^u truly.^w moved.²³ full.²⁴ thirdman. P.²⁵ Whom. P.²⁶ lenede. P.²⁷ sith. P.²⁸ sighten. P.²⁹ yvellis.³⁰ pylthe.

I must not quit our Ploughman without observing, that some other satirical pieces anterior to the Reformation, bear the adopted name of *PIERS THE PLOWMAN*. Under the character of a plowman the religious are likewise lashed, in a poem written in apparent imitation of Longland's *VISION*, and attributed to Chaucer. I mean the *PLOWMAN'S TALE*^x. The measure is different, and it is in rhyme. But it has Longland's alliteration of initials: as if his example had, as it were, appropriated that mode of versification to the subject, and the supposed character which supports the satire^y. All these poems were, for the most part, founded on the doctrines newly broached by Wickliffe^z: who maintained, among other things,

^x Perhaps falsely. Unless Chaucer wrote the *Crede*, which I cannot believe. For in Chaucer's *PLOWMAN'S TALE* this *Crede* is alluded to. v. 3005.

And of *Freris* I have before
Told in a making of a *Crede*;
And yet I could tell worse and more.

This passage at least brings the *PLOWMAN'S TALE* below the *CREDE* in time. But some have thought, very improbably, that this *Crede* is *Jack Upland*.

^y It is extraordinary that we should find in this poem one of the absurd arguments of the puritans against ecclesiastical establishments. v. 2253. Urr. edit.

For Christ made no cathedralls,
Ne with him was no Cardinalls.

But see what follows, concerning Wickliffe.

^z It is remarkable, that they touch on the very topics which Wickliffe had just published in his *OBJECTIONS OF FRERES*, charging them with *fifty heresies*. As in the following. "Also Freres buildin many great churches, and costly wast houses and cloisteres, as it wern castels, and that withouten nede," &c. Lewis's *WICKLIFFE*, p. 22. I will here add a passage from Wickliffe's tract entitled *WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICES*. Lewis, App. Num. xix. p. 289. "And yet they [lords] wolen not present a clerk able of kunning of god's law, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, or *wise in building castles*, or worldly doing, though he kunne not reade well his sauter," &c. Here is

a manifest piece of satire on Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, Wickliffe's cotemporary; who is supposed to have recommended himself to Edward the Third by rebuilding the castle of Windsor. This was a recent and notorious instance. But in this appointment the king probably paid a compliment to that prelate's singular talents for business, his activity, circumspection, and management, rather than to any scientific and professed skill in architecture which he might have possessed. It seems to me that he was only a supervisor or comptroller on this occasion. It was common to depute churchmen to this department, from an idea of their superior prudence and probity. Thus John, the prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester in 1280, is commissioned by brief from the king, to supervise large repairs done by the sheriff in the castle of Winchester, and the royal manor of Wolmer. MS. Registr. Priorat. Quat. 19. fol. 3. The bishop of S. David's was master of the works at building King's College. Hearne's *Elmh.* p. 353. Alcock, bishop of Ely, was comptroller of the royal buildings under Henry the Seventh. Parker, *Hist. Cambr.* p. 119. He, like Wykeham, was a great builder, but not therefore an architect. Richard Williams, dean of Litchfield and chaplain to Henry the Eighth, bore the same office. MSS. Wood, Litchfield. D. 7. Ashmol. Nicholas Townley clerk, was master of the works at Cardinal College. MS. Twyne, 8. f. 351. See also Walpole, i. Anecd. Paint. p. 40.

that the clergy should not possess estates, that the ecclesiastical ceremonies obstructed true devotion, and that Mendicant friars, the particular object of our *Plowman's CREDE*, were a public and insupportable grievance. But Wickliffe, whom Mr. Hume pronounces to have been an enthusiast, like many other reformers, carried his ideas of purity too far; and, as at least it appears from the two first of these opinions, under the design of destroying superstition, his undistinguishing zeal attacked even the necessary aids of religion. It was certainly a lucky circumstance, that Wickliffe quarrelled with the Pope. His attacks on superstition at first probably proceeded from resentment. Wickliffe, who was professor of divinity at Oxford, finding on many occasions not only his own province invaded, but even the privileges of the university frequently violated by the pretensions of the Mendicants, gratified his warmth of temper by throwing out some slight censures against all the four orders, and the popes their principal patrons and abettors. Soon afterwards he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury hall, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the archiepiscopal sentence, by way of rebuke for the freedom with which he had treated the monastic profession. Wickliffe, highly exasperated at this usage, immediately gave a loose to his indignation, and without restraint or distinction attacked in numerous sermons and treatises, not only the scandalous enormities of the whole body of monks, but even the usurpations of the pontifical power itself, with other ecclesiastical corruptions. Having exposed these palpable abuses with a just abhorrence, he ventured still farther, and proceeded to examine and refute with great learning and penetration the absurd doctrines which prevailed in the religious system of his age: he not only exhorted the laity to study the Scriptures, but translated the Bible into English for general use and popular inspection. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that these efforts enlarged the notions of mankind, and sowed those seeds of a revolution in religion, which were quick-

ened at length and brought to maturity by a favourable coincidence of circumstances, in an age when the encreasing growth of literature and curiosity naturally led the way to innovation and improvement. But a visible diminution of the authority of the ecclesiastics, in England at least, had been long growing from other causes. The disgust which the laity had contracted from the numerous and arbitrary encroachments both of the court of Rome, and of their own clergy, had greatly weaned the kingdom from superstition; and conspicuous symptoms had appeared, on various occasions, of a general desire to shake off the intolerable bondage of papal oppression.

SECTION X.

LONGLAND's peculiarity of style and versification seems to have had many cotemporary imitators. One of these is a nameless author on the fashionable history of Alexander the Great: and his poem on this subject is inserted at the end of the beautiful Bodleian copy of the French ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE, before mentioned, with this reference^a. "Here fayleth a prossesse of this romaunce of Alixaunder the whiche prossesse that fayleth ye schulle fynde at the ende of thys boke ywrete in Engeliche ryme." It is imperfect, and begins and proceeds thus^b.

How Alexander partyd thennys^c.

When this weith at his wil wedinge
Hadde, fful rathe rommede he rydinge
Thedince so ondrace with his ost
Alixandre wendeth there wilde contre
Was wist and wonderfull peple
That weren proved ful proude, and prys of hevi helde
Of bodi went thei thare withoute any wede

^a See above, vol. i. p. 144. It is in a different hand, yet with Saxon characters. See ad calc. cod. f. 209. It has miniatures in water colours.

^b There is a poem in the Ashmolean museum, complete in the former part, which I believe is the same. MSS. Ashm. 44. It has twenty-seven passus, and begins thus:

Whener folk fastid and fed, fayne wolde
thei her
Some farand thing, &c.

^c At the end are these rubrics, with void spaces, intended to be filled.

"How Alexandre remewid to a flood
that is called Phison."

"How king Duidimus sente lettres to
king Alexandre."

"How Duidimus enditid to Alexaundre
of here levying."

"How he spareth not Alexandre to telle
hym of hys governance."

"How he telleth Alexandre of his mau-
metrie."

"How Alexandre sente aunswere to
Duidimus by lettres."

"How Duidimus sendyd an answere to
Alexandre by lettre."

"How Alexandre sente Duidimus an-
other lettre."

"How Alexandre pight a pelyr of mar-
byl ther."

And had grave on the ground many grete cavys
There here wonnyng was wynturus and somerus
No syte nor no sur stede sothli thei ne hadde
But holus holwe in the grounde to hide hem inne
Now is that name to mene the nakid wise
Wan the kiddeste of the cavus that was kinge holde
Hurde tydinge telle and loknyng wiste
That Alixaundre with his ost at lede thidince
To beholden of hom hure hiezest prynce
Than waies of worshipe wittie and quainte
With his lettres he let to the lud sende
Thanne southte thei sone the foresaide prynce
And to the schamlese schalk schewen hur lettres
Than rathe let the reden the sonde
That newe tythinge is tolde in this wise
The gentil Geneosophistians^c that gode were of witte
To the emperour Alixandre here aunsweris wreten
This is worschip of word worthi to have
And in conquerer kid in contres manie
Us is sertefyed seg as we soth heren
That thou hast ment with the man among us ferre
But yf thou kyng to us come with caere to figte
Of us getist thou no good gome we the warne
For what richesse . . . us might you us bi reve
Whan no wordliche wele is with us founde
We ben sengle of us silfe and semen ful bare
Nouht welde we nowe but naked we wende
And that we happili her haven of kynde
May no man but god make us fine
Thei thou fonde with thi folke to fighte us alle
We schulle us kepe on caugt our cavus withinne
Nevere werred we with wigth upon erthe
For we ben hid in oure holis or we harme laache hadde
Thus saide sothli the loude that thi sente
And al so cof as the king kende the sawe

^c Gymnosophists.

New lettres he let the bi take
 And with his sawes of soth he hem alle
 That he wolde faire with his folke in a faire wise
 To bi holden here home and non harme wurke
 So heth the king with hem sente and sithen with his peple
 cosli til hem to kenne of hure fare
 But whan thai sieu the seg with so manye ryde
 Thei war a grison of his grym and wende gref tholie
 Ffast heiede thei to holis and hidden there
 And in the cavus hem kept from the king sterne, &c.

Another piece, written in Longland's manner, is entitled, *THE WARRES OF THE JEWES*. This was a favourite subject, as I have before observed, drawn from the Latin historical romance, which passes under the name of *HEGESIPPUS DE EXCIDIO HIERUSALEM*.

In Tyberyus tyme the trewe emperour*
 Syr Sesar hym [self sessed¹] in Rome
 Whyl Pylot was provost under that prynce ryche
 And [jewes²] justice also in Judens londis
 Herode under his empire as heritage wolde
 King of Galile was ycallid whan that Crist deyad
 They³ Sesar sakles wer, that oft syn hatide
 Throw Pilet pynded he was and put on the rode
 A pyler was down pygt⁴ upon the playne erthe
 His body [bownden⁵] therto beten with scourgis
 Whippes of [wherebole⁶] bywent his white sides
 Til he al on rede blode ran as rayn on the strete

* [The present text has been collated with the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ii. The orthographical differences between this and the Laud MS. are numerous though not important. All its readings improving the sense have been adopted; though this perhaps would have been wholly superfluous had the original transcript been correctly made.—EDIT.]

¹ suls saysed.

² sewen.

both *though* and *they*. It occurs again below: "they it," though it.

was don.

⁵ bouden.

since it only destroys the alliteration to the eye.

³ This is the orthography observed for

⁴ pygt

⁶ quyrbole;—which might have stood,

[Sith⁷] stockyd hym an a stole with styf menes hondis
 Blyndfelled hym as a be and boffetis hym ragte
 Zif you be a prophete of pris prophecie they sayde
 Which man her aboute [bolled⁸] the laste
 A thrange thorn crown was thraste on his hed
 [They⁹] casten [up a grete] cry [that hym on] cros slowen
 Ffor al the harme that he had, hasted he nogt
 On hym the vyleny to venge that hys venys brosten
 Bot ay taried on the tyme gif they [turne¹⁰] wolde
 Gaf [hem¹¹] space that him spiledde they [hit spedde¹²] lyte
 [Fourty wynter¹³] as yfynde and no fewer, &c.^d

Notwithstanding what has been supposed above, it is not quite certain that Longland was the first who led the way in this singular species of versification. His VISION was written on a popular subject, and is the only poem, composed in this capricious sort of metre, which has been printed. It is easy to conceive how these circumstances contributed to give him the merit of an inventor on this occasion.

The ingenious doctor Percy has exhibited specimens of two or three other poems belonging to this class^e. One of these is entitled DEATH AND LIFE: it consists of two hundred and twenty-nine lines, and is divided into two parts or *Fitts*. It begins thus:

^d Laud. . . 22. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Ad calc. "Hic tractatur bellum Judaicum apud Jerusalem." f. 19. b. It is also in Brit. Mus. Cot. MSS. CALIG. A. ii. fol. 109—123. Gyraldus Cambrensis says, that the Welsh and English use alliteration "in omni sermone exquisito." Descript. Cambr. cap. xi. p. 889. O'Flaherty also says of the Irish, "Non

parvæ est apud nos in oratione elegantiae schema, quod Paromæon, i. e. *Assimile*, dicitur: quoties multæ dictiones, ab eadem litera incipientes, ex ordine collocantur." Ogyg. part. iii. 30. p. 242. See also Dr. Percy's judicious Essay on the METRE OF PIERCE PLOWMAN'S VISIONS. ^e Essay on the Metr. of P. P. Vis. p. 8. seq.

⁷ Warton reads "Such;" the Cotton MS. "And sythen sette on a sete;" whence the genuine reading of the Laud MS. was obvious.

⁹ casten hym with a cry and on a cross slowen.

⁸ bobette, Cot. MS.

¹⁰ tone, which if intended for atone (like dure for endure, sperst for dispersed &c.) might be allowed to stand. The probability is that it is an erroneous transcript for *tornce*.

¹² he spedde.

¹³ Yf aynt was. Perhaps: xl. wynterit was, &c.

¹¹ he.

Christ christen king that on the cross tholed,
 Hadde paines and passyons to defend our soules;
 Give us grace on the ground the greatlye to serve
 For that royall red blood that rann from thy side.

The subject of this piece is a VISION, containing a contest for superiority between *Our lady Dame LIFE*, and the *ugly fiend Dame DEATH*: who with their several attributes and concomitants are personified in a beautiful vein of allegorical painting. *Dame LIFE* is thus forcibly described.

Shee was brighter of her blee than was the bright sonn;
 Her rud redder than the rose that on the rise hangeth:
 Meekely smiling with her mouth, and merry in her lookes;
 Ever laughing for love, as shee like would:
 And as she came by the bankes the boughes eche one
 They lowted to that ladye and layd forth their branches;
 Blossomes and burgens breathed full sweete,
 Flowers flourished in the frith where she forth stepped,
 And the grasse that was gray grened belive.

The figure of DEATH follows, which is equally bold and expressive. Another piece of this kind, also quoted by doctor Percy, is entitled CHEVELERE ASSIGNE, or DE CIGNE, that is, the *Knight of the Swan*. This is a romance which is extant in a prose translation from the French, among Mr. Garrick's noble collection of old plays^f. We must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a French metrical romance on this subject, entitled L'YSTOIRE DU CHEVALIER AU SIGNE^g. Our English poem begins thus^h:

^f K. vol. 10. "Imprinted at London by me Wylliam Copland." There is an edition on parchment by W. de Worde, 1512. "Newly translated out of Frenshe into Englyshe at thinstigacion of the puyssaunt prynce lorde Edward duke of Buckynghame." Here I understand French prose.

^g 15 E. vi. 9. fol. And in the Royal library at Paris, MS. 7192. "Le Roman du Chevalier au Cigne en vers." Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 789.

^h See MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. ii. f. 109. 123.

[The celebrated Godfrey of Bullogne was said to have been lineally descended from the Chevalier au Cigne. *Melanges d'une Gr. Bibloth.* vol. v. c. iii. p. 148. The tradition is still current in the Duchy of Cleves, and forms one of the most interesting pieces in Otmar's *Volks-sagen*. It must have obtained an early and general circulation in Flanders; for Nicolaes de Klerc, who wrote at the

All-weldyng god, whene it is his wylle,
 Wele he wereth his werke with his owene honde,
 For ofte harmes were hente that helpe we ne mygte
 Nere the hygnes of hym that lengeth in hevene
 For this, &c.

This alliterative measure, unaccompanied with rhyme, and including many peculiar Saxon idioms appropriated to poetry, remained in use so low as the sixteenth century. In doctor Percy's *Antient Ballads*, there is one of this class called THE SCOTTISH FEILDE, containing a very circumstantial narrative of the battle of Flodden fought in the year 1513.

In some of the earliest of our specimens of old English poetryⁱ, we have long ago seen that alliteration was esteemed a fashionable and favourite ornament of verse. For the sake of throwing the subject into one view, and further illustrating what has been here said concerning it, I chuse to cite in this place a very antient hymn to the Virgin Mary, never printed, where this affectation professedly predominates^k.

I.

Hail beo yow^l Marie, moodur and may,
 Mylde, and meke, and merciablen;
 Heyl folliche fruit of sothfast fay,
 Agayn vche stryf studefast and stable!

commencement of the 14th century (1318), thus refers to it in his *Brabandsche Yeesten*:

Om dat van Brabant die Hertoghen
 Voormaels dicke syn beloghen
 Also dat sy quamen metten Swane
 Daar by hebbics my genomen ane
 Dat ic die waerheit wil out decken
 Ende in Duitsche Rime vertrecken.

i. e. because *formerly* the dukes of Brabant have been much belied, to-wit, that they came with a Swan, I have undertaken to disclose the truth, and to propound it in Dutch Rhyme. See Van Wynut *supra*, p. 270. The French romance upon this subject, consisting of

about 30,000 verses, was begun by one Renax or Renaux, and finished by Gandor de Douay.—EDIT.]

ⁱ See Sect. i.

^k Among the Cotton manuscripts there is a Norman Saxon alliterative hymn to the Virgin Mary. *NER. A. xiv. f. 240. cod. membran. 8vo.* "On god ureisun to ure lefdi." That is, *A good prayer to our lady.*

Criȝter milde moder ȝeynte Marie
 Mineȝ hueȝ leonie, mi leoue lefdi.

^l See some pageant-poetry, full of alliteration, written in the reign of Henry the Seventh, *Leland. Coll. iii. App. 180. edit. 1770.*

Heil sothfast soul in vche a say,
 Undur the son is non so able.
 Heil logge that vr lord in lay,
 The formast that never was founden in fable,
 Heil trewe, trouthfull, and trefable,
 Heil cheef i chosen of chastite,
 Heil homely, hende, and amyable
To preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

II.

Heil stern, that never stinteth liht;
 Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent;
 Heil rihtful rulere of everi riht,
 Schadewe to schilde that scholde be schent.
 Heil, blessed be yowe blosme briht,
 To trouthe and trust was thine entent;
 Heil mayden and modur, most of miht,
 Of all mischeves and amendement;
 Heil spice sprong that never was spent,
 Heil trone of the trinitie;
 Heil soiene^m that god us sone to sent
Yowe preye for us thi sone fre ! AVE.

III.

Heyl hertely in holinesse.
 Heyl hope of help to heighe and lowe,
 Heyl strength and stel of stabylnesse,
 Heyl wyndowe of hevene wowe,
 Heyl reson of rihtwysnesse,
 To vche a caityf comfort to knowe,
 Heyl innocent of angernesse,
 Vr takel, vr tol, that we on trowe,
 Heyl frend to all that beoth forth flowe
 Heyl liht of love, and of bewte,
 Heyl brihter then the blod on snowe,
Yow preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE.

^m F. Seyen. *Scyon.*

IV.

Heyl mayden, heyl modur, heyl martir trowe,
 Heyl kyndly i knowe confessour,
 Heyl evenere of old lawe and newe,
 Heyl buildor bold of cristes bour,
 Heyl rose higest of hyde and hewe,
 Of all ffruytes feirest ffleur,
 Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe,
 Of all trouthe thou art tresour,
 Heyl puyred princesse of paramour,
 Heyl blosme of brere brihtest of ble,
 Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c.

V.

Heyl hende, heyl holy emperesse,
 Heyle queene corteois, comely, and kynde,
 Heyl distruyere of everi strisse,
 Heyl mender of everi monnes mynde,
 Heil bodi that we ouht to blesse,
 So feythful frend may never mon fynde,
 Heil levere and love of largenesse
 Swete and swetest that never may swynde,
 Heil botenere of everie bodi blynde,
 Heil borgun brihtes of all bounte,
 Heyl trewore then the wode bynde,
Yow preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE.

VI.

Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevene quene,
 Heyl gatus of paradys,
 Heyl sterre of the se that ever is sene,
 Heyl riche, royall, and ryhtwys,
 Heyl burde i blessed mote yowe bene,
 Heyl perle of al perey the pris,
 Heyl schadewe in vche a schour schene,
 Heyl fairer thae that flour de lys,

Heyl cher chosen that never nas chis
 Heyl chef chamber of charite
 Heyl in wo that ever was wis
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c. &c.^a

These rude stanzas remind us of the Greek hymns ascribed to Orpheus, which entirely consist of a cluster of the appellations appropriated to each divinity.

^a MS. Vernon. f. 122. In this manuscript are several other pieces of this sort.

[The Holy Virgin appears to a priest

who often sung to her, and calls him her *joculator*. MSS. JAMES. xxvi. p. 32.—
 ADDITIONS.]

SECTION XI.

ALTHOUGH this work is professedly confined to England, yet I cannot pass over two Scotch poets of this period, who have adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to their age; and who consequently deserve to be mentioned in a general review of the progress of our national poetry. They have written two heroic poems. One of them is John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He was educated at Oxford; and Rymer has printed an instrument for his safe passage into England, in order to prosecute his studies in that university, in the years 1357 and 1365^a. David Bruce, king of Scotland, gave him a pension for life, as a reward for his poem called the HISTORY OF ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF THE SCOTS^b. It was printed at Glasgow in the year 1671^c. A battle fought by lord Douglas is thus described.

Quhen thir twa bataillis wer
 Assemblyt, as I said yow er,
 The Stewart Waltre that than was,
 And the gud lord als of Douglas,
 In a batail quhen that thai saw
 The erle, for owtyn dred or aw,
 Assembill with his cumpany
 On all that folk sa sturdely,
 For till help him thai held thair way,
 [And their battle with good array,]

^a Foed. vi. 31. 478.

^b Tanner, Bibl. p. 73.

^c 12mo. [The present text has been

taken from Dr. Jamieson's edition of the Bruce, 4to. Edin. 1821.—EDIT.]

Besid the erle a litil by,
And assemblyt sa hardely,
That thair fayis feld thair cummyn wele;
For with wapynnys stalwart of stele,
Thai dang upon with all thair mycht,
Thar fayis resawyt weile, Ik hycht,
With swerdis speris, and with mase,
The batail thar so feloune was,
And swa rycht gret spilling of blud.
That on the erd the floussis stud,
The Scottismen sa will thaim bar,
And swa gret slauchter maid thai thar,
And fra sa fele the lyvis rewyte,
That all the feld bludy wes lewyte.
That tyme thar thre batailis wer
All syd besid fechtend will ner,
Thar mycht men her many dint,
And wapynnys apon armuris stynt,
And se tumble knychtis and stedis,
And mony rich and reale wedis
Fouly defoulyt wndre fete,
Sum held on loft, sum tynt the suet.
A lang quhile thus fechtand thai war,
That men na noyis mycht her thar.
Men hard noucht bat granys and dintis
That slew fyr, as men slayis on flyntis.
They faucht ilk ane sa egerly,
That thai maid nother noyis na cry,
Bot dang on othyr at thair mycht,
With wapnys that war burnyst brycht.
The arowys alsua thyk thar flaw,
(That thay mycht say wele, that thaim saw)
That thai a hydways schour gan ma;
For quhar thai fell, Ik wndreta,
Thai left eftir thaim taknyng,
That sall ned, as I trow, leching.

The Inglis archeris schot sa fast,
That mycht thair schot haff ony last,
It had bene hard to Scottismen.
Bot king Robert, that wele gan ken,
That thair archeris war peralouss,
And thair schot rycht hard and grewouss,
Ordanyt forouth the assemble,
Hys marschel, with a gret menye,
Fyve hundre armyt in to stele,
That on lycht horss war horsyt welle,
For to pryk amang the archeris,
And swa assaile thaim with thair speris,
That thai na layser haiff to schute.
This marschel that Ik of mute,
That Schyr Robert of Keyth was cauld,
As Ik befor her has yow tauld.
Quhen he saw the bataillis sua
Assembill, and togidder ga,
And saw the archeris schoyt stoutly,
With all thaim off his cumpany,
In hy apon thaim gan he rid,
And our tuk thaim at a sid,
And ruschyt amang thaim sa rudly,
Stekand thaim so dispitously,
And in sik fusoun berand doun,
And slayand thaim for owtyn ransoun,
That thai thaim scalyt euirilkane;
And, fra that tyme furth, thar was nane
That assemblyt, schot to ma.
Quhen Scottis archeris saw that thai sua
War rebutyt, thai woux hardy,
And with all thair mycht schot egrely
Amang the horss men that thar raid,
And woundis wid to thaim thai maid,
And slew of thaim a full gret dele.
Thai bar thaim hardely and wele;

For fra thair fayis archeris war
 Scalyt, as I said till yow ar,
 That ma na thai war be gret thing,
 Swa that thai dred nocht thair schoting.
 Thai woux sa hardy, that thaim thocht,
 Thai suld set all thair fayis at nocht.^d

The following is a specimen of our author's talent at rural description. The verses are extremely soft.

This wes in the moneth of May,
 Quhen byrdis syngis in ilk spray,
 Melland thair notis with seymly soune,
 For softnes of the suét sesoun,
 And levys of the branchys spredis,
 And blomys brycht besid thaim bredis,
 And feldis ar strowyt with flouris
 Well sawerand of ser colouris,
 And all thing worthis, blyth and gay.^e

The other wrote a poem on the exploits of Sir William Wallace. It was first printed in 1601. And very lately reprinted at Edinburgh in quarto, with the following title, "The acts and deeds of the most famous and valiant champion Sir William Wallace, knight, of Ellerslie. Written by BLIND HARRY in the year 1361. Together with ARNALDI BLAIR RELATIONES. Edinburgh, 1758." No circumstances of the life of our blind bard appear in Dempster^f. This poem, which consists of twelve books, is translated from the Latin of Robert Blare, or Blair, chaplain to Sir William Wallace^g. The

^d p. 262.

^e p. 326.

^f See Dempst. viii. 349. 662.

^g Tit. GESTA WILLELMI WALLAS. See Dempst. ii. 148. He flourished in 1300. He has left another Latin poem, DE LIBERATA TYRANNIDE SCOTIA. Arnald Blair, mentioned in the title page in the text, probably Robert's brother, if not the same, was also chaplain to Wallace, and monk of Dumferling about the year 1327. Relat. ut supr. p. 1. But see p. 9. 10. In the fifth book of the Scotch poem we have this passage, p. 94. v. 533.

Maister JHONE BLAYR was offt in that
 message,

A worthy clerk, bath wyss and rycht
 sawage,

Lewyt he was befor in PARYSS town, &c.
 He was the man that pryncipall wndirtuk,
 That fyrst compild in dyt the Latyne
 buk,

Off WALLACE lyff, rycht famouss of re-
 nowne,

And THOMAS GRAY persone of LIBER-
 TOUNE,

With him thai war and put in story all
 Oftt ane or bath mekill of his travaill, &c.

following is a description of the morning, and of Wallace arming himself in his tent.⁸

In till a waill be a small rywer fayr,
 On athir sid quhar wyld der maid repayr,
 Set wachis owt that wysly couth thaim kepe,
 To souppar went, and tymysly thai slepe,
 Off meit and sleip thai cess with suffisiance,
 The nycht was myrk, ourdrayff the dyrkfull chance,
 The mery day sprang fra the oryent,
 With bemys brycht enlumynyt the occident,
 Efter Titan, Phebus wp rysyt fayr,
 Heich in the sper, the signes maid declayr.
 Zepherus began his morow courss,
 The swete wapour thus fra the ground resourss;
 The humyll breyth doun fra the hewyn awaill
 In every meide, bathe fyrth, forrest and daail.
 The cler rede amang the rochis rang
 Throuch greyn branchis quhar byrdis blythly sang,
 With joyus voice in hewynly armony.
 Than Wallace thocht it was no tyme to ly:
 He croyssit him, syne sodeynli upraiss,
 To tak the ayr out off his palyon gais
 Maister Jhon Blar was redy to rawess,
 In gud entent syne bownyt to the mess.
 Quhen it was done, Wallace can him aray,
 In his armour, quhilk gudly was and gay;
 His schenand schoyis that burnyst was full beyn,
 His leg-harnes he clappyt on so clene,
 Pullane greis he braissit on full fast,
 A closs byrny with mony sekyr clasp,
 Breyst-plait, brasaris, that worthy was in wer:
 Besid him furth Jop couth his basnet ber;
 His glytterand glowis grawin on aither sid,
 He semyt weill in battaill till abid.

⁸ P. 229. B. viii. v. 65. The editor [Dr. Jamieson's text has been adopted seems to have modernised the spelling. for this edition.—EDIT.]

His gud gyrdyll, and syne his burly brand,
 A staff off steyll he gryppyt in his hand.
 The ost him blyst, &c.
 Adam Wallaice and Boid furth with him yeid
 By a revir, throu out a floryst meid.
 And as thai walk atour the feyldys greyn,
 Out off the south thai saw quhar at the queyn
 Towart the ost come ridand sobyrly,
 And fyfty ladyes was in hyr cumpany, &c.

The four following lines on the spring are uncommonly terse and elegant.

Gentill Jupiter, with his myld ordinance,
 Bath erb and tre revertis in plesance;
 And fresch Flora hir floury mantill spreid,
 In euery waill bath hop, hycht, hill, and meide.^h

A different season of the year is here strongly painted.

The dyrk regioun apperand wondyr fast,
 In November quhen October was past,
 The day faillit throu rycht courss worthit schort,
 Till banyst men that is no gret comfort:
 With thair power in pethis worthis gang,
 Hewy thai think quhen at the nycht is lang.
 Thus Wallace saw the nychtis messynger;
 Phebus had lost his fyry bemys cler:
 Out of the wood thai durst nocht turn that tyd
 For adversouris that in thair way wald byde.ⁱ

The battle of Black-Ernside shews our author a master in another style of painting.

Kerlé beheld on to the bauld Heroun,
 Upon Fawdoun as he was lukand doune,
 A suttell straik wpwart him tuk that tide
 Wndir the chokkeis the grounden suerd gart glid,

^h Lib. ix. v. 22. ch. i. p. 250.

ⁱ Lib. v. ch. i. p. 78. v. 1.

By the gude mayle, bathe halss and his crag-bayne
In sondyr straik; thus endyt that cheftayne,
To grounde he fell, feile folk about him thrang,
Tresoune, thai criyt, traytouris was thaim amang.
Kerlye, with that, fled out sone at a side,
His falow Stewyn than thocht no tyme to bide.
The fray was gret, and fast away thai yeid,
Sawch towart Ern; thus chapyt thai of dreid.
Butler for woo off wepyng mycht nocht stynt.
Thus raklesly this gud knycht haiff thai tynt.
They demyt all that it was Wallace men,
Or ellis himself, thocht thai couth nocht him ken;
He is richt ner, we sall him haiff bot faill,
This febill woode may him littill awaill.
Fourtie thar past agayne to Sanct Jhonstoun,
With this dede corss, to berysing maid it boune.
Partyt thar men, syne diverss wayis raid,
A gret power at Dipplyn still thar baid.
To Dalwryoch the Butler past bot let,
At syndry furdis the gait thai umbeset,
To kepe the wode quhill it was, day thai thocht.
As Wallace thus in the thik forrest socht,
For his twa men in mynd he had gret payne,
He wist nocht weill, gif thai war tayne or slayne,
Or chapyt haile be ony jeperte.
Threttene war left with him, no ma had he;
In the Gask-hall thair lugyng haif thai tayne.
Fyr gat thai sone, bot meyt than had thai nane;
Twa scheipe thai tuk besid thaim of a fauld,
Ordanyt to soupe in to that seemly hauld:
Graithit in haist sume fude for thaim to dycht:
So hard thai blaw rude hornys wpon hycght.
Twa sende he furth to luk quhat it mycht be;
Thai baid rycht lang, and no tithingis herd he,
Bot boustouss noyis so brymly blewand fast;
So othir twa in to the woode furth past.

Nane come agayne, bot boustously can blaw,
In to gret ire he send thaim furth on raw.
Quhen he allayne Wallace was lewyth thar,
The awfull blast aboundyt mekill mayr;
Then trowit he weill thai had his ludgyng seyne;
His suerd he drew of nobill mettall keyne,
Syn furth he went quhar at he hard the horne.
With out the dur Fawdoun was him beforne,
As till his syght, his awne hed in his hand;
A croyss he maid quhen he saw him so stand.
At Wallace in the hed he swaket thar,
And he in haist sone hynt it by the hair,
Syne out agayn at him he couth it cast,
In till his hart he was gretlye agast.
Rycht weill he trowit that was no spreit of man,
It was sum dewill, at sic malice began.
He wist no waill thar langar for to bide.
Up throuch the hall thus wicht Wallace can glid,
Till a closs stair, the burdis raiff in twyne,
Fyftene fute large he lap out of that in.
Wp the wattir he sodeynelye couth fair,
Agayne he blent quhat perance he sawe thair,
Him thocht he saw Fawdoun, that hugly syr,
That haill hall he had set in a fyr;
A gret raftre he had intill his hand.
Wallace as than no langar walde he stand.
Off his gud men full gret mervail had he,
How thai war tynt throuch his feyle fantasé.
Traistis rycht weill all this was suth in deide,
Supposs that it no poynt be of the creide.
Power thai had with Lucifer that fell,
The tyme quhen he partyt fra hewyn to hell.
Be sic myscheiff giff his men mycht be lost,
Drownyt or slayne amang the Inglis ost;
Or quhat it was in likness of Fawdoun.
Quhilk brocht his men to suddand confusioun;

Or gif the man endyt in ewill entent,
Sum wikkitt spreit agayne for him present.
I can nocht spek of sic divinité,
To clerkis I will lat all sic matteris be:
Bot of Wallace, furth I will yow tell.
Quhen he was went of that perell fell,
Yeit glad wes he that he had chapyt swa,
Bot for his men gret murnyng can he ma.
Flayt by him self to the Maker off buffe
Quhy he sufferyt he suld sic paynys pruff.
He wyst nocht weill giff it wes Goddis will;
Rycht or wrang his fortoun to fullfill,
Hade he plesd God, he trowit it mycht nocht be
He suld him thoill in sic perplexité.
Bot gret curage in his mynd evir draiff,
Off Inglismen thinkand amendis to haiff.
As he was thus walkand be him allayne
Apon Ern side, makand a pytuouss mayne,
Schyr Jhone Butler, to wache the furdiss rycht,
Out fra his men of Wallace had a sycht;
The myst wes went to the montanys agayne,
Till him he raid, quhar at he maid his mayne.
On loude he sperde, quhat art thow walkis that gait?
A trew man, Schyr, thocht my wiagis be layt;
Erandis I pass fra Doun to my lord,
Schir Jhon Sewart, the rycht for till record,
In Doune is now, new cummyn fra the king.
Than Butler said; this is a selcouth thing,
Thou leid all out, thow has beyne with Wallace,
I sall the knaw, or thow cum of this place,
Till him he stert the courser wondyr wicht,
Drew out a suerd, so maid him for to lycht.
Abown the kne gud Wallace has him tayne,
Throw the and brawn in sondyr straik the bayne.
Derfly to dede the knyght fell on the land.
Wallace the horss sone sesyt in his hand,

Ane awkward straik syne tuk him in the stede.
His crag in twa; thus was the Butler dede.
Ane Inglissman saw thair chiftayne wes slayn,
A sper in reyst he kest with all his mayne,
On Wallace draiff, fra the horss him to ber;
Warly he wrocht, as worthi man in wer.
The sper he wan with outyn mor abaid,
On horss he lap, and throw a gret rout raid;
To Dawryoch he knew the forss full weill:
Befor him come feyll stuffyt in fyne steill.
He straik the fyrst, but baid, in the blasoune,
Quhill horss and man bathe flet the wattir doune.
Ane othir sone doune fra his horss he bar,
Stampyt to grounde, and drownyt with outyn mar.
The thrid he hyt in his harness of steyll
Throw-out the cost, the sper to brak sum deyll.
The gret power than efftir him can ryd.
He saw na waill no langar thar to byd.
His burnist brand braithly in hand he bar,
Quham he hytt rycht thai folowit him no mar.
To stuff the chass feyll frekis folowit fast,
Bot Wallace maid the gayast ay agast.
The mur he tuk, and throw thair power yeid,
The horss was gud, bot yeit he had gret dreid
For failyeing or he wan to a strenth,
The chass was gret, scalyt our breid and lenth,
Throw strang danger thai had him ay in sycht.
At the Blakfurd thar Wallace doun can lycht,
His horss stuffyt, for the way was depe and lang,
A large gret myle wichtly on fute couth gang.
Or he was horst rydaris about him kest,
He saw full weyll lang swa he mycht nocht lest.
Sad men in deid wpon him can renew,
With retornyng that nycht twenty he slew,
The forseast ay rudly rabutyt he,
Kepyt hys horss, and rycht wysly can fle,

Quhill that he cum the myrckest mur amang.
His horss gaiff our, and wald no forthyr gang.^m

I will close these specimens with an instance of our author's allegorical invention.

In that slummir cummand him thocht he saw,
Ane agit man fast towart him couth draw,
Sone be the hand he hynt him haistele,
I am, he said, in wiage chargit with the.
A suerd him gaiff off burly burnist steill,
Gud sone, he said, this brand thou sall bruk weill.
Off topas stone him thocht the plumat was,
Baith hilt and hand all glitterand lik the glas.
Der sone, he said, we tary her to lang,
Thow sall go se quhar wrocht is mekill wrang;
Than he him lad till a montane on hycht,
The warld him thocht he mycht se with a sicht.
He left him thar, syne sone fra him he went,
Tharof Wallace studiit in his entent,
Till se him mar he had still gret desyr,
Tharwith he saw begyne a felloune fyr,
Quhilk braithly brynt on breid throu all the land,
Scotland atour, fra Ross to Sulway-sand.
Than sone till him thar descendyt a qweyne,
Inlumyt, lycht, schynand full brycht and scheyne;
In hyr presens apperyt so mekill lycht,
At all the fyr scho put out off his sycht,
Gaiff him a wand off colour reid and greyne,
With a saffyr sanyt his face and eyne,
Welcum, scho said, I cheiss the as my luff;
Thow art grantyt be the gret God abuff,
Till help pepill that sufferis mekill wrang,
With the as now I may nocht tary lang,
Thou sall return to thi awne oyss agayne,
Thi derrast kyne ar her in mekill payne;

This rycht regioun thow mon redeme it all,
Thi last reward in erd sall be bot small;
Let nocht tharefor, tak redress off this myss,
To thi reward thou sall haiff lestand blyss.
Off hir rycht hand scho betaucht him a bok,
Humylly thus hyr leyff full sone scho tuk,
On to the cloud ascendyt off his sycht.
Wallace brak up the buk in all his myght.
In thre partis the buk weill writyn was,
The fyrst writyng was gross letteris off bras,
The secound gold, the thrid was silver scheyne.
Wallace merveld quhat this writyng suld meyne;
To rede the buk he besyet him so fast,
His spreit agayne to walkand mynd is past,
And wp he raiss, syne sodandly furth went.
This clerk he fand, and tald him his entent
Off this wisioun, as I haiff said befor,
Completly throuch; Quhat nedis wordis mor.
Der sone, he said, my witt unabill is
To runsik sic, for dreid I say off myss;
Yit I sall deyme, thocht my cunnyng be small,
God grant na chargis efftir my wordis fall.
Saynct Androw was gaiff the that suerd in hand,
Off sanctis he is the wowar off Scotland;
That montayne is quhar he the had on hycht,
Kawlage to haiff off wrang that thow mon rycht;
The fyr sall be fell tithingis, or ye part,
Quhilk will be tald in mony syndry art.
I can nocht witt quhat qweyn at it suld be,
Quhethir Fortoun, or our Lady so fre,
Lykly it is, be the brychtnes scho brocht,
Modyr off him that all this warld has wrocht.
The prety wand, I trow, be myn entent,
Assignes rewle and cruell judgement;
The red colour, quha graithly wndrestud,
Betaknes all to gret battaill and blud;

The greyn, curage, that thow art now amang,
 In strowble wer thou sall conteyne full lang;
 The saphyr stayne scho blissit the with all,
 Is lestand grace, will God, sall to the fall;
 The thrynfald buk is bot this brokyn land,
 Thou mon rademe be worthines off hand;
 The bras lettris betakynnys bot to this,
 The gret oppress off wer and mekill myss,
 The quhilk thow sall bryng to the rycht agayne,
 Bot thou tharfore mon suffer mekil payne;
 The gold takynnys honour and worthinas,
 Wictour in armys, that thou sall haiff be grace;
 The silver shawis cleyne lyff and hewynys blyss,
 To thi reward that myrth thou sall nocht myss,
 Dreid nocht tharfor, be out off all despayr.
 Forthir as now heroff I can na mair.*

About the present period, historical romances of recent events seem to have commenced. Many of these appear to have been written by heralds^k. In the library of Worcester college at Oxford, there is a poem in French, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, who died in the year 1376. It is in the short verse of romance, and was written by the prince's herald, who attended close by his person in all his battles, according to the established mode of those times. This was John Chandois-herald, frequently mentioned in Froissart. In this piece, which is of considerable length, the names of the Englishmen are properly spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph^l, forming a sort of peroration to the

* [In a subsequent part of this work, Section xxxii. Warton has acknowledged his error in making this early mention of blind Harry; who lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The Scottish poet, whose rank the blind minstrel is thus made to assume, is Andrew of Wyntoun, a writer unknown to Warton. As it does not fall within the scope of the present edition to supply omissions of this kind, the reader is referred

to Mr. Macpherson's edition of Wyntoun's "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland;" Mr. Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets; and Mr. Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets.—EDIT.]

^k See Le Pere Menestrier, Cheval. Ancien. c. v. p. 225. Par. 12mo.

^l It is a fair and beautiful manuscript on vellum. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William Le Neve Clarencieux herald.

narrative, the same as was ordered by the prince in his will^m. This poem, indeed, may seem to claim no place here, because it happens to be written in the French language: yet, exclusive of its subject, a circumstance I have mentioned, that it was composed by a herald, deserves particular attention, and throws no small illustration on the poetry of this era. There are several proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verse, at least those written in prose, were the work of heralds. As it was their duty to attend their masters in battle, they were enabled to record the most important transactions of the field with fidelity. It was customary to appoint none to this office but persons of discernment, address, experience, and some degree of educationⁿ. At so-

^m The hero's epitaph is frequent in romances. In the French romance of SAINTRE, written about this time, his epitaph is introduced.

ⁿ Le Pere Menestrier, Cheval. Ancien. ut supr. p. 225. ch. v. "Que l'on croyoit avoir l'*Esprit*," &c. Feron says that they gave this attendance in order to make a true report. L'*Instit. des Roys et Herauds*, p. 44. a. See also Favon. p. 57. See a curious description in Froissart, of an interview between the Chandois-herald, mentioned above, and a marshal of France, where they enter into a warm and very serious dispute concerning the *devices d'amour* borne by each army. Liv. i. ch. 161.

[A curious collection of German poems, evidently compiled from these heraldic registers, has recently been discovered in the library of Prince Sinzen-dorf. The reader will find an account of them and their author Peter Suchen-wirt (who lived at the close of the fourteenth century) in the 14th volume of the Vienna Annals of Literature (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Wien. 1814). They are noticed here for their occasional mention of English affairs. The life of Burkhard v. Ellerbach recounts the victory gained by the English at the battle of Cressy; in which this terror of Prussian and Saracen infidels was left for

dead on the field, "the blood and the grass, the green and the red, being so completely mingled in one general mass," that no one perceived him.—Friedrich v. Chreuzpeckh served in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In the latter country he joined an army of 60,000 (!) men, about to form the siege of a town called Trachtal (?); but the army broke up without an engagement. On his return from thence to England, the fleet in which he sailed, fell in with a Spanish squadron, and destroyed or captured six-and-twenty of the enemy. These events occurred between the years 1332—36. Albrecht v. Nürnberg followed Edward III. into Scotland, and appears to have been engaged in the battle of Halidown-hill.—But the "errant knight" most intimately connected with England, was Hans v. Traun. He joined the banner of Edward III. at the siege of Calais, during which he was engaged in cutting off some supplies sent by sea, for the relief of the besieged. He does ample justice to the valour and heroic resistance of the garrison; who did not surrender till their stock of leather¹, rope and similar materials,—which had long been their only food,—was exhausted. Rats were sold at a crown each. In the year 1356 he attended the Black Prince in the campaign which

¹ The original reads "schuch, sil, chvnt und hewt;" the two last I interpret "kind und haut."

lemn tournaments they made an essential part of the ceremony. Here they had an opportunity of observing accoutrements, armorial distinctions, the number and appearance of the spectators, together with the various events of the turney, to the best advantage: and they were afterwards obliged to compile an ample register of this strange mixture of foppery and ferocity^o. They were necessarily connected with the minstrells at public festivals, and thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures. A learned French antiquary is of opinion, that antiently the French heralds, called *Hiraux*, were the same as the minstrells, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals^p. They frequently received fees or largesse in common with the minstrells^q. They travelled into different countries, and saw the fashions of foreign

preceded the battle of Poitiers; and on the morning of that eventful fight, Prince Edward honoured him with the important charge of bearing the English standard. The battle is described with considerable animation. The hostile armies advanced on foot, the archers forming the vanguard. "This was not a time," says the poet, "for the interchange of chivalric civilities, for friendly greetings, and cordial love: no man asked his fellow for a violet or a rose¹; and many a hero, like the ostrich, was obliged to digest both iron and steel, or to overcome in death the sensations inflicted by the spear and the javelin. The field resounded with the clash of swords, clubs, and battle-axes; and with shouts of *Nater Dam* and *Sand Jors*." But Von Traun, mindful of the trust reposed in him, rushed forward to encounter the standard-bearer of France: "He drove his spear through the vizer of his adversary—the enemy's banner sunk to the earth never to rise again—Von Traun planted his foot upon its staff; when the king of France was made captive, and the battle was won." For his gallantry displayed on this day, Edward granted him a pension of a hundred marks. He is afterwards mentioned as being intrusted by Edward III. with the defence of Calais during a ten weeks siege; and at a subsequent period as crossing the channel, and capturing a

(French?) ship, which he brought into an English port and presented to Edward.—It is to be hoped these poems will be published. The slight analysis of their contents given by Mr. Primisser, and on which this note is founded, is just sufficient to excite, without gratifying, curiosity.—EDIT.]

^o "L'un des principaux fonctions des Herautes d'armes estoit se trouver au jousts, &c. ou ils gardoient les ecus pendans, recevoient les noms et les blasons des chevaliers, en tenoient REGISTRE, et en composoient recueils," &c. Menestr. Orig. des Armoir. p. 180. See also p. 119. These registers are mentioned in Perceforest, xi. 68. 77.

^p Carpentier, Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloss. Lat. p. 750. tom. ii.

^q Thus at St. George's feast at Windsor we have, "Diversis heraldis et ministrallis," &c. Ann. 21 Ric. ii. 9 Hen. vi. Apud Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 56. 108. And again, Exit. Pell. M. ann. 22 Edw. iii. "Magistro Andreæ Roy Norreys, [a herald,] Lybekin le Piper, et Hanakino filio suo, et sex aliis menestrallis regis in denariis eis liberatis de dono regis, in subsidium expensarum suarum, lv. s. iv. d."—Exit. Pell. P. ann. 33 Edw. ii. "Willielmo Volaunt regi heraldorum et ministrallis existentibus apud Smithfield in ultimo hastiludio de dono regis, xl." I could give many other proofs.

¹ So I interpret "umb veyal (veilchen) noch umb rosen."

courts, and foreign tournaments. They not only committed to writing the process of the lists, but it was also their business, at magnificent feasts, to describe the number and parade of the dishes, the quality of the guests, the brilliant dresses of the ladies, the courtesy of the knights, the revels, disguisings, banquets, and every other occurrence most observable in the course of the solemnity. Spenser alludes expressly to these heraldic details, where he mentions the splendor of Florimel's wedding.

To tell the glory of the feast that day,
The goodly servyse, the devisefull sights,
The bridegrome's state, the bride's most rich array,
The pride of ladies, and the worth of knights,
The royall banquettes, and the rare delights,
Were work fit for an HERALD, not for me^r.

I suspect that Chaucer, not perhaps without ridicule, glances at some of these descriptions, with which his age abounded; and which he probably regarded with less reverence, and read with less edification, than did the generality of his cotemporary readers.

Why shulde I tellen of the rialte
Of that wedding? or which course goth befor?
Who blowith in a trumpe, or in a horn^s?

Again, in describing Cambuscan's feast.

Of which shall I tell all the array,
Then would it occupie a sommer's day:
And eke it nedeth not to devise,
At everie course the order of servise:
I will not tellen as now of her strange sewes,
Ne of her swans, ne of her heronsewes^t.

And at the feast of Theseus, in the KNIGHT'S TALE^u.

The minstralcie, the service at the feste,
The grete geftes also to the most and leste,

^r E. Q. v. iii. 3.

^s Man of Lawe's T. v. 704.

^t Squire's T. v. 83.

^u V. 2199. p. 17. Urr.

The riche array of Theseus palleis,
 Ne who sat first or last upon the deis,
 What ladies feyryst ben, or best daunsing,
 Or which of them can best dauncin or sing,
 Ne who most felingly spekith of love,
 Ne what haukes sittin on perchis above,
 Ne what houndes ligen on the floure adoun,
 Of all this now I make no mentioun.

In the FLOURE and the LEAF, the same poet has described, in eleven long stanzas, the procession to a splendid tournament, with all the prolixity and exactness of a herald^w. The same affectation, derived from the same sources, occurs often in Ariosto.

It were easy to illustrate this doctrine by various examples. The famous French romance of SAINTRE was evidently the performance of a herald. John De Saintre, the knight of the piece, was a real person, and, according to Froissart, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1356^x. But the compiler confounds chronology, and ascribes to his hero many pieces of true history belonging to others. This was a common practice in these books. Some authors have supposed that this romance appeared before the year 1380^y. But there are reasons to prove, that it was written by Antony de la Sale, a Burgundian, author of a book of CEREMONIES, from his name very quaintly entitled LA SALLADE, and frequently cited by our learned antiquary Selden^z. This Antony came into England to see the solemnity of the queen's coronation in the year 1445^a. I have not seen any French romance which has preserved the practices of chivalry more copiously than this of SAINTRE. It must have been an absolute master-piece for the rules of tilting, martial customs, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age. In the library of the Office of Arms, there remains a very accurate description of a feast of Saint

^w From v. 204. to v. 287.

^x Froissart, Hist. i. p. 178.

^y Bysche, Not. in Upton. Milit. Offic.

p. 56. Menestrier, Orig. Arm. p. 23.

^z Tit. Hon. p. 413, &c.

^a Anst. Ord. Gart. ii. 321.

George, celebrated at Windsor in 1471^b. It appears to have been written by the herald Blue-mantle Poursuivant. Menestrier says, that Guillaume Rucher, herald of Henault, has left a large treatise, describing the tournaments annually celebrated at Lisle in Flanders^c. In the reign of Edward the Fourth, John Smarte, a Norman, garter king at arms, described in French the tournament held at Bruges, for nine days, in honour of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with Margaret the king's daughter^d. There is a French poem, entitled *Les noms et les armes des seigneurs, &c. a l'assiege de Karleverch en Escoce*, 1300^e. This was undoubtedly written by a herald. The author thus describes the banner of John duke of Bretagne.

Baniere avoit cointee et parée
De or et de asur eschequeree
Au rouge ourle o jaunes lupars
Determinee estoit la quarte pars^f.

^b MSS. Offic. Arm. M. 15. fol. 12, 13.

^c "Guillaume Rucher, heraut d'armes du titre de Heynaut, a fait un gros volume des rois de l'Epinette a Lisle en Flanders; c'est une ceremonie, ou un feste, dont il a decrit les joustes, tournois, noms, armoiries, livrees, et equipages de divers seigneurs, qui se rendoient de divers endroits, avec le catalogue de rois de cette feste." Menestr. l'Orig. des Armoir. p. 64.

^d See many other instances in MSS. Harl. 69. fol. entit. THE BOOKE OF CERTAINE TRIUMPHES. See also APPENDIX to the new edition of Leland's COLLECTANEA.

^e MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus.

^f The bishop of Gloucester has most obligingly condescended to point out to me another source, to which many of the romances of the fourteenth century owed their existence. Montfaucon, in his MONUMENS DE LA MONARCHIE FRANÇOISE, has printed the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au droit desir ou du Noeud etabli par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jerusalem et Sicile en 1352-3-4*. tom. ii.

p. 329. This was an annual celebration au Chastel de l'Euf enchanti du merveilleux peril. The castle, as appears by the monuments which accompany these statutes, was built at the foot of the obscure grot of the ENCHANTMENTS of Virgil. The statutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himself, or his assessors the curate and the barber. From the seventh chapter we learn, that the knights who came to this yearly festival at the *chatel de l'euf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the castle their yearly adventures. Such of these histories as were thought worthy to be recorded, the clerks are ordered to transcribe in a book, which was called *Le livre des avenements aux chevaliers, &c. Et demerra le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle*. This sacred register certainly furnished from time to time ample materials to the romance-writers. And this circumstance gives a new explanation to a reference which we so frequently find in romances: I mean, that appeal which they so constantly make to some authentic record.

The pompous circumstances of which these heraldic narratives consisted, and the minute prolixity with which they were displayed, seem to have infected the professed historians of this age. Of this there are various instances in Froissart, who had no other design than to compile a chronicle of real facts. I will give one example out of many. At a treaty of marriage between our Richard the Second and Isabel daughter of Charles the Fifth king of France, the two monarchs, attended with a noble retinue, met and formed several encampments in a spacious plain, near the castle of Guynes. Froissart expends many pages in relating at large the costly furniture of the pavilions, the riches of the side-boards, the profusion and variety of sumptuous liquors, spices, and dishes, with their order of service, the number of the attendants, with their address and exact discharge of duty in their respective offices, the presents of gold and precious stones made on both sides, and a thousand other particulars of equal importance, relating to the parade of this royal interview^g. On this account, Caxton, in his exhortation to the knights of his age, ranks Froissart's history, as a book of chivalry, with the romances of Lancelot and Percival; and recommends it to their attention, as a manual equally calculated to inculcate the knightly virtues of courage and courtesy^h. This indeed was in an age when not only the courts of princes, but the castles of barons, vied with one another in the lustre of their shews; when tournaments, coronations, royal interviews, and solemn festivals, were the grand objects of mankind. Froissart was an eye-witness of many of the ceremonies which he describes. His passion seems to have been that of seeing magnificent spectacles, and of hearing reports concerning themⁱ. Although a canon of two churches, he passed his life in travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle^k. He thus,

^g See Froissart's *CRONYCLE*, translated by Lord Berners. Pinson, 1523. vol. ii. f. 242.

^h *Boke of the Ordre of Chevalrye or Knighthood: translated out of the Frenshe and imprinted by Wylliam Caxton.* S. D. Perhaps 1484. 4to.

ⁱ His father was a painter of armories. This might give him an early turn for shews. See M. de la Curne de S. Palaye, *Mem. Lit.* tom. x. p. 664. edit. 4to.

^k He was originally a clerk of the chamber to Philippa, queen of Edward

either from his own observation, or the credible informations of others, easily procured suitable materials for a history, which professed only to deal in sensible objects, and those of the most splendid and conspicuous kind. He was familiarly known to two kings of England, and one of Scotland¹. But the court which he most admired was that of Gaston earl of Foix, at Orlaix in Bearn; for, as he himself acquaints us, it was not only the most brilliant in Europe, but the grand center for tidings of martial adventures^m. It was crouded with knights of England and Arragon. In the mean time it must not be forgot that Froissart, who from his childhood was strongly attached to carousals, the music of minstrells, and the sports of hawking and huntingⁿ, cultivated the poetry of the troubadours, and was a writer of romances^o. This turn, it must be confessed, might have some share in communicating that romantic cast to his history which I have mentioned. During his abode at the court of the earl of Foix, where he was entertained for twelve weeks, he presented to the earl his collection of the poems of the duke of Luxemburgh, consisting of sonnets, ballades, and virelays. Among these was included a romance, composed by himself, called MELIADER, or THE KNIGHT OF THE SUN OF GOLD. Gaston's chief amusement was to hear Froissart read this romance^p every evening after supper^q. At

the Third. He was afterwards canon and treasurer of Chimay in Henault, and of Lisle in Flanders; and chaplain to Guy earl of Castellon. Labor. Introd. a l'Hist. de Charles vi. p. 69. Compare also Froissart's Chron. ii. f. 29. 305. 319. And Bullart, Academ. des Arts et des Scienc. i. p. 125. 126.

¹ Cron. ii. f. 158. 161.

^m Cron. ii. f. 30. This was in 1381.

ⁿ See Mem. Lit. ut supr. p. 665.

^o Speaking of the death of king Richard, Froissart quotes a prediction from the old French prose romance of BRUT, which he says was fulfilled in that catastrophe. liv. iv. c. 119. Froissart will be mentioned again as a poet.

^p I take this opportunity of remarking, that romantic tales or histories appear at a very early period to have been READ as

well as SUNG at feasts. So Wace in the *Roman du Rou*, in the British Museum, above mentioned.

Doit l'en les vers et les regestes,
Et les estoires LIRE as festes.

^q Froissart brought with him for a present to Gaston Earl of Foix four greyhounds, which were called by the romantic names of *Tristram*, *Hector*, *Brut*, and *Roland*. Gaston was so fond of hunting, that he kept upwards of six hundred dogs in his castle. M. de la Curne, ut supr. p. 676. 678. He wrote a treatise on hunting, printed 1520. See Verdier, Art. GASTON Comte de Foix. In illustration of the former part of this note, Crescimbeni says, "Che in molte nobilissime famiglie Italiane, ha 400 a più anni, passarono' i nomi de' Lancil-

his introduction to Richard the Second, he presented that brilliant monarch with a book beautifully illuminated, engrossed with his own hand, bound in crimson velvet, and embellished with silver bosses, clasps, and golden roses, comprehending all the matters of AMOURS and MORALITIES, which in the course of twenty-four years he had composed^r. This was in the year 1396. When he left England the same year^s, the king sent him a massy goblet of silver, filled with one hundred nobles^t.

As we are approaching to Chaucer, let us here stand still, and take a retrospect of the general manners. The tournaments and carousals of our antient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity,

lotti, de' Tristani, de Galvani, di Galeotti, delle Isotte [Isoulde], delle Genevre, e d'altri cavalieri, à dame in esse TAVOLA RITONDA operanti," &c. Istor. Volg. Poes. vol. i. lib. v. p. 327. Venez. 4to.

^r I should think that this was his romance of MELIADER. Froissart says, that the king at receiving it, asked him what the book treated of. He answered *d'Amour*. The king, adds our historian, seemed much pleased at this; and examined the book in many places, for he was fond of reading as well as speaking French. He then ordered Richard Crendon, the chevalier in waiting, to carry it into his privy chamber, *dont il me fit bonne chere*. He gave copies of the several parts of his chronicle, as they were finished, to his different patrons. Le Laboureur says, that Froissart sent fifty-six quires of his ROMAN AU CHRONIQUES to Guillaume de Bailly an illuminator; which, when illuminated, were intended as a present to the king of England. Hist. ch. vi. En la vie de Louis duc d'Anjou. p. 67. seq. See also Cron. i. iv. c. i.—iii. 26. There are two or three fine illuminated copies of Froissart now remaining among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Among the stores of Henry the Eighth at his manor of Bedington in Surry, I find the fashionable reading of the times exem-

plified in the following books, viz. "*Item, a great book of parchmente written and lymned with gold of graver's work De confessione Amantis, with xviii other bookes, Le premier volume de Lancelot, Froissart, Le grant voiage de Jerusalem, Enguerain de Monstrelot," &c. MSS. Harl. 1419. f. 382. Froissart was here properly classed.*

^s Froissart says, that he accompanied the king to various palaces, "*A Elten, a Ledos, a Kinkestove, a Cenes, a Certesée et a Windsor.*" That is, Eltham, Leeds, Kingston, Chertsey, &c. Cron. liv. iv. c. 119. p. 348. The French are not much improved at this day in spelling English places and names.

[Perhaps by *Cenes*, Froissart means SHENE, the royal palace at Richmond. —ADDITIONS.]

^t Cron. f. 251. 252. 255. 319. 348. Bayle, who has an article on Froissart, had no idea of searching for anecdotes of Froissart's life in his CHRONICLE. Instead of which, he swells his notes on this article with the contradictory accounts of Moreri, Vossius, and others: whose disputes might have been all easily settled by recurring to Froissart himself, who has interspersed in his history many curious particulars relating to his own life and works.

and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilised as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages, should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologians and metaphysicians.

SECTION XII.

THE most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward the Third, and of his successor Richard the Second, was Jeffrey Chaucer; a poet with whom the history of our poetry is by many supposed to have commenced; and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unquestionable taste and discernment, to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically^a. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progress in the scholastic sciences as they were then taught: but the liveliness of his parts, and the native gaiety of his disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above described. In the mean time, he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to recluse scholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world: and from this circumstance we are to account, in great measure, for the many new embellishments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The descriptions of splendid processions and gallant carousals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was conversant with the practices and diversions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries,

^a Johnson's Diction. Pref. p. 1.

opened his mind, and furnished him with new lights^b. In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence: and it is not improbable that Boccacio was of the party^c. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview; yet it seems likely, that these excursions gave him a new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewise enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provencial languages with the greatest success; and induced him to polish the asperity, and enrich the sterility of his native versification, with softer cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraseology. In this attempt, which was authorised by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy and Alain Chartier in France^d, he was countenanced and assisted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager of his studies^e. The revival of learning in most countries appears to have first owed its rise to translation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original composition have not yet been studied. The writers therefore of such periods are chiefly and very use-

^b The earl of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry the Fourth, could not but patronise Chaucer. I do not mean for political reasons. The earl was a writer of verses, and very fond of poetry. On this account, his acquaintance was much cultivated by the famous Christina of Pisa; whose works, both in prose and verse, compose so considerable a part of the old French literature. She used to call him, "Gracieux chevalier, aimant dictiez, et lui-meme gracieux dictieur." See M. Boivin, *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 767. seq. 4to. I have seen none of this earl's *Ditties*. Otherwise he would have been here considered in form, as an English poet.

^c Froissart was also present. *VIE DE PETRARQUE*. iii. 772. Amst. 1766. 4to. I believe Paulus Jovius is the first who mentions this anecdote. *Vit. Galeas.* ii. p. 152.

^d Leland Script. Brit. 421.

^e Gower, *Confess. Amant.* l. v. fol. 190. b. Barthel. 1554.

And grete wel Chaucer, when ye mete,
As my disciple and my poete:
For in the flowers of his youth,
In sundrie wise as he well couth,
Of dities and of songes glade
The which he for my sake made, etc.

[Francis Thynne in his letter to Speght (ap. Todd's *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*) has justly observed, that these lines are uttered by Venus; and consequently, that the inference drawn from them is wholly unfounded. Chaucer had published all his poems, except the *Canterbury Tales*, previous to the appearance of the *Confessio Amantis*. —EDIT.]

fully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themselves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature: and while they are naturalising the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by translation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the case, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Trevisa canon of Westbury in Gloucestershire, and a great traveller, not only finished a translation of the Old and New Testaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas lord Berkley^f, but also translated Higden's POLYCHRONICON, and other Latin pieces^g. But these translations would have been alone insufficient to have produced or sustained any considerable revolution in our language: the great work was reserved for Gower and Chaucer. Wicliffe had also translated the Bible^h: and in other respects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to English literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wicliffe, that his arguments might be familiarised to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compose in English his numerous theological treatises against the papal corruptions. Edward the Third, while he perhaps intended only to banish a badge of conquest, greatly contributed to establish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings,

^f See H. Wharton, Append. Cav. p. 49.

^g Such as Bartholomew Glanville *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lib. xix. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494. fol. And Vegetius *De Arte Militari*. MSS. Digb. 233. Bibl. Bodl. In the same manuscript is Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*, a translation probably by Trevisa. He also translated some pieces of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh. See supr. p. 127. He wrote a tract, prefixed to his version of the POLYCHRONICON, on the utility of translations: *De Utilitate Translationum, Dia-*

logus inter Clericum et Patronum. See more of his translations in MSS. Harl. 1900. I do not find his ENGLISH BIBLE in any of our libraries, nor do I believe that any copy of it now remains. Caxton mentions it in the preface to his edition of the English POLYCHRONICON. [See Lewis's WICLIFFE, p. 66. 329. And Lewis's HISTORY of the TRANSLATIONS of the BIBLE, p. 66.—ADDITIONS.]

^h It is observable, that he made his translation from the vulgate Latin version of Jerom. It was finished 1383. See MS. Cod. Bibl. Coll. Eman. Cant. 102.

as we have before observed, and by substituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifestly first taught his countrymen to write English; and formed a style by naturalising words from the Provencial*, at that time the most polished dialect of any in Europe, and the best adapted to the purposes of poetical expression.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in classical allusions: but his poetry is not formed on the antient models. He appears to have been an universal reader, and his learning is sometimes mistaken for genius: but his chief sources were the French and Italian poets. From these originals two of his capital poems, the KNIGHT'S TALEⁱ, and the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, are imitations or translations. The first of these is taken from Boccacio.

Boccacio was the disciple of Petrarch: and although principally known and deservedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his cotemporaries usually placed in the third rank after Dante and Petrarch. But Boccacio having seen the Platonic sonnets of his master Petrarch, in a fit of despair committed all his poetry to the flames^k, except a single poem, of which his own good taste had long taught him to entertain a more favourable opinion. This piece, thus happily rescued from destruction, is at present so scarce and so little known, even in Italy, as to have left its author but a slender proportion of that eminent degree of poetical reputation, which he might have justly claimed from so extraordinary a performance. It is an heroic poem, in twelve books, entitled LE TE-

* [Vid. infra Sect. xviii. Note †, from the Additions.]

ⁱ Chaucer alludes to some book from whence this tale was taken, more than once, viz. v. 1. "Whilom, as olde stories tellin us." v. 1465. "As olde bookes to us saine, that all this storie telleth more plain." v. 2814. "Of soulis fynd I nought in this registre." That is, this History, or narrative. See also v. 2297. In the *Legende of good women*, where Chaucer's works are mentioned, is this

passage, which I do not well understand. v. 420.

And al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebis, though the storie is known lite.
[The last words seem to imply that it had not made itself very popular. TYRWHITT.]

^k Goujet, Bibl. Fr. Tom. vii. p. 328. But we must except, that besides the poem mentioned below, Boccacio's AMAZONIDA, E FORZE D'ERCOLE, are both now extant: and were printed at Ferrara in, or about, the year 1475. fol.

SEIDE, and written in the octave stanza, called by the Italians *ottava rima*, which Boccacio adopted from the old French chansons, and here first introduced among his countrymen¹. It was printed at Ferrara, but with some deviations from the original, and even misrepresentations of the story, in the year 1475^m. Afterwards, I think, in 1488. And for the third and last time at Venice, in the year 1528ⁿ. But the corruptions have been suffered to remain through every edition.

Whether Boccacio was the inventor of the story of this poem is a curious enquiry. It is certain that Theseus was an early hero of romance^o. He was taken from that grand repository of the Grecian heroes, the History of Troy, written by Guido de Colonna^p. In the royal library at Paris, there is a manuscript entitled, *THE ROMAN DE THESEUS ET DE GADIFER*^q. Probably this is the printed French romance, under the title, “*Histoire du Chevalier THESEUS de Coulogne, par sa proïesse empereur de Rome, et aussi de son fils Gadifer empereur du Greece, et de trois enfans du dit Gadifer, traduite de vieille rime Picarde en prose Francoise. Paris 1534^r.*” Gadifer, with whom Theseus is joined in this antient tale, written probably by a troubadour of Picardy, is a champion in the oldest French romances^s. He is mentioned frequently in the French romance of Alexander^t. In the romance of PERCEFORREST, he is called king of Scotland, and said to be crowned by Alexander the Great^u. But whether or no this prose HISTOIRE DU CHEVALIER THESEUS is the story of Theseus in question, or whether this is the same Theseus, I cannot

¹ See Crescimben. *Istor. Volgar. Poes.* vol. i. L. i. p. 65. Ven. 1731. 4to.

^m Poema della Teseide del Boccacio chiosato, e dichiarato du Andrea de Bassi in Ferrara, 1475. fol. ⁿ 4to.

^o In Lydgate's *TEMPLE OF GLAS*, never printed, among the lovers painted on the wall is Theseus killing the Minotaure. I suppose from Ovid. *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Fairfax, 16.* Or from Chaucer, *Legende Ariadne*.

^p See vol. i. p. 129. *supr.* and foregoing note.

^q MSS. *Bibl. [Reg. Paris.] Tom. ii. 974. E.*

^r Fol. tom. ii. Again, *ibid.* 4to. *Bl. Lett.* See Lenglet, *Bibl. Rom.* p. 191.

^s The chevaliers of the courts of Charles the Fifth and Sixth adopted names from the old romances, such as Lancelot, Gadifer, Carados, &c. *Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. p. 340.*

^t See vol. i. p. 143.

^u See *Historie du Perceforrest roy de la Gr. Bretagne, et Gadiffer roy d'Es-cosse, &c.* 6 tom. Paris, 1531. fol.

ascertain. There is likewise in the same royal library a manuscript, called by Montfaucon, HISTORIA THESEI IN LINGUA VULGARI, in ten books^w. The Abbe Goujet observes, that there is in some libraries of France an old French translation of Boccacio's THESEID, from which Anna de Graville formed the French poem of PALAMON and ARCITE, at the command of queen Claude, wife of Francis the First, about the year 1487^x. Either the translation used by Anna de Graville, or her poem, is perhaps the second of the manuscripts mentioned by Montfaucon. Boccacio's THESEID has also been translated into Italian prose, by Nicolas Granuci, and printed at Lucca in 1570^y. The title of Granucci's prose THESEIDE is this, *THESEIDE di Boccacio de ottava Rima nuovamente ridotta in prosa per Nicolao Granucci di Lucca. In Lucca appresso Vincenza Busdraghi. MDLXX.* In the DEDICAZIONE to this work, which was printed more than two hundred years ago, and within one hundred years after the Ferrara edition of the THESEIDE appeared, Granucci mentions Boccacio's work as a TRANSLATION from the barbarous Greek poem cited below. DEDICAZ. fol. 5. "Volendo far cosa, que non sio stata fatta da loro, pero mutato parere mi dicoli a ridurre in prosa questo Innamoramento, Opera di M. Giovanni Boccacio, *quale egli trasporto DAL GRECO in octava rima per compiacere alla sua Fiametta,*" &c.* Boccacio himself mentions the story of Palamon and Arcite. This may seem to imply that the story existed before his time: unless he artfully intended to recommend his own poem on the subject by such an allusion. It is where he introduces two lovers singing a portion of this tale. "Dioneo e Fiametta gran pezza canterona insieme d'ARCITE e di PALAMONE^z." By Dioneo, Boccacio represents himself;

^w Bibl. MSS. ut supr. p. 773.

^x Ut supr. p. 329.

^y 4to. There is a French prose translation with it. The THESEID has also been translated into French prose by D. C. C. 1597. 12mo. Paris. "La THESEIDE de Jean Boccace, contenant les chastes amours de deux chevaliers The-

bans, Arcite et Polemon," &c. Jane de la Fontaine also translated into French verse this poem. She died 1536. Her translation was never printed. It is applauded by Joannes Secundus, Eleg. xv.

* [Lib. SLONIAN. 1614. Brit. Mus.—ADDITIONS.]

^z Giorn. vii. Nov. 10. p. 348. edit.

and by Fiametta, his mistress, Mary of Arragon, a natural daughter of Robert king of Naples.

I confess I am of opinion, that Boccacio's THESEID is an original composition. But there is a Greco-barbarous poem extant on this subject, which, if it could be proved to be antecedent in point of time to the Italian poem, would degrade Boccacio to a mere translator on this occasion. It is a matter that deserves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.

This Greek poem is as little known and as scarce as Boccacio's THESEID. It is entitled, *Θησεος και γαμου της Εμηνλιας*. It was printed in quarto at Venice in the year 1529. *Stampata in Vinegia per Giovanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio a requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria de Spici M.D.XXIX. del Mese de Decembrio^a*. It is not mentioned by Crusius or Fabricius; but is often cited by Du Cange in his Greek glossary, under the title, *DE NUPTIIS THESEI ET ÆMILIÆ*. The heads of the chapters are adorned with rude wooden cuts of the story. I once suspected that Boccacio, having received this poem from some of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who being driven from Constantinople took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century, translated it into Italian. Under this supposition, I was indeed surprised to find the ideas of chivalry, and the ceremonies of a tournament minutely described, in a poem which appeared to have been written at Constantinople. But this difficulty was soon removed, when I recollected that the Franks, Venetians, and Germans had been in possession of that city for more than one hundred years; and that Baldwin earl of Flanders was elected emperor of Constantinople in the year 1204, and was succeeded by four Latin or Frankish emperors, down to the year 1261^b. Add

Vineg. 1548. 4to. Chaucer himself alludes to this story, Bl. Kn. v. 369. Perhaps on the same principle.

^a A manuscript of it is in the Royal library at Paris, Cod. 2569. Du Cange Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 65. col. 1.

^b About which period it is probable that the anonymous Greek poem, called the *Loves of Lybister and Rhodamna*, was written. This appears by the German name Frederic, which often occurs in it, and is grecised, with many other German words. In a manuscript of this

to this, that the word, *τεγωνεμεντον*, a TOURNAMENT, occurs in the Byzantine historians^c. From the same communication likewise, I mean the Greek exiles, I fancied Boccacio might have procured the stories of several of his tales in the DECAMERON: as, for instance, that of CYMON and IPHIGENIA, where the names are entirely Grecian, and the scene laid in Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece belonging

poem which Crusius saw, were many paintings and illuminations; where, in the representation of a battle, he observed no guns, but javelins, and bows and arrows. He adds, "et musicae testudines." It is written in the iambic measure mentioned below. It is a series of wandering adventures with little art or invention. Lybister, the son of a Latin king, and a Christian, sets forward accompanied with an hundred attendants in search of Rhodamna, whom he had lost by the stratagems of a certain old woman skilled in magic. He meets Clitophon son of a king of Armenia. They undergo various dangers in different countries. Lybister relates his dream concerning a partridge and an eagle; and how from that dream he fell in love with Rhodamna daughter of Chyses a pagan king, and communicated his passion by sending an arrow, to which his name was affixed, into a tower, or castle, called Argyrocastre, &c. See Crusii Turco-Græcia, p. 974. But we find a certain species of erotic romances, some in verse and some in prose, existing in the Greek empire, the remains and the dregs of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon the Ephesian, Charito, Eustathius or Eumathius, and others, about or rather before the year 1200. Such are the Loves of *Rhodante and Dosicles* of Theodorus Prodromus, who wrote about the year 1130. This piece was imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus in the *Loves of Charicell and Drosilla*. See Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscript. p. 220. Whether or no *The Loves of Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, *The Erotic history of Hemperius*, *The history of the Loves of Florius and Platzaflora*, with some others, all by anonymous authors, and in Greco-barbarous iambics, were written at Constantinople; or whether they were the compositions of the learned Greeks after

their dispersion, of whom more will be said hereafter, I am not able to determine. See Nessel. i. p. 342. 343. Meurs. Gloss. Gr. Barb. V. *Βαγενι*. And Lambec. v. p. 262. 264.

^c As also *Τογωνε*, *Hastiludium*. Fr. *Tournoi*. And *Τουγωνεσειν*, *hastiludio contendere*. John Cantacuzenus relates, that when Anne of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus, the fourth earl of the Allobroges, was married to the emperor Andronicus, junior, the Frankish and Savoyard nobles, who accompanied the princess, held tilts and tournaments before the court at Constantinople; which, he adds, the Greeks learned of the Franks. This was in the year 1326. Hist. Byzant. l. i. cap. 42. But Nicetas says, that when the emperor Manuel made some stay at Antioch, the Greeks held a solemn tournament against the Franks. This was about the year 1160. Hist. Byzant. l. iii. cap. 3. Cinnamus observes, that the same emperor Manuel altered the shape of the shields and lances of the Greeks to those of the Franks. Hist. lib. iii. Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote about the year 1340, affirms, that the Greeks learned this practice from the Franks. Hist. Byzant. l. x. p. 339. edit. fol. Genev. 1615. The word *Καβαλλαριοι*, Knights, *Chevaliers*, occurs often in the Byzantine historians, even as early as Anna Comnena, who wrote about 1140. Alexiad. lib. xiii. p. 411. And we have in J. Cantacuzenus, "*την Καβαλλαριων παρειχε τιμην*." *He conferred the honour of Knighthood*. This indeed is said of the Franks. Hist. ut supr. l. iii. cap. 25. And in the Greek poem now under consideration, one of the titles is, "*Πως εποιησεν ο Θεσσευς τας δυο Θεβαις Καβαλλαρις*." How *Theseus* dubbed the two *Thebans* Knights. lib. vii. Signatur. ν η ι ι. sol. vers.

to the imperial territory^d. But, to say no more of this, I have at present no sort of doubt of what I before asserted, that Boccacio is the writer and inventor of this piece. Our Greek poem is in fact a literal translation from the Italian THESEID. The writer has translated the prefatory epistle addressed by Boccacio to the Fiametta. It consists of twelve books, and is written in Boccacio's octave stanza, the two last lines of every stanza rhyming together. The verses are of the iambic kind, and something like the VERSUS POLITICI, which were common among the Greek scholars a little before and long after Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the year 1453. It will readily be allowed, that the circumstance of the stanzas and rhymes is very singular in a poem composed in the Greek language, and is alone sufficient to prove this piece to be a translation from Boccacio. I must not forget to observe, that the Greek is extremely barbarous, and of the lowest period of that language.

It was a common practice of the learned and indigent Greeks, who frequented Italy and the neighbouring states about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to translate the popular pieces of Italian poetry, and the romances or tales most in vogue, into these Greco-barbarous iambics^e. PASTOR FIDO was thus translated. The romance of ALEXANDER THE GREAT was also translated in the same manner by Demetrius Zenus, who flourished in 1530, under the title of *Αλεξανδρεὺς ὁ Μακεδων*, and printed at Venice in the year 1529^f. In the very year, and at the same place, when and where our Greek poem on Theseus, or Palamon and Arcite, was printed, APOLLONIUS OF TYRE, another famous romance of the middle ages, was translated in the same manner, and entitled *Διηγησις ὡραιοτάτη Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐν Τυρῶ*^g *ρημαδὰ*^h. The story of king

^d Giorn. v. Nov. 1.

^e That is *versus politici* above mentioned, a sort of loose iambic. See Langii PHILOGOGIA GRÆCO-BARBARA. Tzetzes's Chiliads are written in this versification. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. ii. col. 1196.

^f Crus. ut supr. p. 373. 399. See supr. vol. i. p. 133.

^g That is, Rythmically, Poetically, Gr. Barb.

^h Du Cange mentions, "Μεταγλωττισμα ἀπο Λατινικῆς εἰς Ρωμαϊκὴν διηγησὶς πολλήπαθες Ἀπολλωνίου τῆς Τυρῶ." Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 36. col. b. Compare Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vi. 821. I believe it was first printed at Venice,

Arthur they also reduced into the same language. The learned Martinus Crusius, who introduced the Greco-barbarous language and literature into the German universities, relates, that his friends who studied at Padua sent him in the year 1564, together with Homer's Iliad, *Ἀἰδαχαί* REGIS ARTHURI, ALEXANDER above mentioned, and other fictitious histories or story-books of a similar cast^k. The French history or romance of BERTRAND DU GUESCELIN, printed at Abbeville in 1487^l, and that of BELISAIRE, or Belisarius, they rendered in the same

1563. viz. "Historia Apollonii Tyanæi, [Tyrensis] Ven. 1563. Liber Eroticus, Gr. barb. lingua exaratus ad modum rythmorum nostrorum, rarissimus audit," &c. Vogt. Catal. libr. rarior. p. 345. edit. 1753. I think it was reprinted at Venice, 1696. apud Nicol. Glycem. 8vo. In the works of Velserus, there is *Narratio Eorum quæ Apollonio regi acciderunt*, &c. He says it was first written by some Greek author. Velseri Op. p. 697. edit. 1682. fol. The Latin is in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud, 39.—Bodl. F. 7. 7. And F. 11. 45. In the preface, Velserus, who died 1614, says, that he believes the original in Greek still remains at Constantinople, in the library of Manuel Eugenicus. Montfaucon mentions a noble copy of this romance, written in the thirteenth century, in the royal library at Paris. Bibl. MSS. p. 753. Compare MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. p. 15. *Gesta Apollonii*, &c. There is a manuscript in Saxon of the romance of APOLLONIUS OF TYRE. Wanley's Catal. apud Hickes, ii. 146. See Martin. Crusii Turco-Græc. p. 209. edit. 1594. Gower recites many stories of this romance in his CONFESSIO AMANTIS. He calls Apollonius "a yonge, a freshe, a lustle knight." See Lib. viii. fol. 175. b.—185. a. But he refers to Godfrey of Viterbo's PANTHEON, or universal Chronicle, called also *Memoriæ Sæculorum*, partly in prose, partly verse, from the Creation of the world, to the year 1186. The author died in 1190.

—A Cronike in daies gone
The which is cleped Panteone, &c.

fol. 175. a. The play called PERICLES PRINCE OF TYRE, attributed to Shake-

speare, is taken from this story of Apollonius as told by Gower, who speaks the Prologue. It existed in Latin before the year 900. See Barth. Adversar. lvi. cap. i. Chaucer calls him "of Tyre Apolloneus." PROL. Man. L. TALE. v. 81. p. 50. Urr. edit. And quotes from this romance,

How that the cursid king Antiochus
Birafted his daughter of hir maidinhede,
That is so horrible a tale to rede,
When he her drewe upon the pavement.

In the royal library there is "Histoire d'Apollin roy de Thir." Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 C. ii. 2. With regard to the French editions of this romance, the oldest I have seen is, "Plaisante et agreable Histoire d'Apollonius prince de Thyr en Affrique et roy d'Antioch, traduite par Gilles Corozet, Paris, 1530. 8vo." And there is an old black-letter edition, printed in quarto at Geneva, entitled, "La Chronique d'Appollin roy de Thir." At length the story appeared in a modern dress by M. le Brun, under the title of "Avantures d'Apollonius de Thyr," printed in twelves at Paris and Rotterdam, in 1710. And again at Paris the following year.

[In the edition of the GESTA ROMANORUM, printed at Rouen in 1521, and containing one hundred and eighty-one chapters, the history of Apollonius of Tyre occurs, ch. 153. This is the first of the additional chapters.—ADDITIONS.]

^k So I translate "alios id genus minores libellos." Crus. ibid. p. 489. Crusius was born in 1526, and died 1607.

^l At the end of Le Triumphe des NEUF PREUX, &c. fol. That is, The NINE WORTHIES.

language and metre, with the titles *Διηγήσεις εξαιρετος Βελθανδρου του Ρωμαιου*^m, and *Ιστορικη εξηγησις περι Βελλισαριου, &c.*ⁿ Boccacio himself, in the *DECAMERON*^o, mentions the story of Troilus and Cressida in Greek verse: which I suppose had been translated by some of the fugitive Greeks with whom he was connected, from a romance on that subject; many antient copies of which now remain in the libraries of France^p. The story of *FLORIUS AND PLATZFLORE*, a romance which Ludovicus Vives with great gravity condemns under the name of *Florian and Blanca-Flor*, as one of the pernicious and unclassical popular histories current in Flanders about the year 1523^q, of which there are old editions in French, Spanish^r,

^m See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor. p. 36. col. b. This history contains Beltrand's, or Bertrand's amours with *Χρυσατσα*, *Chrysatsa*, the king of Antioch's daughter.

ⁿ See Lambecc. Bibl. Cæsar. Lib. v. p. 264. It is remarkable, that the story of *Date obolum Belisario* is not in Procopius, but in this romance. Probably Vandyck got this story from a modernised edition of it, called *BELLISAIRE ou le Conquerant*, Paris. 1643. 8vo. Which, however, is said in the title-page to be taken from Procopius. It was written by the sieur de Grenailles.

^o They sometimes applied their Greek iambics to the works of the antient Greek poets. Demetrius Zenus, above mentioned, translated Homer's *Βατραχομυομαχία*: and Nicolaus Lucanus, the *Iliad*. The first was printed at Venice, and afterwards reprinted by Crusius, *Turco-Græc.* p. 373. The latter was also printed at Venice, 1526. apud Steph. Sabium. This Demetrius Zenus is said to be the author of the *Γαλειωμυομαχία*, or *BATTLE OF THE CATS AND MICE*. See Crus. ubi supr. 396. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. i. 264. 223. On account of the Greco-barbarous books which began to grow common, chiefly in Italy, about the year 1520, Stephen a Sabio, or Sabius, abovementioned, the printer of many of them, published a Greco-barbarous lexicon at Venice, 1527, entitled, "*CORONA PRETIOSA, Εισαγωγή να επιγραφομενη Στεφανος χρησιμος, ηγυν*

Στεφανος τιμιος, ωστε μαθειν αναγινωσκειν, γραφειν, νοειν, & λαλειν την ιδιωτικην & αττικην γλωσσην των Γραικων, επι δε & την γραμματικην & την ιδιωτικην γλωσσαν των Λατινων." It is a mixture of modern and antient Greek words, Latin and Italian. It was reprinted at Venice by Petrus Burana, 1546.

^p See Lenglet's Bibl. Rom. p. 253. "*Le Roman de Troylus.*" And Montfaucon, Bibl. MSS. p. 792. 793, &c. &c. There is, "*L'Amore di Troleo et Griseida que si tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja, d'Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553.*" in octave rhyme. 8vo. More will be said of this hereafter.

^q Lud. Viv. de Christiana Femina. lib. i. cap. cui tit. *Qui non legendi Scriptores*, &c. He lived at Bruges. He mentions other romances common in Flanders, *LEONELA AND CANAMOR*, *CURIAS AND FLORELA*, and *PYRAMUS AND THISBE*.

^r *FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR. En Alcalá, 1512. 4to.*—*Histoire Amoureuse de FLORES et de BLANCHEFLEUR, traduite de l'Espagnol par Jacques Vincent. Paris, 1554. 8vo.*—*FLORIMONT ET PASSEROZE, traduite de l'Espagnol en prose Francoise, Lyon, 15... 8vo.* There is a French edition at Lyons, 1571. It was perhaps originally Spanish.

[The translation of *FLORES* and *BLANCAFLOR* in Greek iambics might also be made in compliment to Boccacio. Their adventures make the principal subject of his *PHILOCOPO*: but the story existed long before, as Boccacio himself informs

and perhaps Italian, is likewise extant very early in Greek iambics, most probably as a translation into that language^s. I could give many others; but I hasten to lay before my readers some specimens both of the Italian and the Greek PALAMON AND ARCITE^t. Only premising, that both have about a thousand verses in each of the twelve books, and that the two first books are introductory: the first containing the war of Theseus with the Amazons, and the second that of Thebes, in which Palamon and Arcite are taken prisoners. Boccacio thus describes the Temple of Mars.

N e icampi Tracii sotto icieli hyberni
 D a tempesta continua agitati
 D oue schieré di nimbi sempiterni
 D a uenti or qua e or la trasmutati
 I n uarii loghi ne iguazosi uerni
 E de aqua globi per fredo agropati
 G itati sono eneue tutta uia
 C he in giazio amano aman se induria

 E una selua sterile de robusti
 C erri doue eran folti e alti moltò
 N odosi aspri rigidi e uetusti
 C he de ombra eterna ricopreno il uolto

us, L. i. p. 6. edit. 1723. Flores and Blancafore are mentioned as illustrious lovers by *Matfres Eymengau de Beziers*, a poet of Languedoc, in his *BREVIARI D'AMOR*, dated in the year 1288. MSS. REG. 19 C. i. fol. 199. This tale was probably enlarged in passing through the hands of Boccacio. See CANTERB. T. iv. p. 169.—ADDITIONS.]

[A German romance on this subject was translated by Konrad Fluke from the French of Robert d' Orleans, in the early part of the thirteenth century. The subject is referred to at an earlier period by several Provençal poets, and this, coupled with the theatre of its events, makes Warton's conjecture extremely probable that it is of Spanish origin.—EDIT.]

^s See supr. p. 183. In the Notes.

Where, for want of further information, I left this point doubtful.

^t For the use of the Greek THESEID I am obliged to the politeness of Mr. Stanley, who condescends to patronise and assist the studies he so well understands. I believe there is but one more copy in England, belonging to Mr. Ramsay the painter. Yet I have been told that Dr. George, provost of King's, had a copy. The first edition of the Italian book, no less valuable a curiosity, is in the excellent library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Askew. This is the only copy in England. See BIBL. SMITH. Addend. fol. xl. Venet. 1755. 4to.—[I am informed, that Dr. George's books, among which was the Greek Theseid, were purchased by Lord Spencer.—ADDITIONS.]

D el tristo suolo enfra li antichi fusti
D i ben mille furor sempre rauolto
V i si sentia grandissimo romore
N e uera bestia anchora ne pastore

I n questa nide la cha delo idio
A rmipotente questa edificata
T utta de azzaiò splendido e pulio
D alquale era del sol riuerberata
L aluce che aboreua il logho rio
T utta differro era la stretta entrata
E le porte eran de eterno admante
F errato dogni parte tutte quante

E le le colone di ferro custei
V ide che lo edificio sosteneano
L i impeti de menti parue alei
V eder che fieri dela porta usiano
E il ciecho pechàre e ogne omei
S imilmente quiui si uedeano
V idiue le ire rosse come focho
E la paura palida in quel locho

E con gli occulti ferri itradimenti
V ide e le insidie con uista apparenza
L i discordia sedea esanguinenti
F erri auea in mano e ogni differenza
E tutti i loghi pareano strepenti
D aspre minaze e di crudel intenza
E n mezo illocho la uertu tristissima
S edea di degne laude pouerissima

V ideui ancora lo alegro furore
E oltre acio con uolto sanguinoso
L a morte armata uide elo stupore
E ogni altare qui uera copioso
D i sangue sol ne le bataglie fore
D i corpi human cacciato e luminoso

E ra ciaschun di focho tolto a terre
 A rse e diffate per le triste guerre
 E t era il tempio tutto historiato^u
 D i socil mano e di sopra ed intorno
 E cio che pria ui uide designato
 E ran le prede de nocte e di giorno
 T olto ale terre e qualunque sforzato
 F u era qui in habito musorno
 V ideanuissi le gente incatenate
 P orti di ferro e forteze spezate
 V edeui ancor le naue bellatrici
 I n uoti carri e li uolti guastati
 E i miseri pianti & infelici
 E t ogni forza con li aspecti e lati
 O gni ferita ancor si vedea lici
 E sangue con le terre mescolati
 E ogni logo con aspecto fiero
 S i uedea Marte turbido e altiero, &c.^x

The Temple of Venus has these imageries.

P oi presso ase uidde passar belleza
 S enza ornamento alchun se riguardando
 E gir con lei uidde piaceuolleza
 E luna laltra secho comendano

^u Thus, Στορισματα means paintings, properly history-paintings, and ἱστορεῖν, and ἀνιστορεῖν, is to paint, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latinity *Historiographus* signifies literally a *Painter*. Perhaps our HISTORIOGRAPHER ROYAL was originally the king's *Illuminator*. Ἱστοριογράφος μουσιατῶρ occurs in an Inscription published by Du Cange, *Dissertat. Joinv.* xxvii. p. 319. Where μουσιατῶρ implies an artist who painted in mosaic work called μουσαιον, or μουσιον, *Musivum*. In the Greek poem before us Ἱστοριτας is used for a Painter, lib. ii.

Εκ την παρσαν την ζων ολεποικειν ο Ἱστοριτας.

In the middle Latin writers we have *depingere HISTORIALITER*, to paint with histories or figures, viz. "Forinsecus debavit illud [delubrum,] intrinsecus autem depinxit historialiter." Dudo de Act. Norman. l. iii. p. 153. Dante uses the Italian word before us in the same sense. Dante, *Purgat. Cant. x.*

Quivi era HISTORIATA l'alta gloria
 Del Roman Prince.—

Ἱστορια frequently occurs, simply for picture or representation in colours. Nilus Monach. lib. iv. Epist. 61. Καὶ ἱστορίας πτηνῶν καὶ ἐρπετῶν καὶ βλασημάτων. "PICTURES of birds, serpents, and plants." And in a thousand other instances.

^x L. vii.

P oi con lor uidde istarsi gioueneza
 D estra e adorna molto festeggiando
 E daltra parte uidde el fole ardire
 L usinge e ruffiania in sieme gire
 I n mezo el locho in su alte colone
 D i rame uidde un tempio al qual dintorno
 D anzando giouenette uidde e done
 Q ual da se belle : e qual de habito adorno
 D iscinte e schalze in giube e in gone
 E in cio sol dispendeano il giorno
 P oi sopra el tempio uidde uolitare
 P assere molte e columbi rigiare

E alentrata del tempio uicina
 V idde che si sedeua piana mente
 M adona pace : e in mano una cortina
 N anzi la porta tenea lieue mente
 A presso lei in uista assai tapina
 P acientia sedea discreta mente
 P allida ne lo aspecto : e dogni parte
 E intorno alei uidde promesse e carte

P oi dentro al tempio entrata di sospiri
 V i senti un tumulto che giraua
 F ochoso tutto di caldi desiri
 Q uesto glialtri tutti aluminaua
 D i noue fiamme nate di martiri
 D i qua ciaschun di lagrime grondaui
 M osse da una dona cruda e ria
 C he uidde li chiamata gilosia, &c.

Some of these stanzas are thus expressed in the Greco-barbarous translation ^w.

*Εἰς τοῦτον εἶδε τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν οἶκον τὸν μέγαν,
 ἀφάρματα πολλὰ σκληρὰ, κτισμένος ἦτον ὅλος.*

^w From which it was thought proper to give no larger specimen, as the language is intelligible only to a very few curious scholars.

Ὁ λόλαμπρος γὰρ ἦτοναι, ἔλαμπεν ὡς τὸν ἥλιον,
ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἔκρουε, ἄστραπτεν ὡς τὸν φέγγος.

Ὁ τόπος ὅλος ἔλαμπεν, ἐκτὴν λαμπρότητάντου,
τὸ ἔμπατου ὀλοσίδηρον, καὶ τὰ στενώματάτου.

Ἀπὸ διαμάντη πόρτεστος, ἦσαν καὶ τὰ καρφία,
σηδερομέναις δυνατὰ, ἀπάπασαν μερία.

Κολόναις ἦσαν σιδηρῆς, πολλὰ χοντρῆς μεγάλαις,
ἀπάνωτους ἐβάστεναν, ὅλον τὸν οἶκον κεῖνον.

Ἐκεῖδε τὴν βουρκότηταν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκείνων,
ὀποκτὴν πόρταν βγένασι, ἄγροι καὶ θυμομένοι.

Καὶ τὴν τυφλὴν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ καὶ ὄχου
ἐκεῖσε ἐφαινόνησαν, ὅμοιον σὰν καὶ τ' ἄλλα.

Καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐσκεύθηκεν, κόκιναις ὡς φωτῖα,
τὸν φόβον εἶδε λόχλομον, ἐκεῖσε σμίαν μερία.

Μετὰ κοιφὰ τὰ σίδερα, εἶδε δημηγερσίαις,
καὶ ταῖς φασίαις πουγίνονται, καὶ μόιαζον δικαιοσούνες.

Ἐκεῖτον ἀσυνηθασία, μεταῖς διαφωνίαις,
ἐβάσα εἰς τὸ χέρητης, σίδερα ματομένα.

Ὁλος ὁ τόπος ἔδειχνε, ἄγριος καὶ χολιασμένος,
ἀγρίους γὰρ φοβερισμοὺς, κιωμότατην μαλέαν.

Μέσα τον τόπον τούτονε, ἡ χάρηα τυχεμένη,
ἐκάθετον ὁ πόμπρεπε, νὰ ἔναι παινεμένη.^x

In passing through Chaucer's hands, this poem has received many new beauties. Not only those capital fictions and descriptions, the temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, and the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, are so much heightened by the bold and spirited manner of the British bard, as to strike us with an air of originality*. In the mean time it is to be remarked,

^x L. vii. Sign. μ g.

* [Boccacio's situations and incidents, respecting the lovers, are often inartificial and unaffecting. In the Italian poet, Emilia walking in the garden and singing, is seen and heard first by Arcite, who immediately calls Palamon. They are both equally, and at the same point of time, captivated with her beauty;

yet without any expressions of jealousy, or appearance of rivalry. But in Chaucer's management of the commencement of this amour, Palamon by seeing Emilia first, acquires an advantage over Arcite, which ultimately renders the catastrophe more agreeable to poetical justice. It is an unnatural and unanimated picture which Boccacio presents, of the two

that as Chaucer in some places has thrown in strokes of his own, so in others he has contracted the uninteresting and tedious prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet. And that he might avoid a servile imitation, and indulge himself as he pleased in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarrassment of Boccacio's stanza, and preferred the English heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the first conspicuous example extant in our language.

The situation and structure of the temple of Mars are thus described.

———A forest

In which ther wonneth neyther man ne best:
 With knotty knarry barrein trees old,
 Of stubbes sharpe, and hidous to behold,
 In which ther ran a romble and a swough^a.
 As though a storme shuld bersten every bough.

young princes violently enamoured of the same object, and still remaining in a state of amity. In Chaucer, the quarrel between the two friends, the foundation of all the future beautiful distress of the piece, commences at this moment, and causes a conversation full of mutual rage and resentment. This rapid transition from a friendship cemented by every tie, to the most implacable hostility, is on this occasion not only highly natural, but produces a sudden and unexpected change of circumstances, which enlivens the detail, and is always interesting. Even afterwards, when Arcite is released from the prison by Perithous, he embraces Palamon at parting. And in the fifth book of the *THESEIDE*, when Palamon goes armed to the grove in search of Arcite, whom he finds sleeping, they meet on terms of much civility and friendship, and in all the mechanical formality of the manners of romance. In Chaucer, this dialogue has a very different cast. Palamon, at seeing Arcite, feels a *colde swerde* glide throughout his heart: he starts from his ambuscade, and instantly salutes Arcite with the appellation of *false traitour*. And although Boccacio has merit in discriminating the characters of the two princes, by giving Palamon the impetuosity of Achilles,

and Arcite the mildness of Hector; yet Arcite by Boccacio is here injudiciously represented as too moderate and pacific. In Chaucer he returns the salute with the same degree of indignation, draws his sword, and defies Palamon to single combat. So languid is Boccacio's plan of this amour, that Palamon does not begin to be jealous of Arcite, till he is informed in the prison, that Arcite lived as a favourite servant with Theseus in disguise, yet known to Emilia. When the lovers see Emilia from the window of their tower, she is supposed by Boccacio to observe them, and not to be displeased at their signs of admiration. This circumstance is justly omitted by Chaucer, as quite unnecessary; and not tending either to promote the present business, or to operate in any distant consequences. On the whole, Chaucer has eminently shewn his good sense and judgement in rejecting the superfluities, and improving the general arrangement of the story. He frequently corrects or softens Boccacio's false manners: and it is with singular address he has often abridged the Italian poet's ostentatious and pedantic parade of ancient history and mythology.—ADDITIONS.]

^a sound.

And downward from an hill, under a bent^b,
 Ther stood the temple of Mars armipotent,
 Wrought all of burned^c stele: of which th' entree
 Was longe, and streite, and gastly for to see:
 And therout came a rage and swiche a vise^d
 That it made all the gates for to rise^e.
 The northern light in at the dore shone,
 For window on the wall ne was ther none,
 Thurgh which men mighten any light discerne.
 The dore was all of athamant eterne,
 Yclenched overthwart and endelong,
 With yren tough, and for to make it strong.
 Every piler the temple to sustene
 Was tonnè-grete^f of yren bright and shene.

The gloomy sanctuary of this tremendous fane, was adorned with these characteristical imageries.

Ther saw I first the derke imagining
 Of Felonie, and alle the compassing:
 The cruel Irè, red as any glede^g.
 The Pikepurse, and eke the pale Drede^h;
 The Smiler with the knif under the clokeⁱ:
 The shepen brenning with the blakè smoke^k;
 The Treson of the mordring in the bedde^l,
 The open Werre with woundes all bebledde;

^b precipice [declivity].

^c burnished.

^d noise. [Perhaps we should read *rese*, a Saxon word signifying *violence*, impetuosity. If this correction be admitted, we must also read in the next line *rese* for *rise*, with MS. A.—TYRWHITT.]

^e "it strained the doors: almost forced them from their hinges."

^f a great tun; a tun-weight.

^g coal.

^h fear.

ⁱ Dryden has converted this image into clerical hypocrisy, under which he takes an opportunity of gratifying his spleen against the clergy. Knight's Tale, B. ii. p. 56. edit. 1713:

Next stood Hypocrisy with *holy* leer,
 Soft-smiling and demurely looking
 down,
 But hid the dagger underneath the
 gown.

^k Perhaps for *shepyn* we should read *chepyn*, or *cheping*, i. e. a town, a place of trade. This line is therefore to represent, A City on fire. In Wickliffe's Bible we have, "It is lyk to children sittynge in "CHEPYNGE." Matt. xi. 16. [The stable, from the Sax. *scypen*, which signifies the same thing.—TYRWHITT.]

^l Dryden has lowered this image,

Th' assassinating wife. — —

Conteke^m with bloody knifⁿ, and sharp Manace,
 All full of chirking^o was that sory place!
 The sleer of himself yet saw I there,
 His herte-blood hath bathed all his here,
 The naile ydriven in the shode on hight,
 The colde deth, with mouth gaping upright^r.
 Amiddes of the temple sate Mischance,
 With discomfort, and sory countenance.
 Yet saw I Woodnesse^s laughing in his rage.
 Armed complaint, outhees, and fiers Outrage;
 The carraine in the bush, with throte ycorven^t,
 A thousand slain, and not of qualme ystorven^u.
 The tirant, with the prey by force yraft,
 The toun destroied, ther was nothing laft.
 Yet saw I brent the shippes hoppesteres*,
 The hunte† ystrangled with the wilde beres.

^m strife.

ⁿ This image is likewise entirely misrepresented by Dryden, and turned to a satire on the Church.

Contest with sharpen'd knives in *cloysters* drawn,
 And all with blood bespread the *holy lawn*.

^o Any disagreeable noise, or hollow murmur. Properly, the jarring of a door upon the hinges. See also Chaucer's Boeth. p. 364. b. Urr. edit. "When the felde *chirkinge* agrisethe of the colde, by the fellnesse of the wind Aquilon." The original is, "Vento Campus inhorruit."

^r This couplet refers to the suicide in the preceding one; who is supposed to kill himself by driving a nail into his head [in the night], and to be found dead and cold in his bed, with his "mouth gapyng upryght." This is properly the meaning of his "hair being bathed in blood." *Shode*, in the text, is literally a *bush of hair*. Dryden has finely paraphrased this passage. [The old printed text on which Warton's paraphrase is founded, read: "in the shode anyght." —EDIT.]

^s madness.

^t throat cut.

^u "slain,—not destroyed by sickness or dying a natural death."

* [It is needless to trouble the reader with the various readings and interpretations of this passage. To *hoppe*, in Saxon (though with us it has acquired a ludicrous sense), and the termination *stre* or *ster*, was used to denote a female, like *trix* in Latin. As therefore a female baker was called a bakerster, a female brewer a brewester, a female webbe or weaver a webbestester, so I conceive a female hopper or dancer was called a hoppester. It is well known that a ship in most languages is considered as a female. . . . Though the idea of a ship dancing on the waves be not an unpoetical one, the adjunct hoppesteres does not seem so proper in this place as the *bellatrici* of the Theseida, l. vii.

Vedevi ancor le navi *bellatrici*
 In voti carri e li volti guastati.

TYRWITT.

This note has been given to justify the adoption of Mr. Tyrwhitt's reading. It is to be regretted that this distinguished critic thought it right to withhold the "various readings of this passage," since few could have been more obscure or apparently more incongruous than the

The sow freting^w the child right in the cradel,
 The cokee yscalled, for all his long ladel.
 Nought was foryete by th' infortune of Marte;
 The carter^x overridden by his carte^y,
 Under the wheel full low he lay adoun.
 Ther were also of Martes division,
 The Armerer, and the Bowyer, and the Smith
 That forgeth sharpè swerdes on his stith^z.
 And all above, depeinted in a tour,
 Saw I Conquest sitting in gret honour,
 With thilke sharpe swerd over his hed,
 Y-hanging by a subtil twined thred.^a

This groupe is the effort of a strong imagination, unacquainted with selection and arrangement of images. It is rudely thrown on the canvas without order or art. In the Italian poets, who describe every thing, and who cannot, even in the most serious representations, easily suppress their natural predilection for burlesque and familiar imagery, nothing is more common than this mixture of sublime and comic ideas^b. The form of Mars follows, touched with the impetuous dashes of a savage and spirited pencil.

one upon which his election has fallen. The obvious meaning of "shippes hoppesteres," (admitting Mr. Tyrwhitt's etymology to be correct,) is *the dancers of the ship*; for to interpret it *ships, dancers*, quasi *the dancing ships*, would not only be against all analogy, but leaves the sense and the sentence incomplete. The old reading "shippes upon steris" is not without its difficulties, and if correct might perhaps be interpreted "ships upon steayeres," or as we now should say, ships upon the stocks. But it is idle to offer conjectures upon a text which may rest upon no better authority than the whim of an indolent transcriber, or the mistake of a printer's compositor. An inspection of the manuscripts can alone decide the preference due to one reading over another, and this must be left to some future editor of the *Canterbury Tales*. The context, however, would

lead one to believe that Chaucer intended to heighten his imagery by a strong antithesis, and to paint a fleet destroyed by fire upon the surface of the water. It may be right to observe, that in Saxon and all the Northern languages, a ship is of the neuter gender.—EDIT.]

† [the huntsman; from the Saxon *hunta*.—TYRWHITT.]

^w devouring.

^x charioteer.

^y chariot.

^z anvil.

^a v. 1998. p. 16. Urr.

^b There are many other instances of this mixture. v. 1179. "We strive as did the houndis for the bone." v. 1264. "We fare as he that dronk is as a mouse, &c." v. 2762. "Farewel physick! Go bere the corse to church." v. 2521. "Some said he lokid grim and he wolde fight," &c.

The statue^c of Mars upon a carte^d stood,
 Armed, and loked grim as he were wood^e.
 A wolf ther stood beforne him at his fete
 With eyen red, and of a man he ete.
 With subtil pensil peinted was this storie,
 In redouting^f of Mars and of his glorie.^g

But the ground-work of this whole description is in the Thebaid of Statius. I will make no apology for transcribing the passage at large, that the reader may judge of the resemblance. Mercury visits the temple of Mars, situated in the frozen and tempestuous regions of Thrace.^h

Hic steriles delubra notat Mavortia sylvas,
 Horrescitque tuens: ubi mille furoribus illi
 Cingitur, adverso domus immansueta sub Æmo.
 Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
 Limina, ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis.
 Læditur adversum Phœbi jubar, ipsaque sedem
 Lux timet, et dirus contristat sydera fulgor.
 Digna loco statio. Primis subit impetus amens
 E foribus, cæcumque Nefas, Iræque rubentes,
 Exanguesque Metus; occultisque ensibus astant
 Insidiæ, geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.
 Innumeris strepit aula minis. Tristissima Virtus
 Stat medio, lætusque Furor, vultuque cruento
 Mors armata sedet. Bellorum solus in aris
 Sanguis, et incensis qui raptus ab urbibus ignis.

^c form, or figure. Statuary is not implied here. Thus he mentions the statue of Mars on a banner, *supr.* v. 977. I cannot forbear adding in this place these fine verses of Mars arming himself in haste, from our author's *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, v. 99.

He throwith on his helme of hugè
 weight;
 And girt him with his sworde, and in
 his hond
 His mighty spere, as he was wont to
 feight,
 He shekith so, that it almost to wonde.

Here we see the force of description without a profusion of idle epithets. These verses are all sinew: they have nothing but verbs and substantives.

^d chariot. ^e mad.

^f recording, [reverence, T.]

^g v. 2043.

^h Chaucer points out this very temple in the introductory lines, v. 1981.

Like to the estries of the grisly place
 That hight the grete temple of Mars in
 Thrace.

In thilke cold and frosty region,
 Ther as Mars has his sovran mansion.

Terrarum exuviæ circum, et fastigia templi
Captæ insignibant gentes, cœlataque ferro
Fragmina portarum, bellatricesque carinæ,
Et vacui currus, protritaque curribus ora.ⁱ

Statius was a favourite writer with the poets of the middle ages. His bloated magnificence of description, gigantic images, and pompous diction, suited their taste, and were somewhat of a piece with the romances they so much admired. They neglected the gentler and genuine graces of Virgil, which they could not relish. His pictures were too correctly and chastely drawn to take their fancies: and truth of design, elegance of expression, and the arts of composition were not their objects^k. In the mean time we must observe, that in Chaucer's Temple of Mars many personages are added: and that those which existed before in Statius have been retouched, enlarged, and rendered more distinct and picturesque by Boccacio and

ⁱ Stat. Theb. vii. 40. And below we have Chaucer's *Doors of adamant eterne*, viz. v. 68.

—Clausæque adamante perenni
Dissiluere fores. — — —

Statius also calls Mars, *Armipotens*. v. 78. A sacrifice is copied from Statius, where says Chaucer, v. 2296.

And did her thingis as men might
behold

In *Stace of Thebes*. — — —

I think Statius is copied in a simile, v. 1640. The introduction of this poem is also taken from the Thebaid, xii. 545. 481. 797. Compare Chaucer's lines, v. 870. seq. v. 917. seq. v. 996. seq. The funeral pyre of Arcite is also translated from Theb. vi. 195. seq. See Ch. v. 2940. seq. I likewise take this opportunity of observing, that Lucretius and Plato are imitated in this poem. Together with many passages from Ovid and Virgil.

^k In *Troilus and Cresside* he has translated the arguments of the twelve books of the Thebaid of Statius. See B. v. p. 1479. seq.

[But to be more particular as to these imitations.

Ver. 900. p. 8. Urr. edit.

A company of ladys twey and twey, &c.
Thus Theseus, at his return in triumph
from conquering Scythia, is accosted by
the dames of Thebes, Stat. THEB. xii.
519.

Jamque domos patrias, Scythicæ post
aspera gentis

Prælia, laurigero subeuntem Thesea
curru

Lætifici plausus, &c. &c.

Paulum et ab insessis mœstæ Pelopeides
aris

Promovere gradum, seriemque et dona
triumphi

Mirantur, victique animo rediere mariti.
Atque ubi tardavit currus, et ab axe su-
perbo

Explorat causas victor, poscitque benigna
Aure preces; orsa ante alias Capaneia
conjux,

Belliger Ægide, &c.

Chaucer here copies Statius, (v. 861—
966.) KN. T. from v. 519. to v. 600.
THEB. See also ibid. 465. seq.

V. 930. p. 9.

Here in the Temple of the goddess
Clemence, &c.

Statius mentions the temple of Clemency

Chaucer. Arcite's address to Mars, at entering the temple, has great dignity, and is not copied from Statius.

O strongè god, that in the regnes cold
Of Trace honoured art, and lord yhold !
And hast in every regne, and every lond,
Of armes al the bridel in thin hond ;
And hem fortunist, as thee list devise,
Accept of me my pitous sacrifise¹.

The following portrait of Lycurgus, an imaginary king of Thrace, is highly charged, and very great in the gothic style of painting.

Ther maist thou se, coming with Palamon,
Lycurge himself, the grete king of Trace ;
Blake was his berde, and manly was his face :
The cercles of his eyen in his hed
They gloweden betwixten yalwe and red :
And like a griffon loked he about,
With kemped heres on his browes stout :
His limmes gret, his braunes hard and stronge,
His shouldres brode, his armes round and longe.
And as the guise was in his contree
Ful highe upon a char of gold stood he :

as the asylum where these ladies were assembled, THEB. xii. 481.

Urbe fuit media, nulli concessa potentum
Ara deum, mitis posuit Clementia sedem, &c.

V. 2947.

Ne what jewillis men into the fire cast,
&c.

Literally from Statius, THEB. vi. 206.

Ditantur flammæ, non unquam opulentior illa

Ante cinis ; crepitant gemmæ, &c.

But the whole of Arcite's funeral is minutely copied from Statius. More than a hundred parallel lines on this subject might be produced from each poet. In Statius the account of the trees felled

for the pyre, with the consternation of the Nymphs, takes up more than twenty-four lines. v. 84—116. In Chaucer about thirteen, v. 2922—2937. In Boccacio, six stanzas. B. xi. Of the three poets, Statius is most reprehensible, the first author of this ill-placed and unnecessary description, and who did not live in a Gothic age. The statues of Mars and Venus I imagined had been copied from Fulgentius, Boccacio's favorite mythographer. But Fulgentius says nothing of Mars : and of Venus, that she only stood in the sea on a couch, attended by the Graces. It is from Statius that Theseus became a hero of romance.—ADDITIONS.]

¹ v. 2375.

With foure white bolles in the trais.
 Instead of cote-armure, on his harnais
 With nayles yelwe, and bright as any gold,
 He hadde a beresⁿ skin cole-blake for old.
 His longe here was kempt behind his bak,
 As any ravenes fetherit shone for blake.
 A wreth of gold armgrete^o, of hugè weight,
 Upon his hed sate full of stones bright,
 Of fine rubins, and of diamants.
 About his char ther wenten white alauns^p,
 Twenty and mo, as gret as any stere,
 To huntun at the leon or the dere;
 And folwed him with mosel^q fast ybound,
 Colered with gold^r and torretes^s filed^t round.
 A hundred lordes had he in his route,
 Armed full wel, with hertes sterne and stoute.^u

The figure of Emetrius king of India, who comes to the aid of Arcite, is not inferior in the same style, with a mixture of grace.

ⁿ a bear's.

^o as big as your arm.

^p greyhounds. A favourite species of dogs in the middle ages. In the antient pipe-rolls, payments are frequently made in greyhounds. Rot. Pip. an. 4. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1203.] "Rog. Constabul. Cestrie debet D. Marcas, et X. palfridos et X. *laisas Leporariorum* pro habenda terra Vidonis de Loverell de quibus debet reddere per ann. c. $\bar{M}$." *Ten leashes of greyhounds.* Rot. Pip. an. 9. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1208.] "SUTHANT. Johan. Teingre debet c. $\bar{M}$. et X. *leporarios magnos, pulchros, et bonos, de redemptione sua,*" &c. Rot. Pip. an. 11. Reg. Johan. [A.D. 1210.] "EVERVEYC-SIRE. Rog. de Mallvell redd. comp. de I. palefrido velociter currente, et II. *Laisiis leporariorum* pro habendis literis deprecatoriis ad Matildam de M." I could give a thousand other instances of the sort. [*Alano* is the Spanish name of a species of dog which the dictionaries call a mastiff.—TYRWHITT.]

^q muzzle.

^r In Hawes's PASTIME OF PLEASURE, [written temp. Hen. VII.] Fame is attended with two greyhounds; on whose golden collars Grace and *Governaunce* are inscribed in diamond letters. See next note.

^s rings; the fastening of dogs' collars. They are often mentioned in the INVENTORY of furniture, in the royal palaces of Henry the Eighth, above cited. MSS. Harl. 1419. In the *Castle of Windsor*. Article COLLARS. f. 409. "Two greyhoundes collars of crimson velvett and cloth of gold, lacking *torrettes*."—"Two other collars with the kinges armes, and at the ende portcullis and rose."—"Item, a collar embrowdered with pomegranates and roses with *turrets* of silver and gilt."—"A collar garnished with stoleworke with one shallop shelle of silver and gylte, with *torrettes* and pendauntes of silver and guilte."—"A collar of white velvette, embrowdered with perles, the swivels of silver."

^t filed; highly polished.

^u v. 2129.

With Arcita, in stories as men find,
 The gret Emetrius, the king of Inde,
 Upon a stedè bay, trapped in stele,
 Covered with cloth of gold diapred^w wele,
 Came riding like the god of armes Mars:
 His cote-armure was of a cloth of Tars^x,
 Couched with perles, white, and round and grete;
 His sadel was of brent^y gold new ybete,
 A mantelet upon his shouldres hanging,
 Bretfull^z of rubies red, as fire sparkling.
 His crispè here like ringes^a was yronne,
 And that was yelwe, and glitered as the sonne.
 His nose was high, his eyen bright citrin^b,
 His lippes round, his colour was sanguin.
 And a fewe fraknes in his face ysprent^c,
 Betwixen yelwe and blake somdele ymeint^d.
 And as a leon he his loking caste^e.
 Of five and twenty yere his age I caste.
 His berd was well begonnen for to spring,
 His vois was as a trompe thondiring.
 Upon his hed he wered, of laurer grene
 A gerlond freshe, and lusty for to sene.
 Upon his hond he bare for his deduit
 An egle tame, as any lily white^f.
 An hundred lordes had he with him there,
 All armed, save hir hedes, in all hir gere^g.

^w See this word explained above, p. 9.

^x Not of Tarsus in Cilicia. It is rather an abbreviation for *Tartarin*, or *Tartarium*. See Chaucer's *Flowre and Leafe*, v. 212.

On every trumpe hanging a brode bannere

Of fine *Tartarium* full richely bete.

That it was a costly stuff appears from hence. "Et ad faciendum unum Jupoun de *Tartaryn* blu pouderat. cum garteriis blu paratis cum boucles et pendants de argento deaurato," Comp. J. Coke Provisoris Magn. Garderob. temp.

Edw. III. ut supr. It often occurs in the wardrobe-accounts for furnishing tournaments. Du Cange says, that this was a fine cloth manufactured in Tartary. Gloss. *Tartarium*. But Skinner in V. derives it from Tortona in the Milanese. He cites Stat. 4. Hen. VIII. c. vi.

^y burnt, burnished.

^z quite full.

^a rings.

^b lemon-colour. Lat. *Citrinus*.

^c sprinkled.

^d "a mixture of black and yellow."

^e cast, darted.

^f See vol. i. p. 178.

^g armour.

About this king ther ran on every part
Full many a tame leon, and leopart.^h

The banner of Mars displayed by Theseus, is sublimely conceived.

The red statue of Mars, with spere and targe,
So shineth in his white banner large
That al the feldes gliteren up and down.ⁱ

This poem has many strokes of pathetic description, of which these specimens may be selected.

Upon that other side Palamon
Whan that he wist Arcita was ygon,
Swiche sorwe he maketh, that the grete tour
Resounded of his yelling and clamour:
The pure fetters on his shinnes grete
Were of his bitter salte teres wete.^k

Arcite is thus described, after his return to Thebes, where he despairs of seeing Emilia again.

His slepe, his mete, his drinke, is him byraft;
That lene he wex, and drie as is a shaft:
His eyen holwe, and grisly to behold
His hewe falwe, and pale as ashen^l cold:
And solitary he was, and ever alone,
And wailing all the night, making his mone.
And if he herdè song or instrument,
Than wold he wepe, he mighte not be stent^m.
So feble were his spirites and so low,
And changed so, that no man coude know
His speche, ne his vois, though men it herd.ⁿ

Palamon is thus introduced in the procession of his rival Arcite's funeral:

^h v. 2157.

^k v. 1277.

ⁱ v. 977.

^l ashes.

ⁿ v. 1363.

^m stayed.

Tho came this woful Theban Palamon
 With flotery^o berd, and ruggy ashy heres,
 In clothes blake ydropped all with teres,
 And, (passing over of weping Emelie,)
 Was reufullest of all the compaignie.^p

To which may be added the surprise of Palamon, concealed in the forest, at hearing the disguised Arcite, whom he supposes to be the squire of Theseus, discover himself at the mention of the name of Emilia.

———— Throughout his herte
 He felt a colde swerd sodenly glide:
 For ire he quoke, no lenger wolde he hide,
 And whan that he had herd Arcites tale,
 As he were wood, with face ded and pale,
 He sterte him up out of the bushes thikke, &c.^q

A description of the morning must not be omitted; which vies, both in sentiment and expression, with the most finished modern poetical landscape, and finely displays our author's talent at delineating the beauties of nature.

The besy larke, messenger of day,
 Saleweth^r in hire song the morwe gray;
 And firy Phebus riseth up so bright,
 That all the orient laugheth of the sight^s:
 And with his stremes drieth in the greves^t
 The silver dropes hanging on the leves.^u

Nor must the figure of the blooming Emilia, the most beautiful object of this vernal picture, pass unnoticed.

^o squallid. [*Flotery* seems literally to mean floating; as hair dishevelled (*rabuffata*) may be said to flote upon the air.—TYRWHITT.]

^p v. 2884.

^q v. 1576.

^r saluteth.

^s See Dante, *Purgat.* c. i. p. 234.

[For *Orient*, perhaps *Orisount*, or the *horison*, is the true reading. So the

edition of Chaucer in 1561. So also the barbarous Greek poem on this story, 'Ο Ουρανός ὅλος γελα. Dryden seems to have read, or to have made out of this misspelling of *Horison*, *ORIENT*.—The ear instructs us to reject this emendation.—ADDITIONS.]

^t groves, bushes.

^u v. 1493.

—— Emelie, that fayrer was to sene
 Than is the lillie upon his stalke grene;
 And fresher than the May with floures newe,
 (For with the rose colour strof hire hewe).^w

In other parts of his works he has painted morning scenes *con amore*: and his imagination seems to have been peculiarly struck with the charms of a rural prospect at sun-rising.

We are surprised to find, in a poet of such antiquity, numbers so nervous and flowing: a circumstance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphrase of this poem the most animated and harmonious piece of versification in the English language. I cannot leave the KNIGHT'S TALE without remarking, that the inventor of this poem appears to have possessed considerable talents for the artificial construction of a story. It exhibits unexpected and striking turns of fortune; and abounds in those incidents which are calculated to strike the fancy by opening resources to sublime description, or interest the heart by pathetic situations. On this account, even without considering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly disgusted with the mixture of manners, the confusion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which this poem, in common with all others of its age, presents in almost every page. The action is supposed to have happened soon after the marriage of Theseus with Hippolita, and the death of Creon in the siege of Thebes: but we are soon transported into more recent periods. Sunday, the celebration of matins, judicial astrology, heraldry, tilts and tournaments, knights of England, and targets of Prussia^x, occur in the city of Athens under the reign of Theseus.

^w v. 1037.

^x The knights of the Teutonic order were settled in Prussia, before 1300.

See also Ch. Prol. v. 53; where tournaments in Prussia are mentioned. Arcite quotes a fable from Æsop, v. 1179.

SECTION XIII.

CHAUCER'S ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE is translated from a French poem entitled LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE. It was begun by William of Lorris, a student in jurisprudence, who died about the year 1260^a. Being left unfinished, it was completed by John of Meun, a native of a little town of that name, situated on the river Loire near Orleans, who seems to have flourished about the year 1310^b. This poem is esteemed by the French the most valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers: and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis the First, who died in the year 1547. But there is a considerable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of description, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical personages. John of Meun is a writer of another cast. He possesses but little of his predecessor's inventive and poetical vein; and in that respect was not properly qualified to finish a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has strong satire, and great liveliness^c. He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires, are the literal argument of this poem. This design is couched under the allegory of a Rose, which our lover after frequent obstacles gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamantine and almost impregnable castles. These

^a Fauchet, p. 198.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 200. He also translated Boethius *De Consolatione*, and *Abelard's Letters*, and wrote *Answers of the Sybills*, &c.

^c The poem consists of 22734 verses.

William of Lorris's part ends with v. 4149. viz.

"A peu que je ne m'en desespoir."

enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities; some of which assist, and some oppose, the lover's progress^d.

Chaucer has luckily translated all that was written by William of Lorris^e: he gives only part of the continuation of John of Meun^f. How far he has improved on the French original, the reader shall judge. I will exhibit passages selected from

^d In the preface of the edition printed in the year 1538, all this allegory is turned to religion. The Rose is proved to be a state of grace, or divine wisdom, or eternal beatitude, or the Holy Virgin to which heretics cannot gain access. It is the white Rose of Jericho, *Quasi plantatio Rosæ in Jericho*, &c. &c. The chemists, in the mean time, made it a search for the Philosopher's Stone: and other professions, with laboured commentaries, explained it into their own respective sciences.

^e See Occleve's *Letter of Cupide*, written 1402. Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 536. v. 283. Who calls John of Meun the author of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

^f Chaucer's poem consists of 7699 verses: and ends with this verse of the original, viz. v. 13105.

"Vous aurez absolution."

But Chaucer has made several omissions in John of Meun's part, before he comes to this period. He has translated all William of Lorris's part, as I have observed; and his translation of that part ends with v. 4432. viz.

"Than shuldin I fallin in wanhope."

Chaucer's cotemporaries called his *Romaunt of the Rose*, a translation. Lydgate says that Chaucer

———Notably did his businesse
By grete avyse his wittes to dispose,
To translate the ROMANS OF THE ROSE.

Prol. Boch. st. vi. It is manifest that Chaucer took no pains to disguise his translation. He literally follows the French, in saying, that a river was "lesse than *Saine*." i. e. the Seine at Paris. v. 118. "No wight in all Paris." v. 7157. A grove has more birds "than ben in all the relme of *Fraunce*," v. 495. He calls a pine, "A tree in *France* men call

a pine." v. 1457. He says of roses, "so faire werin never in *Rone*." v. 1674. "That for Paris ne for Pavie." v. 1654. He has sometimes reference to French ideas, or words, not in the original. As "Men clepin hem Sereins in France." v. 684. "From Jerusalem to Burgoine." v. 554. "Grein de Paris." v. 1369. Where Skinner says, *Paris* is contracted for *Paradise*. In mentioning minstrells and juglers, he says, that some of them "Songin songes of Lorraine." v. 776. He adds,

For in Lorraine there notis be
Full swetir than in this contre.

There is not a syllable of these songs, and singers, of Lorraine, in the French. By the way, I suspect that Chaucer translated this poem while he was at Paris. There are also many allusions to English affairs, which I suspected to be Chaucer's; but they are all in the French original. Such as, "Hornpipis of Cornevaile." v. 4250. These are called in the original, "Chalemeaux de Cornouaille." v. 3991. A knight is introduced, allied to king "Arthour of Bretagne." v. 1199. Who is called, "Bon roy Artus de Bretagne." Orig. v. 1187. Sir Gawin, and Sir Kay, two of Arthur's knights, are characterised, v. 2206. seq. See Orig. v. 2124. Where the word *Keulx* is corrupt for *Keie*. But there is one passage, in which he mentions a *Bachelere* as fair as "The Lordis sonne of Windisore." v. 1250. This is added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to some of his patrons. In the *Legende of good Women*, Cupid says to Chaucer, v. 329.

For in plain text, withoutin nede of
glose,
Thou hast translatid the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

both poems: respectively placing the French under the English, for the convenience of comparison. The renovation of nature in the month of May is thus described.

That it was May, thus dremed me,^g
 In time of love and jollite,
 That all thing ginnith waxin gay,
 For ther is neither buske nor hay^h
 In May that it n'ill shroudid bene,
 And it with newe levis wreneⁱ:
 These wooddis eke recoverin grene,
 That drie in winter ben to sene;
 And the erth waxith proude withall
 For sote dewis that on it fall,
 And the povir estate forgette
 In whiche that winter had it sette:
 And than becometh the grounde so proude,
 That it will have a newè shroud;
 And make so quaynt his robe and fayre,
 That it had hewes an hundred payre,
 Of grasse and flowris Inde and Pers:
 And many hewis ful divers
 That is the robe I mene iwis,
 Through which the ground to praisin is,
 The birdis, that han lefte thir songe
 While they han suffrid cold ful stronge,

^g Qu'on joli moys de May songeoye,
 Ou temps amoureux plein de joye,
 Que toute chose si s'esgaye,
 Si qu'il n'y a buissons ne haye
 Qui en May parer ne se vueille,
 Et couvrir de nouvelle fueille:
 Les boys recouvrent leur verdure,
 Qui sont sces tant qui l'hiver dure;
 La terre mesmes s'en orgueille
 Pour la rougée qui ta mouille,
 En oublian la povreté
 Où elle a tout l'hiver esté;
 Lors devient la terre si gobe,
 Qu'elle veult avoir neusve robe;
 Si sçet si cointe robe faire,
 Que de couleurs y a cent paire,

D'herbes, de fleurs Indes et Perses:
 Et de maintes couleurs diverses,
 Est la robe que je devise
 Parquoy la terre mieulx se prise.
 Les oiseaulx qui tant se sont teuz
 Pour l'hiver qu'ils ont tous sentuz,
 Et pour le froit et divers temps,
 Sont en May, et par la printemps,
 Si liez, &c. v. 51.

^h bush, or hedge-row. Sometimes
 Wood. Rot. Pip. an. 17. Henr. III.
 "Et Heremitæ sancti Edwardi in *haga*
 de Birchenwude, xl. sol."

ⁱ hide. From *wrie*, or *wrey*, to cover.

In wethers grille^k and darke to sight,
Ben in May, for the sunnè bright
So glad, &c.^l

In the description of a grove, within the garden of Mirth,
are many natural and picturesque circumstances, which are
not yet got into the storehouse of modern poetry.

These trees were sett as I devise^m,
One from another in a toise,
Five fadom or sixe, I trowe so,
But they were hie and gret also;
And for to kepe out wel the sunne,
The croppis were so thik yrunneⁿ,
And everie branch in othir knitte
And ful of grene levis sitte^o,
That sunnè might ther none discende
Lest the tendir grassis shende^p.
Ther might men does and roes ise^q,
And of squirrels ful grete plente,
From bow to bow alwaie lepinge;
Connis^r ther were also playing^s.
That comin out of ther clapers^t,
Of sondrie colors and maners;
And madin many a turneyng
Upon the freshe grasse springing.^u

Near this grove were shaded fountains without frogs, run-

^k cold, [horridus. Prompt. Parv.]

^l v. 51.

^m Mais sachiès que les arbres furent
Si loing a loing comme estre durent
L'ung fut de l'autre loing assis
De cinque toises voyre de six,
Mais moult furent fueilluz et haulx
Pour gardir de l'este le chaulx
Et si espès par dessus furent
Que chaleurs percer ne lis peuvent
Ne ne poyoient bas descendre
Ne faire mal a l'erbe tendre.
Au vergier eut dains & chevreleux,
Et aussi beaucoup d'escureux,

Qui par dessus arbres sailloyent;
Conuins y avoit qui yssoient
Bien souvent hors de leurs tanieres,
En moult de diverses manieres. v. 1368.

ⁿ "the tops, or boughs, were so thickly
twisted together."

^o set.

^p be hurt.

^q see.

^r conies.

^s Chaucer imitates this passage in the
Assemble of Foules. v. 190. seq. Other
passages of that poem are imitated from
Roman de la Rose.

^t burroughs.

^u v. 1391.

ning into murmuring rivulets, bordered with the softest grass enamelled with various flowers.

In placis sawe I wellis there^w
 In whichè ther no froggis were,
 And faire in shadow was eche wel;
 But I ne can the nombre tel
 Of stremis smale, that by devise
 Mirth had don com thorough condise^x,
 Of which the watir in renning,
 Gan makin a noise ful liking.
 About the brinkis of these wellis,
 And by the stremes ovir al ellis
 Sprange up the grasse as thick isett
 And soft eke as any velvett.
 On which man might his leman ley
 As softe as fetherbed to pley.—
 There sprange the violet all newe,
 And freshe perwinke^y riche of hewe;
 And flouris yalowe white and rede,
 Such plenti grew ther ner in mede:
 Full gaie was al the grounde and queint
 And poudrid, as men had it peint,
 With many a fresh and sondry floure
 That castin up ful gode savoure.^z

But I hasten to display the peculiar powers of William de

^w Par lieux y eut cleres fontaines,
 Sans barbelotes¹ & sans raines,
 Qui des arbres estoient umbrez,
 Par moy ne vous seront nombrez,
 Et petit ruisseaulx, que Deduit
 Avoit la trouvés par conduit;
 L'eaue alloit aval faisant
 Son melodieux et plaisant.
 Aux bortz des ruisseaulx et des rives
 Des fontaines cleres et vives
 Poignoit l'erbe dru et plaisant
 Grant soulas et plaisir faisant.

Amy pavoit avec sa mye
 Soy deporter ne'r doubtez mye.—
 Violette y fut moult belle
 Et aussi parvenche nouvelle;
 Fleurs y eut blanches et vermeilles,
 Ou ne pourroit trouver pareilles,
 De toutes diverses couleurs,
 De hault pris et de grans valeurs,
 Si estoit soef flairans
 Et reflagrans et odorans. v. 1348.
^x conduits. ^y periwinkle.
^z v. 1411.

¹ A species of insect often found in stagnant water.

Lorris in delineating allegorical personages; none of which have suffered in Chaucer's translation. The poet supposes that the garden of Mirth, or rather Love, in which grew the Rose, the object of the lover's wishes and labours, was enclosed with embattled walls, richly painted with various figures, such as Hatred, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, and Hypocrisy. Sorrow is thus represented.

SORROWE was paintid next ENVIE^a
 Upon that wal of masonrie.
 But wel was seen in her colour,
 That she had livid in languour;
 Her seemid to have the jaundice,
 Not half so pale was AVARICE,
 Ne nothing alike of lenenesse
 For sorowe, thought, and grete distresse.
 A s'rowful thing wel semid she;
 Nor she had nothing slow ybe
 For to bescrachin of hir face,
 And for to rent in many place
 Hir clothes, and for to tere her swire^b,
 As she that was fulfilled of ire:
 And al to torn lay eke hir here
 About hir shoulders, here and there;
 As she that had it all to rent
 For angre and for male talent^c.

Nor are the images of HATRED and AVARICE inferior.

^a De les ENVIE estoit TRISTESSE
 Painte aussi et garnye d'angoisse.
 Et bien paroît à sa couleur
 Qu'elle avoit a cueur grant douleur:
 Et sembloit avoir la jaunice,
 La n'y faisoit riens AVARICE,
 Le palisseur ne de maigresse
 Car le travaille et la destresse, &c.
 Moult sembloit bien que fust dolente;
 Car el n'avoit pas este lente

D'esgratignier toute sa chiere;
 Sa robe ne luy estoit chiere
 En mains lieux l'avoit dessirée,
 Comme culle qui fut yrée.
 Ses cheveulx dérompus estoient,
 Qu'autour de son col pendoient,
 Presque les avoit tous desroux
 De maltalent et de corroux. v. 300.

^b neck.

^c v. 300.

Amiddis sawe I HATE ystonde.^d—
 And she was nothing wel araide
 But like a wode woman afraide:
 Yfrowncid foule was hir visage,
 And grinning for dispiteous rage,
 Her nose ysnortid up for tene^e
 Full hideous was she forti sene,
 Full foul and rustey was she this,
 Her hed iwritthin was iwis,
 Full grimly with a grete towaile, &c.^f

The design of this work will not permit me to give the portrait of Idleness, the portress of the garden of Mirth, and of others, which form the groupe of dancers in the garden: but I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing those of Beauty, Franchise, and Richesse, three capital figures in this genial assembly.

The God of love, jolife and light,^g
 Ladde on his honde a ladie bright,
 Of high prise, and of gret degre,
 This ladie called was BEAUTIE.
 And an arowe, of which I told,
 Full well ythewid^h was she holde:
 Ne was she darke ne browne, but bright,
 And clere as is the monè light.—

^d Au milieu de mur je vy HAYNE.
 Si n'estoit pas bien atournée,
 Ains sembloit estre forcence
 Rechignée estoit et froncé
 Avoit le nez et reboursé.
 Moult hydeuse estoit et souillée
 Et fut sa teste entortillée
 Tres ordement d'un touaille,
 Qui moult estoit d'horrible taille. 143.

^e anger, [grief. T.]

^f v. 147.

^g Le Dieu d'amours si s'estoit pris
 A une dame de hault pris,
 Pres se tenoit de son costé
 Celle dame eut nom BEAULTE.

Ainsi comme une des cinque flesches
 En ille aut toutes bonnes taiches:
 Point ne fut obscur, ne brun,
 Mais fut clere comme la lune.—

Tendre eut la chair comme rousée,
 Simple fut comme une espousée.

Et blanch comme fleur de lis,
 Visage eut bel doulx et alis,

Elle estoit gresle et alignée

N'estoit fardié ne pignée,

Car elle n'avoit pas mestier

De soy farder et affaictier.

Les cheveulx ent blons et si longs

Qu' ils batoient aux talons. v. 1004.

^h Having good qualities. See supr.
 v. 939. seq.

Her fleshe was tendre as dewe of floure,
 Her chere was simple as birde in boure :
 As white as lilie, or rose in riseⁱ,
 Her face was gentil and tretise^k ;
 Fetis^l she was, and smal to se,
 No wintrid^m browis hedde she ;
 No poppedⁿ here, for't neded nought
 To windir^o her or to peint ought.
 Her tresses yalowe and long straughten^p
 Unto her helis down the ^qraughten.^r

Nothing can be more sumptuous and superb than the robe, and other ornaments, of RICHESSE, or Wealth. They are imagined with great strength of fancy. But it should be remembered, that this was the age of magnificence and shew; when a profusion of the most splendid and costly materials were lavished on dress, generally with little taste and propriety, but often with much art and invention.

RICHESSE a robe of purple on had,^s
 Ne trow not that I lie or mad^t,

ⁱ on the bush; or, in perfection;
 or, a budding rose. [On the branch.
 Sax. *hþis*, *virgulta*.

^k well-proportioned.

^l *fetious*, handsome, [well-made, neat,
 T.] ^m contracted.

ⁿ affectedly dressed. Properly, dressed up like a puppet.

^o to trim; to adorn.

^p stretched; spread abroad.

^q reached.

^r v. 1003.

^s De pourpre fut le vestement
 A RICHESSE, si noblement,
 Qu'en tout le monde n'eust plus bel,
 Mieulx fait, ne aussi plus nouvel:
 Pourtraictes y furent d'orfroys
 Hystories d'empereurs et roys.
 Et encores y avoit-il
 Un ouvrage noble et subtil;
 A noyaulx d'or au col fermoit,
 Et a bendes d'azur tenoit;
 Noblement eut le chief parè
 De riches pierres decorè

Qui gettoient moult grant clartè,
 Tout y estoit bien assortè.

Puis eut une riche sainture

Sainte par dessus sa vesture:

Le boucle d'une pierre fu,

Grosse et de moult grant vertu

Celluy qui sur soy le protoit

De tous venins garde estoit.—

D'autre pierre fut le mordans

Qui guerissoit du mal des dens.

Cest pierre portoit bon cur,

Qui l'avoit pouvoit estre assure

De sa santè et de sa vei,

Quant à jeun il l'avoit vei:

Les cloux furent d'or epurè,

Par dessus le tissu doré,

Qui estoient grans et pesans,

En chascun avoit deux besans.

Si eut avecques a Richesse

Uns cadre d'or mis sur la tresse,

Si riche, si plaisant, et si bel,

Qu'onques on ne veit le pareil:

De pierres estoit fort garny,

Precieuses et aplaný,

For in this world is none it liche^u,
 Ne by a thousand dele^w so riche,
 Ne none so faire: For it full wele
 With orfraies^x laid was everie dele,
 And purtraied in the ribaninges^y
 Of dukis stories and of kinges;
 And with a bend^z of gold tassiled,
 And knoppis^a fine of gold amiled^b.

Qui bien en vouldroit deviser,
 On ne les pouvroit pas priser
 Rubis, y eut saphirs, jagonces,
 Esmerandes plus de cent onces:
 Mais devant eut par grant maistrise,
 Un escarboucle bien assise
 Et le pierre si clere estoit
 Que cil qui devant la mettoit
 Si en pavoit veoir au besoing
 A soy conduire une lieue loing,
 Telle clartè si en yssoit
 Que Richesse en resplandissoit
 Par tout le corps et par sa face
 Aussi d'autour d'elle la place. v. 1066.

^u "that I lie, or am mad." ^w like.

^w parts [a thousandth part].

^x embroidery in gold.

^y laces laid on robes; embroideries.

^z band; knott. ^a knobbs; buttons.

^b enameled;—enameling, and perhaps pictures in enamel, were common in the middle ages. From the Testament of Joh. de Foxle, knight, Dat. apud Bramshill Co. Southampt. Nov. 5. 1378. "Item lego domino abbati de Waltham unum annulum auri grossi, cum una saphiro infixa, et nominibus trium regum [of Cologne] sculptis in eodem annulo. Item lego Margaritha sorori mee unam tabulam argenti deaurati et amelitam, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem.—Item lego Margerie uxori Johannis de Wilton unum monile auri, cum S. litera sculpta et amelita in eodem." Registr. Wykeham, Episc. Winton. P. ii. fol. 24. See also Dugd. Bar. i. 234. a.

[AMILED is from the French EMAIL, or ENAMEL. This art flourished most at Limoges in France. So early as the year 1197, we have "Duas tabulas æneas superauratas de labore Limogicæ." Chart. ann. 1197. apud Ughelin. tom. vii. ITAL. SACR. p. 1274. It is called *Opus*

Lemnoviticum, in Dugdale's MON. iii. 310. 313. 331. And in Wilkins's CONCIL. i. 666. where two cabinets for the host are ordered, one of silver or of ivory, and the other de opere Lemovicino. SYNOD. WIGORN. A.D. 1240. And in many other places. I find it called *Limaise*, in a metrical romance, the name of which I have forgot, where a tomb is described,

And yt was, the Romans sayes,
 All with golde and limaise.

Carpentier [V. LIMOGIA.] observes, that it was antiently a common ornament of sumptuous tombs. He cites a Testament of the year 1327, "*Je lais huit cent livres pour faire deux tombes hautes et levées de l'Euvre de LIMOGES.*" The original tomb of Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester, erected in his cathedral about the year 1276, was made at Limoges. This appears from the accompts of his executors, viz. "Et computant xli. v s. vi d. liberat. Magistro Johanni Linnomcensi, pro tumba dicti Episcopi Roffensis, scil. pro Constructione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffam. Et xli s. viii d. cuidam Executori apud Lymoges ad ordinandum et providendum Constructionem dictæ Tumbæ. Et x s. viii d. cuidam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges quærenti dictam tumbam constructam, et ducenti eam cum dicto Mag. Johanne usque Roffam. Et xxii l. in materialibus circa dictam tumbam defricandam. Et vii marcas, in ferramento ejusdem, et carriagio a Londin. usque ad Roff. et aliis parandis ad dictam tumbam. Et xi s. cuidam vitriario pro vitris fenestrarum emptarum juxta tumbam dicti Episcopi apud Roffam." Ant. Wood's MS. MERTON PAPERS, Bibl. Bodl. COD. BALLARD. 46.—ADDITIONS.]

About her neck, of gentle' entaile^c;
 Was set the richè chevesaile^d;
 In which ther was ful grete plente
 Of stonis clere and faire to se.
 RICHESE a girdle had upon
 The bokill^e of it was of ston
 Of vertu grete and mokill^f might,
 For who so bare the ston so bright
 Of venim durst him nothing doubt
 While he the ston had him about.—
 The mordaunt^g wrought in noble guise
 Was of a ston ful precious,
 That was so fin and vertuous
 That whole a man it couth ymake
 Of palsie, and of the tothe ake:
 And yet the ston had soche a grace
 That he was sikre^h in evvrie place
 All thilkè daie not blinde to bene
 That fasting might that ston sene.
 The barrisⁱ were of gold full fine
 Upon a tissue of sattin,
 Full hevie, grete, and nothing light,
 In everiche was a besaunt wight^k.
 Upon the tressis of RICHESSE
 Was sett a circle of noblesse,
 Of brende^l gold, that full light yshone,
 So faire, trowe I, was nevir none.

^c Of good workmanship, or carving.
 From *Intagliare*. Ital.

^d necklace.

^e buckle.

^f *muckel*; great.

^g tongue of a buckle. *Mordeo*. Lat.

^h certain.

ⁱ I cannot give the precise meaning of *Barris*, nor of *Cloux* in the French. It seems to be part of a buckle. In the wardrobe-roll, quoted above, are mentioned, "One hundred garters *cum boucles, barris, et pendentibus de argento*."

For which were delivered, "ccc barrs argenti." An. 21. Edw. III.—[*Clavus* in Latin, from whence the Fr. *cloux* is derived, seems to have signified not only an outward border, but also what we call a stripe. Montfaucon, t. iii. P. i. ch. vi. A *bar* in heraldry is a narrow stripe or *fascia*.—TRYWHITT.]

^k "the weight of a besant." A byzant was a species of gold-coin, stamped at *Byzantium*. A wedge of gold.

^l burnished.

But he were konning for the nones^m
 That could devisin all the stones,
 That in the circle shewin clere,
 It is a wonder thing to here :
 For no man could or preisⁿ, or gesse,
 Of hem the value or richesse :
 Rubies ther were, saphirs, ragounces^o,
 And emeraudes more than two ounces :
 But all before full subtilly
 A fine carboncle set sawe I :
 The stone so clere was and so bright,
 That al so sone as it was night,

^m "well-skilled in these things."

ⁿ appraise, value.

^o The gem called a *Jacynth*. We should read, in Chaucer's text, *Jagonces* instead of *Ragounces*, a word which never existed; and which Speght, who never consulted the French *Roman de la Rose*, interprets merely from the sense of the context, to be "A kind of precious stone." Gloss. Ch. in V. The knowledge of precious stones was a grand article in the natural philosophy of this age: and the medical virtue of gems, alluded to above, was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturalists. Chaucer refers to a treatise on gems, called the *LAPIDARY*, famous in that time. *House of Fame*, L. ii. v. 260:

And thei were sett as thicke of ouchis
 Fine, of the finist stonis faire
 That men *redin* in the *LAPIDAIRE*.

Montfaucon, in the royal library at Paris, recites, "Le *LAPIDAIRE*, de la vertu des pierres." Catal. MSS. p. 794. This I take to be the book here referred to by Chaucer. Henry of Huntingdon wrote a book *De Gemmis*. He flourished about 1145. Tann. Bibl. p. 395. See a Greek Treatise, Du Cange, Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor. p. 37. col. 1. In the Cotton library is a Saxon Treatise on precious stones. TIBER. A. 3. liii. fol. 98. The writing is more antient than the Conquest. See vol. i. p. 11. [The treatise referred to contains a meagre explanation of the twelve precious stones mentioned in the Apocalypse.] Pel-

loutier mentions a Latin poem of the eleventh century on Precious Stones, written by Marbode bishop of Rennes [who died in the year 1123], and soon afterwards translated into French verse. Mem. Lang. Celt. part. i. vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 26. The translation begins,

Evax fut un mult riche reis
 Lu reigne tint d'Arabeis.

It was printed in *OEUVRES* de Hildebert Eveque du Mons, edit. Ant. Beaugendre, col. 1638. This may be reckoned one of the oldest pieces of French versification. A manuscript *De Speciebus Lapidum*, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, falsely attributed to one Adam Nidzarde, Cod. Digb. 28. f. 169.—Cod. Laud. C. 3. Princ. "Evax rex Arabum legitur scripsisse." But it is, I think, Marbode's book above mentioned. Evax is a fabulous Arabian king, said to have written on this subject. Of this Marbode, or Marbodæus, see Ol. Borrich. Diss. Acad. de Poet. pag. 87. § 78. edit. Francof. 1683. 4to. His poem was published, with notes, by Lampridius Alardus. The eastern writers pretend, that king Solomon, among a variety of physiological pieces, wrote a book on Gems: one chapter of which treated of those precious stones, which resist or repel evil Genii. They suppose that Aristotle stole all his philosophy from Solomon's books. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. 387. seq. And i. p. 71. Compare Herbelot, Bibl. Oriental. p. 962. b. Artic. *KETAB ulahgiar* seq.

Men mightin se to go for nede,
 A mile or two, in length or brede;
 Soche light ysprang out of the stone,
 That RICHESSE wondir bright yshone
 Both on her hedde and all hir face
 And eke about her all the place.^p

The attributes of the portrait of MIRTH are very expressive.

Of berde unnethe had he nothing,^q
 For it was in the firstè spring :
 Ful young he was and merie' of thought,
 And in samette^r with birdis wrought,
 And with golde bete ful fetously,
 His bodie was clad full richely ;
 Wrought was his robe in straunge gise,
 And all to slittered^s for queintise,
 In many a place lowe and hie,
 And shod he was, with grete maistrie,
 With shone decopid^t and with lace,
 By drurie^u and eke by solace ;
 His lefe^w a rosin chapelet
 Had made and on his hedde it set.^x

FRANCHISE is a no less attractive portrait; and sketched with equal grace and delicacy.

^p v. 1071.

^q Et si n'avoit barbe a menton
 Si non petit poil follaton ;
 Il estoit jeune damoysaulx ;
 Son bauldrier fut portrait d'oiseaulx
 Qui tout estoit è or batu,
 Tres richement estoit vestu
 D'un' robe moult desgysée,
 Qui fut en maint lieu incisée,
 Et decoupeeè par quointise,
 Et fut chaussé par mignotise
 D'un souliers decouppés à las
 Par joyeuseté et soulas,
 Et sa neye luy fist chapeau
 De roses gracieux et beau. v. 832.

^r *samite* ; *sattin* : explained above.

^s cut and slashed.

^t cut or marked with figures. From *decouper*, Fr. to *cut*. Thus the parish clerk Absolon, in the *Miller's Tale*, v. 210. p. 26. Urr.

With *Poulis* windowes carven on his shose.

I suppose *Poulis* *windowes* was a cant phrase for a fine device or ornament.

^u modesty, [courtship, gallantry. T.]

^w mistress.

^x v. 833.

And next him daunsid dame FRANCHISE,^y
 Arayid in ful noble guise.
 She n'as not broune ne dunne of hewe,
 But white as snowe ifallin newe,
 Her nose was wrought at point devise^z,
 For it was gentill and tretise;
 With eyin glad and browis bent,
 Her hare down to her helis went^a :
 Simple she was as dove on tre,
 Ful debonaire of hart was she.^b

The personage of DANGER is of a bolder cast, and may serve as a contrast to some of the preceding. He is supposed suddenly to start from an ambuscade; and to prevent Bialcoil, or *Kind Reception*, from permitting the lover to gather the rose of beauty.

With that anon out start DANGERE^c,
 Out of the place where he was hidde;
 His malice in his chere was kidde^d;
 Full grete he was, and blacke of hewe,
 Sturdie and hideous whoso him knewe;
 Like sharpe urchons^e his heere was grow,
 His eyes red sparcling as fire glow,

^y Apres tous ceulx estoit FRANCHISE,
 Qui ne fut ne brune ne bise;
 Ains fut comme la neige blanche
 Courtoise estoit, joyeuse et franche,
 Le nez avoit long et tretis
 Yeulx vers rins, soureils saitis,
 Les cheveulx eut tres-blons et longs,
 Simple feut comme les coulons.
 Le cueur eut doulx et debonnaire.

v. 1190.

^z with the utmost exactness.

^a All the females of this poem have grey eyes and yellow hair. One of them is said to have "Her eyen graie as is a faucon." v. 546. Where the original word, translated *graie*, is *vers*. v. 546. We have this colour again, Orig. v. 822. "Les yeulx eut *vers*." This too Chaucer

translates, "Her eyin graie." v. 862. The same word occurs in the French text before us, v. 1195. This comparison was natural and beautiful, as drawn from a very familiar and favourite object in the age of the poet. Perhaps Chaucer means "grey as a falcon's eyes."

^b v. 1211.

^c A tant saillit villain DANGERE,
 De là on il estoit mueè;
 Grant fut, noir et tout hericè
 S'ot, les yeulx rouges comme feux,
 Le vis froncè, le nez hydeux
 Et scerie tout forcenez. v. 2959.

^d "was discovered by his behaviour, or countenance." Perhaps we should read *cheke*, for *chere*.

^e *urchins*; hedge-hogs.

His nose frouncid^f full kirkid^g stoode,
 He come criande^h as he were woode.ⁱ

Chaucer has enriched this figure. The circumstance of DANGER's hair standing erect like the prickles on the urchin or hedge-hog, is his own, and finely imagined.

Hitherto specimens have been given from that part of this poem which was written by William de Lorris, its first inventor. Here Chaucer was in his own walk. One of the most striking pictures in the style of allegorical personification, which occurs in Chaucer's translation of the additional part, is much heightened by Chaucer, and indeed owes all its merit to the translator; whose genius was much better adapted to this species of painting than that of John of Meun, the continuator of the poem.

With her, Labour and eke Travaile^k,
 Lodgid bene, with sorowe and wo,
 That nevir out of her court go.
 Pain and Distresse, Sicknesse and Ire,
 And Melanc'ly that angry sire,
 Ben of her palais^l senators;
 Groning and Grutching her herbegeors^m;
 The day and night her to tourment,
 With cruill deth thei her present,
 And tellin her erlicheⁿ and late,
 That DETH stondith armid at her gate.
 Then bring they to remembraunce,
 The foly dedes of hir enfance^o.

The fiction that Sickness, Melancholy, and other beings of

^f contracted.

^g crooked; turned upwards.

^h "crying as if he was mad."

ⁱ v. 3130.

^k Travaile et douleur la hebergent,
 Mais ill le lient et la chargent,
 Que mort prochaine luy presentent,
 Et talent de seq repentir;
 Tant luy sont de fleaux sentir;

Adonc luy vient en remembraunce,
 En cest tardifve presence,
 Quant et se voit foible et chenuë.

v. 4733.

^l palace.

^m chamberlains, [providers of lodgings, harbingers. T.]

ⁿ early.

^o v. 4994.

the like sort, were counsellors in the palace of OLD AGE, and employed in telling her day and night, that "DEATH stood *armed* at her gate," was far beyond the sentimental and satirical vein of John of Meun, and is conceived with great vigour of imagination.

Chaucer appears to have been early struck with this French poem. In his DREME, written long before he begun this translation, he supposes, that the chamber in which he slept was richly painted with the story of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE^p. It is natural to imagine, that such a poem must have been a favourite with Chaucer. No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegorical personages in so distinct and enlarged a style, and with such a fullness of characteristical attributes: nor had descriptive poetry selected such a variety of circumstances, and disclosed such an exuberance of embellishment, in forming agreeable representations of nature. On this account, we are surprised that Boileau should mention Villon as the first poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romancers.

Villon sçeut le PREMIER, dans ces siecles grossiers
 Debrouïller l'ART CONFUS de nos vieux ROMANCIERS.^q

But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.

That this poem should not please Boileau, I can easily conceive. It is more surprising that it should have been censured as a contemptible performance by Petrarch, who lived in the age of fancy. Petrarch having desired his friend Guy de Gonzague to send him some new piece, he sent him the ROMAN DE LA ROSE. With the poem, instead of an encomium, he returned a severe criticism; in which he treats it as a cold, inartificial, and extravagant composition: as a proof, how

^p v. 322. Chaucer alludes to this poem in The MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1548: p. 72. Urr.
^q Art. Poet. ch. i. He died about the year 1456.

much France, who valued this poem as her chief work, was surpassed by Italy in eloquence and the arts of writing^r. In this opinion we must attribute something to jealousy. But the truth is, Petrarch's genius was too cultivated to relish these wild excursions of imagination: his favorite classics, whom he revived, and studied with so much attention, ran in his head. Especially Ovid's ART OF LOVE, a poem of another species, and evidently formed on another plan; but which Petrarch had been taught to venerate, as the model and criterion of a didactic poem on the passion of love reduced to a system. We may add, that although the poem before us was founded on the visionary doctrines and refinements concerning love invented by the Provencial poets, and consequently less unlikely to be favourably received by Petrarch, yet his ideas on that delicate subject were much more Platonic and metaphysical.

^r See Petrarch. Carm. L. i. Ep. 30.

SECTION XIV.

CHAUCER's poem of *TROILUS* and *CRESSEIDE* is said to be formed on an old history, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino in Italy^a. Lydgate says that Chaucer, in this poem,

— made a translacion
Of a boke which called is *TROPHE*
In Lumbarde tongue, &c.^b

It is certain that Chaucer, in this piece, frequently refers to “*MYNE AUCTOR LOLLIUS*”^c. But he hints, at the same time, that Lollius wrote in Latin^d. I have never seen this history, either in the Lombard or the Latin language. I have before observed, that it is mentioned in Boccacio's *Decameron*, and that a translation of it was made into Greek verse by some of the Greek fugitives in the fourteenth century. Du Fresne, if I mistake not, somewhere mentions it in Italian. In the royal library at Paris it occurs often as an antient French romance. “*Cod. 7546. Roman de Troilus.*”—“*Cod. 7564. Roman de Troilus et de Briseida ou Criseida.*”—Again, as an original work of Boccacio. “*Cod. 7757. Philostrato dell' amorose*

^a Petrus Lambecius enumerates Lollius Urbicus among the *Historici Latini profani* of the third century. *Prodrom.* p. 246. Hamb. 1659. See also Voss. *Historic. Latin.* ii. 2. p. 163. edit. Lugd. Bat. But this could not be Chaucer's Lollius. Chaucer places Lollius among the historians of Troy, in his *House of Fame*, iii. 380. It is extraordinary, that Du Fresne, in the *Index Auctorum*, used by him for his Latin glossary, should mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century. *Tom.* i. p. 141. edit. i. As I apprehend, none of his works remain. A proof that Chaucer translated from

some Italian original is, that in a manuscript which I have seen of this poem, I find, *Monesteo* for *Menestes*, *Rupheo* for *Ruphes*, *Phebuseo* for *Phebuses*, lib. iv. 50. seq. Where, by the way, Xantippe, a Trojan chief, was perhaps corruptly written for Xantippo, i. e. Xantippus. As Joseph. *Isan.* iv. 10. In Lydgate's *Troy*, *Zantiphus*, iii. 26. All corrupted from Antiphus, *Dict. Cret.* p. 105. In the printed copies we have *Ascalapho* for *Ascalaphus*. lib. v. 319.

^b *Prol. Boch.* st. iii.

^c See lib. i. v. 395.

^d *Lib.* ii. v. 10.

fatiche de Troilo per GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO*.” “Les suivans (adds Montfaucon^d) contiennent *les autres œuvres de Boccace*.” Much fabulous history concerning Troilus, is related in Guido de Columna’s Destruction of Troy. Whatever were Chaucer’s materials, he has on this subject constructed a poem of considerable merit, in which the vicissitudes of love are depicted in a strain of true poetry, with much pathos and simplicity of sentiment^e. He calls it, “a litill tragedie^f.” Troilus is supposed to have seen Cresside in a temple; and retiring to his chamber, is thus naturally described, in the critical situation of a lover examining his own mind after the first impression of love.

* [Boccaccio’s *FILOSTRATO* was printed in quarto at Milan, in 1488. The title is, “Il Fyolostrato, che tracta de lo innamoramento de TROILO a GRYSEIDA: et de molte altre infinite battaglie. Impresso nella inclita cita de Milano par magistro Uldericho Scinzenzeler nell anno M.CCCCLXXXVIII. a di xxvii di mese Settembre.” It is in the octave stanza. The editor of the *CANTERBURY TALES* informs me, that Boccaccio himself, in his *DECAMERON*, has made the same honourable mention of this poem as of the *THESEIDA*: although without acknowledging either for his own. In the Introduction to the Sixth Day, he says, that “Dioneo insieme con Lauretta de TROILE ET DI CRISEIDA cominciarono cantare.” Just as, afterwards, in the conclusion of the Seventh Day, he says, that the same “Dioneo et Fiametta gran pezzi cantarono insieme d’ARCITA ET DI PALAMONE.” See *CANTERB. T.* vol. iv. p. 85. iii. p. 311. Chaucer appears to have been as much indebted to Boccaccio in his *TROILUS AND CRESSEIDE*, as in his *KNIGHTES TALE*. At the same time we must observe, that there are several long passages, and even episodes, in *TROILUS*, of which no traces appear in the *FILOSTRATO*. Chaucer speaks of himself as a translator *out of Latin*, B. ii. 14. And he calls his author *LOLLIUS*, B. i. 394—421. and B. v. 1652. The latter of these two passages is in the *PHILOSTRATO*; but the former, containing Petrarch’s sonnet, is not. And when Chaucer says, he translates from *Latin*, we must re-

member, that the *Italian* language was called *Latino volgare*. Shall we suppose, that Chaucer followed a more complete copy of the *FILOSTRATO* than that we have at present, or one enlarged by some officious interpolater? The Parisian manuscript might perhaps clear these difficulties. In Bennet library at Cambridge, there is a manuscript of Chaucer’s *TROILUS*, elegantly written, with a frontispiece beautifully illuminated, Lxi.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^d Bibl. p. 793. col. 2. Compare Lengl. Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 253.

^e Chaucer however claims no merit of invention in this poem. He invokes Clio to favour him with rhymes only; and adds,

— To everie lover I me’ excuse
That of no *sentiment* I this endite
But *out of latin in my tonge it write*.

L. ii. v. 10. seq. But Sir Francis Kinaston who translated *TROILUS AND CRESSEIDE* [1635.] into Latin rhymes, says, that Chaucer in this poem “has taken the liberty of his own inventions.” In the mean time, Chaucer, by his own references, seems to have been studious of seldom departing from Lollius. In one place, he pays him a compliment, as an author whose excellencies he could not reach. L. iii. v. 1330.

But sothe is, though I can not tellen all,
As can mine author of *his excellence*.

See also L. iii. 576. 1823.

^f L. ult. v. 1785.

And whan that he in chambre was alone,
 He down upon his beddis fete him sette,
 And first he gan to sike^g, and este to grone,
 And thought aie on her so withoutin lette:
 That as he satte and woke, his spirit mette^h
 That he her saugh, and temple, and all the wiseⁱ
 Right of her loke, and gan it newe avise.^k

There is not so much nature in the sonnet to Love, which follows. It is translated from Petrarch; and had Chaucer followed his own genius, he would not have disgusted us with the affected gallantry and exaggerated compliments which it extends through five tedious stanzas. The doubts and delicacies of a young girl disclosing her heart to her lover, are exquisitely touched in this comparison.

And as the newe abashid nightingale
 That stintith^m first, when she beginith sing,
 When that she herith any herdisⁿ tale,
 Or in the hedgis anie wight stirring,
 And after sikir^o doth her voice outring;
 Right so Cresseidè when that her drede stent^p
 Opened her herte and told him her intent.^q

The following pathetic scene may be selected from many others. Troilus seeing Cresside in a swoon, imagines her to be dead. He unsheaths his sword with an intent to kill himself, and utters these exclamations.

And thou, cite, in which I live in wo,
 And thou Priam, and brethren al ifere^r,
 And thou, my mother, farwel, for I go:
 And, Atropos, make ready thou my bere:
 And thou Creseidè, O sweet hertè dere,
 Receive thou now my spirit, would he say,
 With swerd at hert all redy for to dey.

^g sigh.^h thought, imagined.^o with confidence.ⁱ manner.^k l. i. v. 359.^p her fears ceased.^m stops.ⁿ herdsman, a shepherd.^q l. iii. v. 1239.^r together.

But as god would, of swough^s she tho abraide^t,
 And gan to sighe, and TROILUS she cride:
 And he answerid, Lady mine Creseide,
 Livin ye yet? And let his sword doune glide,
 Yes, hertè mine, that thankid be Cupide,
 Quoth she: and therwithall she sorè sight^u
 And he began to glad her as he might.

Toke her in armis two, and kist her oft,
 And her to glad he did all his entent:
 For which her ghost, that flickered aie alofte
 Into her woefull breast aien it went:
 But at the last, as that her eyin glent^w
 Aside, anon she gan his swerde asprie,
 As it lay bere, and gan for fere to crie:

And askid him why he had it outdrawe?
 And Troilus anon the cause hir tolde,
 And how therwith himself he would have slawe:
 For which Creseide upon him gan behold,
 And gan him in her armis fast to fold;
 And said, O mercy, God, lo whiche a dede
 Alas! how nere we werin bothè dede!^x

Pathetic description is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellencies.

In this poem are various imitations from Ovid, which are of too particular and minute a nature to be pointed out here, and belong to the province of a professed and formal commentator on the piece. The Platonic notion in the third book^y about universal love, and the doctrine that this principle acts with equal and uniform influence both in the natural and moral world, are a translation from Boethius^z. And in the KNIGHT's

^s swoon.

^t then awaked.

^u sighed.

^w glanced.

^x l. iv. v. 1205.

^y v. 1750.

^z Consolat. Philosoph. L. ii. Met. ult.

iii. Met. 2. Spenser is full of the same doctrine. See Fairy Queen, i. ix. l. iv. x. 34. 35, &c. &c. I could point out many other imitations from Boethius in this poem.

TALE he mentions, from the same favorite system of philosophy, the FAIRE CHAINE OF LOVE^g. It is worth observing, that the reader is referred to Dares Phrygius, instead of Homer, for a display of the atchievements of Troilus.

His worthi dedis who so list him here,
Rede DARES, he can tel hem all ifere.^a

Our author, from his excessive fondness for Statius, has been guilty of a very diverting and what may be called a double anachronism. He represents Cresside, with two of her female companions, sitting in a *pavid parlour*, and reading the THEBAID of Statius^b, which is called *the Geste of the Siege of Thebes*^c, and *the Romance of Thebis*^d. In another place, Cassandra translates the Arguments of the twelve books of the THEBAID^e. In the fourth book of this poem, Pandarus endeavours to comfort Troilus with arguments concerning the doctrine of predestination, taken from Bradwardine, a learned archbishop and theologian, and nearly Chaucer's cotemporary^f.

This poem, although almost as long as the Eneid, was intended to be sung to the harp, as well as read.

And redde where so thou be, or ellis songe^g.

It is dedicated to the *morall* Gower, and to the *philosophical* Strode. Gower will occur as a poet hereafter. Strode was

^g v. 2990. Urr.

^a L. iv. v. 1770.

^b L. ii. v. 81.

^c L. ii. v. 84.

^d L. ii. v. 100. *Bishop Amphiorax* is mentioned, ib. v. 104. Pandarus says v. 106:

— All this I know my selve,
And all the assiege of Thebes, and all
the care;
For herof ben ther makid bokis twelve.

In his *Dreme*, Chaucer to pass the night away, rather than play at chess, calls for a *Romaunce*; in which "were writtin fables of quenis livis and of kings, and many othir thingis smale." This proves to be Ovid. v. 52. seq. See Man. of L. T. v. 54. Urr. There was an old French Romance called PARTONEPEX,

often cited by Du Cange and Carpentier. Gl. Lat. This is Parthenopeus, a hero of the Theban story. It was translated into English, and called PERTONAPE. See vol. i. p. 126.

[The romance of Partonepex de Blois, cited by Du Cange, has no connexion with the Theban story. See Mr. Rose's version after Le Grand.—EDIT.]

^e L. v. v. 1490. I will add here, that Cresside proposes the trial of the Ordeal to Troilus. L. iii. v. 1048. Troilus, during the times of truce, amuses himself with hawking. L. iii. v. 1785.

^f In his book DE CAUSA DEI, published by Sir Henry Savile, 1617. He touches on this controversy, Nonne's Pr. T. v. 1349. Urr. See also Tr. Cr. L. iv. v. 961. seq. ^g L. ult. v. 1796.

eminent for his scholastic knowledge, and tutor to Chaucer's son Lewis at Merton college in Oxford.

Whether the HOUSE OF FAME is Chaucer's invention, or suggested by any French or Italian poet, I cannot determine. But I am apt to think it was originally a Provencial composition,—among other proofs, from this passage:

And ther came out so gret a noise,
That had it standin upon OYSE,
Men might have herd it esily,
I trow, to ROME sikerly.^h

The Oyse is a river in Picardy, which falls into the river Seine, not many leagues from Paris. An Englishman would not have expressed distance by such an unfamiliar illustration. Unless we reconcile the matter, by supposing that Chaucer wrote this poem during his travels. There is another passage where the ideas are those of a foreign romance. To the trumpeters of renown the poet adds,

—— All that usid clarion
In Casteloigne or Arragon.ⁱ

Casteloigne is Catalonia in Spain^k. The martial musicians of English tournaments, so celebrated in story, were a more natural and obvious allusion for an English poet^l.

This poem contains great strokes of Gothic imagination, yet bordering often on the most ideal and capricious extravagance. The poet, in a vision, sees a temple of glass,

In which were more images
Of gold stondinge in sundrie stages,

^h L. ii. v. 838. [See infra Sect. xviii. Note †, from the Additions.]

ⁱ B. iii. v. 157.

^k See MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1231. p. 70. Urr. He mentions a rock higher than any in Spain. B. iii. v. 27. But this I believe was an English proverb.

^l He mentions a plate of gold, "As fine as duckett in Venise." B. iii. v. 258.

But he says, that the Galaxy is called *Watlyng-strete*. B. ii. v. 431. He swears by Thomas Becket, B. iii. v. 41. In one place he is addressed by the name of GEOFFREY. B. ii. v. 221. But in two others by that of PETER. B. ii. v. 526. B. iii. v. 909. Among the musicians, he mentions "Pipirs of all the Duche tong." B. iii. v. 144.

Sette in more riche tabernacles,
 And with perre^m more pinnacles,
 And more curious pourtraituris,
 And quaint manir of figuris,
 Of golde work than I sawe evir.ⁿ

On the walls of this temple were engraved stories from Virgil's Eneid^o, and Ovid's Epistles^p. Leaving this temple, he sees an eagle with golden wings soaring near the sun.

—— Faste by the sonne on hie,
 As kennyng myght I with mine eie,
 Methought I sawe an egle sore;
 But that it semid mochil more^q,
 Then I had any egle sene^r.——
 It was af gold, and shone so bright,
 That nevir man sawe suche a sight, &c.^s

The eagle descends, seizes the poet in his talons, and mounting again, conveys him to the House of Fame; which is situated, like that of Ovid, between earth and sea. In their passage thither, they fly above the stars; which our author leaves, with clouds, tempests, hail, and snow, far beneath him. This aerial journey is partly copied from Ovid's Phaeton in the chariot of the sun. But the poet apologises for this extravagant

^m jewels.

ⁿ B. i. v. 120.

^o Where he mentions Virgil's hell, he likewise refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, and Dante's *Inferno*. v. 450. There is a translation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls "the wise poet of Florence," in the WIFE OF BATH'S TALE, v. 1125. p. 84. Urr. The story of Hugolin of Pisa, a subject which Sir Joshua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital style, is translated from Dante, "the grete poete of Italie that hight Dante," in the MONKES TALE, v. 877. A sentence from Dante is cited in the LEGENDE OF GOOD WOMEN, v. 360. In the FREERE'S TALE, Dante is compared with Virgil, v. 256.

^p It was not only in the fairy palaces

of the poets and romance-writers of the middle ages, that Ovid's stories adorned the walls. In one of the courts of the palace of Nonesuch, all Ovid's Metamorphoses were cut in stone under the windows. Hearne, Coll. MSS. 55. p. 64. But the Epistles seem to have been the favorite work, the subject of which coincided with the gallantry of the times.

^q greater.

^r The eagle says to the poet, that this house stands

"Right so as thine owne boke tellith."

B. ii. v. 204. That is, Ovid's Metamorphoses. See Met. L. xii. v. 40, &c.

^s B. i. v. 496. seq.

fiction, and explains his meaning, by alledging the authority of Boethius; who says, that Contemplation may soar on the wings of Philosophy above every element. He likewise recollects, in the midst of his course, the description of the heavens, given by Marcianus Capella in his book *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*^t, and Alanus in his *Anticlaudian*^u. At his arrival in the confines of the House of Fame, he is alarmed with confused murmurs issuing from thence, like distant thunders or billows. This circumstance is also borrowed from Ovid's temple^w. He is left by the eagle near the house, which is built of materials bright as polished glass, and stands on a rock of ice of excessive height, and almost inaccessible. All the southern side of this rock was covered with engravings of the names of famous men, which were perpetually melting away by the heat of the sun. The northern side of the rock was alike covered with names; but being here shaded from the warmth of the sun, the characters remained unmelted and un-effaced. The structure of the house is thus imagined.

— Me thoughtin by saint Gile,
That all was of stone of berille,
Both the castle and the toure,
And eke the hall and everie boure^x :
Without pecis or joynnynges,
And many subtill compassyngs,
As barbicans^y and pinnacles,
Imageries and tabernacles
I sawe, and full eke of windowis
As flakis fallin in grete snowis.

In these lines, and in some others which occur hereafter^z, the poet perhaps alludes to the many new decorations in archi-

^t See THE MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1248. p. 70. Urr. And Lidg. Stor. Theb. fol. 357.

^u A famous book in the middle ages. There is an old French translation of it. Bibl. Reg. Paris. MSS. Cod. 7632.

^w See Met. xii. 39. And Virg. Æn. iv. 173. Val. Flacc. ii. 117. Lucan. i. 469.

^x chamber.

^y turrets.

^z B. iii. v. 211.

itecture, which began to prevail about his time, and gave rise to the florid Gothic style. There are instances of this in his other poems. In his *DREAME*, printed 1597.^a

And of a sute were al the touris,
Subtily carven aftir flouris.—
With many a smal turret hie.

And in the description of the palace of *PLEASAUNT REGARD*, in the *ASSEMBLIE OF LADIES*.^b

Fairir is none, though it were for a king,
Devisid wel and that in every thing;
The towris hie, ful plesante shal ye finde,
With fannis fresh, turning with everie winde.
The chambris, and the parlirs of a sorte,
With bay windows, goodlie as may be thought:
As for daunsing or othir wise disporte,
The galleries be al right wel ywrought.

In *Chaucer's Life* by William Thomas*, it is not mentioned that he was appointed clerk of the king's works, in the palace of Westminster, in the royal manors of Shene, Kenington, Byfleet, and Clapton, and in the Mews at Charing^c. Again in 1380, of the works of St. George's chapel at Windsor, then ruinous^h.—But to return.

Within the niches formed in the pinnacles stood all round the castle,

—— All manir of minstrelis,
And jestours^d that tellyn tales
Both of weping gand eke of game.

That is, those who sung or recited adventures either tragic or comic, which excited either compassion or laughter. They

^a v. 81. p. 572. Urr.

^b v. 158.

* [Chaucer's *Life* in Urry's edition. William Thomas digested this *Life* from collections by Dart. His brother, Dr. Timothy Thomas, wrote or compiled the Glossary and Preface to that edition.

See Dart's *WESTMINST. ABBEY*, i. 80. Timothy Thomas was of Christ Church Oxford, and died in 1757.—*ADDITIONS*.]

^c Claus. 8. Ric. II.

^h Pat. 14. Ric. II. Apud Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 166. Note e.

^d This word is above explained.

were accompanied with the most renowned harpers, among which were Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and the Briton Glaske-
rion^e. Behind these were placed, "by many a thousand time
twelve," players on various instruments of music. Among the
trumpeters are named Joab, Virgil's Misenus, and Theoda-
mas^f. About these pinnacles were also marshalled the most
famous magicians, juglers, witches, prophetesses, sorceresses,
and professors of natural magic^g, which ever existed in antient
or modern times: such as Medea, Circe, Calliope, Hermes^h,
Limotheus, and Simon Magusⁱ. At entering the hall he sees
an infinite multitude of heralds, on the surcoats of whom were
richly embroidered the armorial ensigns of the most redoubted

^e Concerning this harper, see Percy's Ballads.

^f See also The MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1236. seq. p. 70. Urr.

^g See the FRANKLEIN'S TALE, where several feats are described, as exhibited at a feast done by natural magic, a favorite science of the Arabians. Chaucer there calls it "An art which sotill tra-
getoris plaie." v. 2696. p. 110. Urr. Of this more will be said hereafter.

^h None of the works of the first Her-
mes Trismegistus now remain. See Cor-
nel. Agrip. Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. The
astrological and other philosophical
pieces under that name are supposititious.
See Fabr. Biblioth. Gr. xii. 708. And
Chan. YEM. TALE, v. 1455. p. 126. Urr.
Some of these pieces were published un-
der the fictitious names of Abel, Enoch,
Abraham, Solomon, Saint Paul, and of
many of the patriarchs and fathers. Cor-
nel. Agripp. De Van. Scient. cap. xlv.
Who adds, that these trifles were followed
by Alphonsus king of Castile, Robert
Grosthed, Bacon, and Appenus. He
mentions Zabulus and Barnabas of Cy-
prus as famous writers in magic. See
also Gower's Confess. Amant. p. 134.
b. 149. b. edit. 1554. fol. per Berthe-
lette. In speaking of antient authors,
who were known or celebrated in the
middle ages, it may be remarked, that
Macrobius was one. He is mentioned
by William de Lorris in the ROMAN DE
LA ROSE, v. 9. "Ung aucteur qui ot
nom *Macrobe*." A line literally trans-
lated by Chaucer, "An author that hight

Macrobes." v. 7. Chaucer quotes him in
his DREME, v. 284. In the NONNES
PRIEST'S TALE, v. 1238. p. 171. Urr.
In the ASSEMBLIE OF FOWLES, v. 111.
see also ibid. v. 31. He wrote a com-
ment on Tully's SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS,
and in these passages he is referred to on
account of that piece. Petrarch, in a
letter to Nicolas Sigeros, a learned
Greek of Constantinople, quotes Macro-
bius, as a Latin author of all others the
most familiar to Nicolas. It is to prove
that Homer is the fountain of all inven-
tion. This is in 1354. Famil. Let. ix. 2.
There is a manuscript of the first, and
part of the second book of Macrobius,
elegantly written, as it seems, in France,
about the year 800. MSS. Cotton. VI-
TELL. C. iii. Cod. Membr. fol. viii. fol.
138. M. Planudes, a Constantinopoli-
tan monk of the fourteenth century, is
said to have translated Macrobius into
Greek. But see Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 534.
It is remarkable, that in the above letter,
Petrarch apologises for calling Plato the
Prince of Philosophers, after Cicero, Se-
neca, Apuleius, Plotinus, Saint Am-
brose, and Saint Austin.

ⁱ Among these he mentions *Juglers*,
that is, in the present sense of the word,
those who practised Legerdemain: a po-
pular science in Chaucer's time. Thus
in Squ. T. v. 239. Urr.

As jugelours playin at these festis grete.

It was an appendage of the occult sciences
studied and introduced into Europe by
the Arabians.

champions that ever tourneyed in Africa, Europe, or Asia. The floor and roof of the hall were covered with thick plates of gold studded with the costliest gems. At the upper end, on a lofty shrine made of carbuncle, sate Fame. Her figure is like those in Virgil and Ovid. Above her, as if sustained on her shoulders, sate Alexander and Hercules. From the throne to the gates of the hall, ran a range of pillars with respective inscriptions. On the first pillar made of lead and iron^k, stood Josephus, the Jewish historian, "That of the Jewis gestis told," with seven other writers on the same subject. On the second pillar, made of iron, and painted all over with the blood of tigers, stood Statius. On another higher than the rest stood Homer, Dares Phrygius, Livy^l, Lollius, Guido of Columna, and Geoffry of Monmouth, writers of the Trojan story. On a pillar of "tinnid iron clere," stood Virgil: and next him on a pillar of copper, appeared Ovid. The figure of Lucan was placed on a pillar of iron "wrought full sternly," accompanied with many Roman historians^m. On a pillar of sulphur stood Claudian, so symbolised, because he wrote of Pluto and Proserpine.

That bare up all the fame of hell;
Of Pluto and of Proserpine
That queen is of the darkè pine.ⁿ

The hall was filled with the writers of antient tales and romances, whose subjects and names were too numerous to be recounted. In the mean time crouds from every nation and of every condition filled the hall, and each presented his claim to the queen. A messenger is dispatched to summon Eolus from his cave in Thrace; who is ordered to bring his two cla-

^k In the composition of these pillars, Chaucer displays his chemical knowledge.

^l Dares Phrygius and Livy are both cited in Chaucer's *DREME*, v. 1070. 1084. Chaucer is fond of quoting Livy. He was also much admired by Petrarch; who, while at Paris, assisted in translating him into French. This circumstance might make Livy a favourite with

Chaucer. See *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. p. 547.

^m Was not not this intended to characterise Lucan? Quintilian says of Lucan, "*Oratoribus magis quam poetis annumerandus*," *Instit. Orat.* L. x. c. 1.

ⁿ B. iii. v. 419. Chaucer alludes to this poem of Claudian in the *MARCHAUNT'S TALE*, where he calls Pluto, the king of "fayrie." v. 1744. p. 73. Urr.

rions called SLANDER and PRAISE, and his trumpeter Triton. The praises of each petitioner are then resounded, according to the partial or capricious appointment of Fame; and equal merits obtain very different success. There is much satire and humour in these requests and rewards, and in the disgraces and honours which are indiscriminately distributed by the queen, without discernment and by chance. The poet then enters the house or labyrinth of RUMOUR. It was built of sallow twigs, like a cage, and therefore admitted every sound. Its doors were also more numerous than leaves on the trees, and always stood open. These are romantic exaggerations of Ovid's inventions on the same subject. It was moreover sixty miles in length, and perpetually turning round. From this house, says the poet, issued tidings of every kind, like fountains and rivers from the sea. Its inhabitants, who were eternally employed in hearing or telling news, together with the rise of reports, and the formation of lies, are then humourously described: the company is chiefly composed of sailors, pilgrims, and pardoners. At length our author is awakened at seeing a venerable personage of great authority: and thus the Vision abruptly concludes.

Pope has imitated this piece, with his usual elegance of diction and harmony of versification. But in the mean time, he has not only misrepresented the story, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct its extravagancies, by new refinements and additions of another cast: but he did not consider, that extravagancies are essential to a poem of such a structure, and even constitute its beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactness of imagery with a subject formed on principles so professedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster-abbey.

SECTION XV.

NOTHING can be more ingeniously contrived than the occasion on which Chaucer's *CANTERBURY TALES* are supposed to be recited. A company of pilgrims, on their journey to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, lodge at the Tabarde-inn in Southwark. Although strangers to each other, they are assembled in one room at supper, as was then the custom; and agree, not only to travel together the next morning, but to relieve the fatigue of the journey by telling each a story^a. Chaucer undoubtedly intended to imitate Boccacio, whose *DECAMERON* was then the most popular of books, in writing a set of tales. But the circumstance invented by Boccacio, as the cause which gave rise to his *DECAMERON*, or the relation of his hundred stories^b, is by no means so happily conceived as that of Chaucer for a similar purpose. Boccacio supposes, that when the plague began to abate at Florence, ten young persons of both sexes retired to a country house, two miles from the city, with a design of enjoying fresh air, and passing ten days agreeably. Their principal and established amusement, instead of playing at chess after dinner, was for each to tell a tale. One superiority, which, among others, Chaucer's plan afforded above that of Boccacio, was the opportunity of displaying a variety of striking and dramatic characters, which would not have easily met but on such

^a There is an inn at Burford in Oxfordshire, which accommodated pilgrims on their road to Saint Edward's shrine in the abbey of Gloucester. A long room, with a series of Gothic windows, still remains, which was their refectory. Leland mentions such another, *Itin.* ii. 70.

^b It is remarkable, that Boccacio chose a Greek title, that is, *Δεκαήμερον*, for his *Tales*. He has also given Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the tales. His *Eclogues* are full of Greek words. This was natural at the revival of the Greek language.

an expedition;—a circumstance which also contributed to give a variety to the stories. And for a number of persons in their situation, so natural, so practicable, so pleasant, I add so rational, a mode of entertainment could not have been imagined.

The **CANTERBURY TALES** are unequal, and of various merit. Few, if any, of the stories are perhaps the invention of Chaucer. I have already spoken at large of the **KNIGHT'S TALE**, one of our author's noblest compositions^c. That of the **CANTERBURY TALES**, which deserves the next place, as written in the higher strain of poetry, and the poem by which Milton describes and characterises Chaucer, is the **SQUIER'S TALE**. The imagination of this story consists in Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. Nor is this Arabian fiction purely the sport of arbitrary fancy: it is in great measure founded on Arabian learning. Cambuscan, a king of Tartary, celebrates his birth-day festival in the hall of his palace at Sarra, with the most royal magnificence. In the midst of the solemnity, the guests are alarmed with a miraculous and unexpected spectacle: the minstrells cease on a sudden, and all the assembly is hushed in silence, surprise, and suspence.

While that this king sit thus in his nobley,
Herking his ministralles hir thinges pley,
Beforne him at his bord deliciously;
In at the hallè dore, al sodenly,
Ther came a knight upon a stede of bras;
And in his hond a brod mirroure of glas:
Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring,
And by his side a naked swerd hanging.
And up he rideth to the highe bord:
In all the halle ne was ther spoke a word,
For mervaille of this knight; him to behold
Ful besily they waiten yong and old.^d

^c The reader will excuse my irregularity in not considering it under the **CANTERBURY TALES**. I have here given the reason, which is my apology, in the text.

^d v. 96. See a fine romantic story of a Count de Macon: who, while revelling in his hall with many knights, is suddenly alarmed by the entrance of a gigantic figure of a black man, mounted

These presents were sent by the king of Araby and Inde to Cambuscan in honour of his feast. The Horse of brass, on the skillful movement and management of certain secret springs, transported his rider into the most distant region of the world in the space of twenty-four hours; for, as the rider chose, he could fly in the air with the swiftness of an eagle: and again, as occasion required, he could stand motionless in opposition to the strongest force, vanish on a sudden at command, and return at his master's call. The Mirroure of glass was endued with the power of shewing any future disasters which might happen to Cambuscan's kingdom, and discovered the most hidden machinations of treason. The Naked Sword could pierce armour deemed impenetrable,

“Were it as thicke as is a braunched oke.”

And he who was wounded with it could never be healed, unless its possessor could be entreated to stroke the wound with its edge. The Ring was intended for Canace, Cambuscan's daughter; and, while she bore it in her purse, or wore it on her thumb, enabled her to understand the language of every species of birds, and the virtues of every plant.

And whan this knight hath thus his tale told,
He rideth out of halle and doun he light:
His Stede, which that shone as sonnè bright,
Stant in the court as stille as any ston.
This knight is to his chambre ladde anon,
And is unarmed, and to the mete ysette:
Thise presents ben ful richelich yfette,
This is to sain, the Swerd and the Mirroure,
And borne anon into the highe tour,
With certain officers ordained therfore:
And unto Canace the Ring is bore
Solempnely, ther she sat at the table.^c

on a black steed. This terrible stranger, without receiving any obstruction from guards or gates, rides directly forward to the high table; and, with an im-

rious tone, orders the count to follow him, &c. Nic. Gillos, chron. ann. 1120. See also OES. FAIR. QU. § v. p. 146. ^c v. 188.

I have mentioned, in another place, the favorite philosophical studies of the Arabians^f. In this poem the nature of those studies is displayed, and their operations exemplified: and this consideration, added to the circumstances of Tartary being the scene of action, and Arabia the country from which these extraordinary presents are brought, induces me to believe this story to be one of the many fables which the Arabians imported into Europe. At least it is formed on their principles. Their sciences were tinctured with the warmth of their imaginations; and consisted in wonderful discoveries and mysterious inventions.

This idea of a horse of brass took its rise from their chemical knowledge and experiments in metals. The treatise of Jeber a famous Arab chemist of the middle ages, called LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM, contains many curious and useful processes concerning the nature of metals, their fusion, purification, and malleability, which still maintain a place in modern systems of that science^g. The poets of romance, who deal in Arabian ideas, describe the Trojan horse as made of brass^h. These sages pretended the power of giving life or speech to some of their compositions in metal. Bishop Grosthead's speaking brazen head, sometimes attributed to Bacon, has its foundation in Arabian philosophyⁱ. In the romance of VALENTINE and ORSON, a brazen head fabricated by a necromancer in a magnificent chamber of the castle of Clerimond, declares to those two princes their royal parentage^k. We are told by William of Malmesbury, that Pope Sylvester the Second, a profound

^f Diss. i. ii.

^g The Arabians call chemistry, as treating of minerals and metals, SIMIA. From SIM, a word signifying the veins of gold and silver in the mines. Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 810. b. Hither, among many other things, we might refer Merlin's two dragons of gold finished with most exquisite workmanship, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 17. See also *ibid.* vii. c. 3. Where Merlin prophesies that a brazen man on a brazen horse shall guard the gates of London.

^h See Lydgate's TROYE BOKE, B. iv. c. 35. And Gower's CONF. AMANT. B. i. f. 13. b. edit. 1554. "A horse of brasse thei lette do forge."

ⁱ Gower, Confess. Amant. ut supr. L. iv. fol. lxiiii. a. edit. 1554.

For of the greate clerke Groostest
I red, how redy that he was
Upon clergy a HEAD of BRASSE
To make, and forge it for to telle
Of such things as befell, &c.

^k Ch. xxviii. seq.

mathematician who lived in the eleventh century, made a brazen head, which would speak when spoken to, and oracularly resolved many difficult questions¹. Albertus Magnus, who was also a profound adept in those sciences which were taught by the Arabian schools, is said to have framed a man of brass; which not only answered questions readily and truly, but was so loquacious, that Thomas Aquinas while a pupil of Albertus Magnus, afterwards an Angelic doctor, knocked it in pieces as the disturber of his abstruse speculations. This was about the year 1240^m. Much in the same manner, the notion of our knight's horse being moved by means of a concealed engine, corresponds with their pretences of producing preternatural effects, and their love of surprising by geometrical powers. Exactly in this notion, Rocail, a giant in some of the Arabian romances, is said to have built a palace, together with his own sepulchre, of most magnificent architecture, and with singular artifice: in both of these he placed a great number of gigantic statues, or images, figured of different metals by talismanic skill, which, in consequence of some occult machinery, performed actions of real life, and looked like living menⁿ. We must add, that astronomy, which the Arabian philosophers studied with a singular enthusiasm, had no small share in the composition of this miraculous steed. For, says the poet,

He that it wrought, he coude many a gin,

He waited many a constellation

Or he had don this operation.^o

¹ De Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 10. Compare Maj. Symbolor. Aureæ Mensæ, lib. x. p. 453.

^m Delrio, Disquis. Magic. lib. i. cap. 4.

ⁿ Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. V. ROCAIL. p. 717. a.

^o v. 149. I do not precisely understand the line immediately following.

And knew ful many a sele and many a bond.

Sele, i. e. *Seal*, may mean a talismanic sigil used in astrology. Or the Hermetic seal used in chemistry. Or, connected with *Bond*, may signify contracts

made with spirits in chemical operations. But all these belong to the Arabian philosophy, and are alike to our purpose. In the Arabian books now extant, are the alphabets out of which they formed Talismans to draw down spirits or angels. The Arabian word KIMIA, not only signifies chemistry, but a magical and superstitious science, by which they bound spirits to their will and drew from them the information required. See Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 810. 1005. The curious and more inquisitive reader may consult Cornelius Agrippa, De Vanit. Scient. cap. xlv. xlv. xlv.

Thus the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, as famous among the Orientals as that of Achilles among the Greeks, was fabricated by the powers of astronomy^p. And Pope Sylvester's brazen head, just mentioned, was prepared under the influence of certain constellations.

Natural magic, improperly so called, was likewise a favorite pursuit of the Arabians, by which they imposed false appearances on the spectator. This was blended with their astrology. Our author's FRANKLEIN'S TALE is entirely founded on the miracles of this art.

For I am siker^q that ther be sciences,
By which men maken divers appearances,
Swiche as thise subtil tregetoures^r play:
For oft at festes, have I wel herd say,
That tregetoures, within an hallè large,
Have made come in a watir and a barge,
And in the hallè rowen up and down:
Somtime hath semid come a grim leoun,
And somtime floures spring as in a mede;
Somtime a vine, and grapes white and rede;
Somtime a castel, &c.^s

Afterwards a magician in the same poem shews various specimens of his art in raising such illusions: and by way of diverting king Aurelius before supper, presents before him parks and forests filled with deer of vast proportion, some of which are killed with hounds and others with arrows. He then shews the king a beautiful lady in a dance. At the clapping of the magician's hands all these deceptions disappear^t. These feats are said to be performed by consultation of the stars^u. We

^p Many mysteries were concealed in the composition of this shield. It destroyed all the charms and enchantments which either demons or giants could make by *goetic* or magic art. Herbelot, *ubi supr.* V. GIAN. p. 396. a.

^q sure.

^r jugglers.

^s v. 2700. Urr.

^t But his most capital performance is to remove an immense chain of rocks from the sea-shore: this is done in such

a manner, that for the space of one week, "it semid all the rockis were away." *ibid.* 2849. By the way, this tale appears to be a translation. He says, "As the boke doth me remember." v. 2799. And "From Garumne to the mouth of Seine." v. 2778. The Garonne and Seine are rivers in France.

^u See Frankel. T. v. 2820. p. 111. Urr. The Christians called this one of the diabolical arts of the Saracens or Ara-

frequently read in romances of illusive appearances framed by magicians^w, which by the same powers are made suddenly to vanish. To trace the matter home to its true source, these fictions have their origin in a science which professedly made a considerable part of the Arabian learning^x. In the twelfth century the number of magical and astrological Arabic books translated into Latin was prodigious^y. Chaucer, in the fiction before us, supposes that some of the guests in Cambuscan's hall believed the Trojan horse to be a temporary illusion, effected by the power of magic^z.

An apparence ymade by som magike,
As jogelours plain at thise festes grete.^a

In speaking of the metallurgy of the Arabians, I must not omit the sublime imagination of Spenser, or rather some British bard, who feigns that the magician Merlin intended to build a wall of brass about Cairmardin, or Carmarthen; but that being hastily called away by the Lady of the Lake, and

bians. And many of their own philosophers, who afterwards wrote on the subject or performed experiments on its principles, were said to deal with the devil. Witness our Bacon, &c. From Sir John Maundeville's Travels it appears, that these sciences were in high request in the court of the Cham of Tartary about the year 1340. He says, that, at a great festival, on one side of the Emperor's table, he saw placed many philosophers skilled in various sciences, such as astronomy, necromancy, geometry, and pyromancy: that some of these had before them astrolabes of gold and precious stones, others had horologes richly furnished, with many other mathematical instruments, &c. chap. lxxi. Sir John Maundeville began his travels into the East in 1322, and finished his book in 1364. chap. cix. See Johannes Sarisb. Polycrat. L. i. cap. xi. fol. 10. b.

^w See what is said of Spenser's FALSE FLORIMEL, OBS. SPENS. § xi. p. 123.

^x Herbelot mentions many oriental pieces, "Qui traittent de cette art pernicieux et defendu." Dict. Orient. V.

SCHR. Compare Agrippa, ubi supr. cap. xlii. seq.

^y "Irrepsit hac ætate etiam turba astrologorum et Magorum, ejus farinae libris una cum aliis de Arabico in Latinum conversis." Conring. Script. Comment. Sæc. xiii. cap. 3. p. 125. See also Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. V. KETAB. passim.

^z John of Salisbury says, that magicians are those who, among other deceptions, "Rebus adimunt species suas." Polycrat. i. 10. fol. 10. b. Agrippa mentions one Pasetes a jugler, who "was wont to shewe to strangers a very sumptuous banquet, and when it pleased him, to cause it vanish away, all they which sate at the table being disappointed both of meate and drinke," &c. Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. p. 62. b. Engl. Transl. ut infr. Du Halde mentions a Chinese enchanter, who, when the Emperour was inconsolable for the loss of his deceased queen, caused her image to appear before him. Hist. Chin. iii. § iv. See the deceptions of Hakem an Arabian jugler in Herbelot, in V. p. 412. See supr. p. 229, 230. ^a v. 238.

slain by her perfidy, he has left his fiends still at work on this mighty structure round their brazen cauldrons, under a rock among the neighbouring woody cliffs of Dynevaur, who dare not desist till their master returns. At this day, says the poet, if you listen at a chink or cleft of the rock,

— Such gastly noyse of yron chaines
And brasen cauldrons thou shalt rombling heare,
Which thousand sprights with long enduring paines
Do tosse, that it will stunn thy feeble braines.
And oftentimes great grones and grievous stowndes
When too huge toile and labour them constraines,
And oftentimes loud strokes and ringing sowndes
From under that deepe rocke most horribly reboundes.

X.

The cause some say is this: a little while
Before that Merlin dyde, he dyd intend
A BRASEN WALL in compasse to compyle
About Cairmardin, and did it commend
Unto those sprights to bring to perfect end:
During which work the Lady of the Lake,
Whom long he lov'd, for him in haste did send,
Who therby forst his workemen to forsake,
Them bounde, till his returne, their labour not to slake.

XI.

In the mean time, through that false ladies traine,
He was surprizd, and buried under beare,
Ne ever to his work returnd againe:
Nathlesse those feends may not their worke forbear,
So greatly his commandement they feare,
But there do toyle and travayle night and day,
Until that BRASEN WALL they up do reare.^b

This story Spenser borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis, who during his progress through Wales, in the twelfth cen-

^b Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 9 seq.

tury, picked it up among other romantic traditions propagated by the British bards^c. I have before pointed out the source from which the British bards received most of their extravagant fictions.

Optics were likewise a branch of study which suited the natural genius of the Arabian philosophers, and which they pursued with incredible delight. This science was a part of the Aristotelic philosophy; which, as I have before observed, they refined and filled with a thousand extravagancies. Hence our strange knight's MIRROR OF GLASS, prepared on the most profound principles of art, and endued with preternatural qualities.

And som of hem wondred on the mirrour,
That born was up into the maister tour:
How men mighte in it swiche thinges see.
An other answered and sayd, It might wel be
Naturelly by compositions
Of angles, and of slie reflections:
And saide, that in Rome was swiche one,
They speke of Alhazen and Vitellon,
And Aristotle, that writen in hir lives
Of queinte MIRROURS, and of PROSPECTIVES.^d

And again,

This mirrour eke that I have in min hond,
Hath swiche a might, that men may in it se
Whan ther shal falle ony adversitee
Unto your regne, &c.^e

Aleen, or Alhazen, mentioned in these lines, an Arabic philosopher, wrote seven books of perspective, and flourished about the eleventh century. Vitellio, formed on the same school, was likewise an eminent mathematician of the middle ages, and

^c See Girald. Cambrens. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 6. Hollinsh. Hist. i. 129. And Camden's Brit. p. 734. Drayton has this fiction, which he relates somewhat differently. Polyolb. lib. iv. p. 62. edit. 1613. Hence Bacon's wall of brass about England.
^d v. 244.
^e v. 153.

wrote ten books of Perspective. The Roman mirrour here mentioned by Chaucer, as similar to this of the strange knight, is thus described by Gower.

When Rome stode in noble plite
 Virgile, which was the parfite,
 A mirrour made of his clergie^f
 And sette it in the townes eie
 Of marbre on a pillar without,
 That thei be thyрте mile aboute
 By daie and eke also bi night
 In that mirrour behold might
 Her enemies if any were, &c.^g

The Oriental writers relate, that Giamschid, one of their kings, the Solomon of the Persians and their Alexander the Great, possessed, among his inestimable treasures, cups, globes, and mirrours, of metal, glass, and crystal, by means of which, he and his people knew all natural as well as supernatural things. A title of an Arabian book, translated from the Persian, is, "The Mirrour which reflects the World." There is this passage in an antient Turkish poet, "When I am purified by the light of heaven my soul will become the *mirrour of the world*, in which I shall discern all *abstruse secrets*." Monsieur l'Herbelot is of opinion, that the Orientals took these notions from the patriarch Joseph's cup of divination, and Nestor's cup in Homer, on which all nature was symbolically represented^h. Our great countryman Roger Bacon, in his *OPUS MAJUS*, a work entirely formed on the Aristotelic and Arabian philosophy, describes a variety of *Specula*, and explains their con-

^f learning; philosophy.

[The same fiction is in Caxton's *TROYE BOKE*. "Upon the pinnacle or top of the towre he made an ymage of copper and gave hym in his hande a looking-glasse, having such vertue, that if it happened that any shippes came to harme the citie suddenly, their army and their coming should appear in the said looking-glasse." B. ii. ch. xxii.—*ADDITIONS*.]

^g Confess. Amant. l. v. fol. xciv. 6. edit. Berth. 1554. ut supr.

^h Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. V. GIAM. p. 392. col. 2. John of Salisbury mentions a species of diviners called *SPECULARII*, who predicted future events, and told various secrets, by consulting mirrours, and the surfaces of other polished reflecting substances. Polycrat. i. 12. pag. 32. edit. 1595.

struction and usesⁱ. This is the most curious and extraordinary part of Bacon's book, which was written about the year 1270. Bacon's optic tube, with which he pretended to see *future events*, was famous in his age, and long afterwards, and chiefly contributed to give him the name of a magician^k. This art, with others of the experimental kind, the philosophers of those times were fond of adapting to the purposes of thaumaturgy; and there is much occult and chimerical speculation in the discoveries which Bacon affects to have made from optical experiments. He asserts, and I am obliged to cite the passage in his own mysterious expressions, "Omnia sciri per Perspectivam, quoniam omnes actiones rerum fiunt secundum specierum et virtutum multiplicationem ab agentibus hujus mundi in materias patientes," &c.^l Spenser feigns, that the magician Merlin made a *glassie globe*, and presented it to king Ryence, which shewed the approach of enemies, and discovered treasons^m. This fiction, which exactly corresponds with Chaucer's *Mirroure*, Spenser borrowed from some romance, perhaps of king Arthur, fraught with Oriental fancy. From the same sources came a like fiction of Camoens, in the *Lusiad*ⁿ, where a globe is shewn to Vasco de Gama, representing the universal fabric or system of the world, in which he sees future kingdoms and future events. The Spanish historians report an American tradition, but more probably invented by themselves, and built on the Saracen fables, in which they were so conversant. They pretend that some years before the Spaniards entered Mexico, the inhabitants caught a monstrous fowl, of unusual magnitude and shape, on the lake of Mexico. In the crown of the head of this wonderful bird, there was a mirroure or plate of glass,

ⁱ Edit. Jebb. p. 253. Bacon, in one of his manuscripts, complains, that no person read lectures in Oxford DE PERSPECTIVA, before the year 1267. He adds, that in the university of Paris, this science was quite unknown. In Epist. ad OPUS MINUS. Clementi IV. Et ibid. OP. MIN. iii. cap. ii. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Univ. Oxon. c. 20. In another he affirms, that Julius Cesar, before he invaded Britain, viewed our harbours and

shores with a telescope from the Gallic coast. MSS. lib. DE PERSPECTIVIS. He accurately describes reading-glasses or spectacles, Op. Maj. p. 236. And the Camera Obscura, I believe, is one of his discoveries.

^k Wood, Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. i. 122.

^l Op. Min. MSS. ut supr.

^m Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 21.

ⁿ Cant. x.

in which the Mexicans saw their future invaders the Spaniards, and all the disasters which afterwards happened to their kingdom. These superstitions remained, even in the doctrines of philosophers, long after the darker ages. Cornelius Agrippa, a learned physician of Cologne, about the year 1520, author of a famous book on the Vanity of the Sciences, mentions a species of mirrour which exhibited the form of persons absent, at command^o. In one of these he is said to have shewn to the poetical earl of Surry, the image of his mistress, the beautiful Geraldine, sick and reposing on a couch^p. Nearly allied to this, was the infatuation of *seeing things* in a beryl, which was very popular in the reign of James the First, and is alluded to by Shakespeare. The Arabians were also famous for other machineries of glass, in which their chemistry was more immediately concerned. The philosophers of their school invented a story of a magical steel-glass, placed by Ptolemy on the summit of a lofty pillar near the city of Alexandria, for burning ships at a distance. The Arabians called this pillar *Hemadeslaeor*, or the Pillar of the Arabians^q. I think it is mentioned by Sandys. Roger Bacon has left a manuscript tract on the formation of burning-glasses^r: and he relates that the first

^o It is diverting in this book to observe the infancy of experimental philosophy, and their want of knowing how to use or apply the mechanical arts which they were even actually possessed of. Agrippa calls the inventor of magnifying glasses, "without doubt the beginner of all dishonestie." He mentions various sorts of diminishing, burning, reflecting, and multiplying glasses, with some others. At length this profound thinker closes the chapter with this sage reflection, "All these things are vaine and superfluous, and invented to no other end but for pompe and idle pleasure!" Chap. xxvi. p. 36. A translation by James Sandford, Lond. 1569. 4to. Bl. Let.

^p Drayton's Heroical Epist. p. 87. b. edit. 1598.

^q The same fablers have adapted a similar fiction to Hercules: that he erected pillars at Cape Finesterre, on which he

raised magical looking-glasses. In an Eastern romance, called the SEVEN WISE MASTERS, of which more will be said hereafter, at the siege of Hur in Persia, certain philosophers terrified the enemy by a device of placing a habit (says an old English translation) "of a giant-like proportion, on a tower, and covering it with burning-glasses, looking-glasses of cristall, and other glasses of several colours, wrought together in a marvellous order," &c. ch. xvii. p. 182. edit. 1674. The Constantinopolitan Greeks possessed these arts in common with the Arabians. See Morisotus, ii. 3: who says, that in the year 751, they set fire to the Saracen fleet before Constantinople by means of burning-glasses.

^r MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 183. And Arch. A. 149. But I think it was printed at Francfort, 1614. 4to.

burning-glass which he constructed cost him sixty pounds of Parisian money^s. Ptolemy, who seems to have been confounded with Ptolemy the Egyptian astrologer and geographer, was famous among the Eastern writers and their followers for his skill in operations of glass. Spenser mentions a miraculous tower of glass built by Ptolemy, which concealed his mistress the Egyptian Phao, while the invisible inhabitant viewed all the world from every part of it.

Great Ptolomee it for his leman's sake
Ybuided *all of glass* by magicke power,
And also it impregnable did make^t.

But this magical fortress, although impregnable, was easily broken in pieces at one stroke by the builder, when his mistress ceased to love. One of Boyardo's extravagancies is a prodigious wall of glass built by some magician in Africa, which obviously betrays its foundation in Arabian fable and Arabian philosophy^u.

The Naked Sword, another of the gifts presented by the strange knight to Cambuscan, endued with medical virtues, and so hard as to pierce the most solid armour, is likewise an Arabian idea. It was suggested by their skill in medicine, by which they affected to communicate healing qualities to various substances^w, and from their knowledge of tempering iron and hardening all kinds of metal^x. It is the classical spear of Peleus, perhaps originally fabricated in the same regions of fancy.

And other folk han wondred on the Swerd,
That wolde percen thurghout every thing;
And fell in speche of Telephus the king,

^s Twenty pounds sterling. Compend. Stud. Theol. c. i. p. 5. MS.

^t Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 20.

^u Hither we might also refer Chaucer's House of Fame, which is built of glass, and Lydgate's TEMPLE OF GLASS. It is said in some romances written about the time of the Crusades, that the city of Damascus was walled with glass. See

Hall's VIRGIDEM. or Satyres, &c. B. iv. S. 6. written in 1597.

Or of Damascus magicke wall of glasse,
Or Solomon his sweating piles of brasse,
&c.

^w The notion, mentioned before, that every stone of Stone-henge was washed with juices of herbs in Africa, and tinc-

And of Achilles for his qeintè spere
 For he coude with it bothè hele and dere^y
 Right in swiche wise as men may with the swerd,
 Of which right now ye have yourselven herd.
 Thei speken of sondry harding of metall
 And speken of medicines therwithall,
 And how and whan it shul dyharded be, &c.^z

The sword which Berni in the *ORLANDO INNAMORATO*, gives to the hero Ruggiero, is tempered by much the same sort of magic.

Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
 Che taglia incanto ad ogni fatatura.^a

So also his continuator Ariosto,

Non vale incanto, ov'elle mette il taglio.^b

And the notion that this weapon could resist all incantations, is like the fiction above mentioned of the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, which baffled the force of charms and enchantments made by giants or demons^c. Spenser has a sword endued with the same efficacy, the metal of which the magician Merlin mixed with the juice of meadow-wort, that it might be proof against enchantment; and afterwards, having forged the blade in the flames of Etna, he gave it hidden virtue by dipping it seven times in the bitter waters of Styx^d. From the same origin is also the golden lance of Berni, which Galafron king of Cathaia, father of the beautiful Angelica and the invincible champion Argalia, procured for his son by the help of a magician. This lance was of such irresistible power, that it unhorsed a knight the instant he was touched with its point.

tured with healing powers, is a piece of the same philosophy.

^x Montfaucon cites a Greek chemist of the dark ages, "CHRISTIANI LABYRINTHUS SALOMONIS, de temperando ferro, conficiendo crystallo, et de aliis naturæ arcanis." *Palæogr. Gr.* p. 375.

^y hurt; wound.

^z v. 256.

^a *Orl. Innam.* ii. 17. st. 13.

^b *Orl. Fur.* xii. 83.

^c *Amadis de Gaul* [Greece. *Ritson.*] has such a sword. See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. Ch. iv.

^d *Fairy Queen*, ii. viii. 20. See also *Ariost.* xix. 84.

——— Una lancia d'oro,
 Fatto con arte, e con sottil lavoro.
 E quella lancia di natura tale,
 Che resister non puossi alla sua spinta;
 Forza, o destrezza contra lei non vale,
 Convien che l'una, e l'altra resti vinta:
 Incanto, a cui non è nel mondo eguale,
 L'ha di tanta possanza intorno cinta,
 Che nè il conte di Brava, nè Rinaldo,
 Nè il mondo al colpo suo starebbe saldo.^e

Britomart in Spenser is armed with the same enchanted spear, which was made by Bladud an antient British king skilled in magic^f.

The Ring, a gift to the king's daughter Canace, which taught the language of birds, is also quite in the style of some others of the occult sciences of these inventive philosophers^g: and it is the fashion of the Oriental fabulists to give language to brutes in general. But to understand the language of birds, was peculiarly one of the boasted sciences of the Arabians; who pretend that many of their countrymen have been skilled in the knowledge of the language of birds, ever since the time of king Solomon. Their writers relate, that Balkis the queen of Sheba, or Saba, had a bird called *Hudhud*, that is, a lapwing, which she dispatched to king Solomon on various occasions; and that this trusty bird was the messenger of their amours. We are told, that Solomon having been secretly informed by this winged confident, that Balkis intended to honour him with a grand embassy, enclosed a spacious square with a wall of gold and silver bricks, in which he ranged his numerous troops and attendants in order to receive the ambassadors, who were astonished at the suddenness of these splendid and unexpected

^e Orl. Innam. i. i. st. 43. See also, i. ii. st. 20, &c. And Ariosto, viii. 17. xviii. 118. xxiii. 15.

^f Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 60. iv. 6. 6. iii. 1. 4.

^g Rings are a frequent implement in

romantic enchantment. Among a thousand instances, see Orland. Innam. i. 14: where the palace and gardens of Dragontina vanish at Angelica's ring of virtue.

preparations^h. Monsieur l'Herbelot tells a curious story of an Arab feeding his camels in a solitary wilderness, who was accosted for a draught of water by Alhejaj a famous Arabian commander, and who had been separated from his retinue in hunting. While they were talking together, a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time an unusual sort of noise; which the camel-feeder hearing, looked steadfastly on Alhejaj, and demanded who he was. Alhejaj, not choosing to return him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. "Because," replied the camel-feeder, "this bird assured me, that a company of people is coming this way, and that you are the chief of them." While he was speaking, Alhejaj's attendants arrivedⁱ.

This wonderful ring also imparted to the wearer a knowledge of the qualities of plants, which formed an important part of the Arabian philosophy^k.

The vertue of this ring if ye wol here
Is this, that if hire list it for to were,
Upon hire thomb, or in hire purse it bere,
Ther is no foule that fleeth under heaven
That she ne shal wel understond his steven^l,
And know his mening openly and plaine,
And answeere him in his langage againe.
And every gras that groweth upon rote,
She shal eke know, and whom it wol do bote:
All be his woundes never so depe and wide.^m

Every reader of taste and imagination must regret, that instead of our author's tedious detail of the quaint effects of Canace's ring, in which a falcon relates her amours, and talks

^h Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. V. BALXIS, p. 182.

[Mahomet believed this foolish story, at least thought it fit for a popular book, and has therefore inserted it in the Alcoran. See Grey on HUDIBRAS, part i. cant. i. v. 547.—ADDITIONS.]

ⁱ See Herbel. ubi supr. V. HEGIAGE

EBN YUSEF AL THAKEFI, p. 442. This Arabian commander was of the eighth century. In the SEVEN WISE MASTERS, one of the tales is founded on the language of birds. Ch. xvi,

^k See what is said of this in the DIS-SERTATIONS.

^l language.

^m v. 166.

familiarly of Troilus, Paris, and Jason, the notable atchievements we may suppose to have been performed by the assistance of the horse of brass, are either lost, or that this part of the story, by far the most interesting, was never written. After the strange knight has explained to Cambuscan the management of this magical courser, he vanishes on a sudden, and we hear no more of him.

At after souper goth this noble king
To seen this Hors of Bras, with all a route
Of lordes and of ladies him aboute:
Swiche wondring was ther on this Hors of Brasⁿ,
That sin the gret assege of Troyè was,
Ther as men wondred on an hors also,
Ne was ther swiche a wondring as was tho^o.
But finally the king asketh the knight
The vertue of his courser and the might;
And praied him to tell his governaunce:
The hors anon gan for to trip and daunce,
Whan that the knight laid hond upon his reine.—
Enfourmed whan the king was of the knight,
And hath conceived in his wit aright,
The maner and the forme of all this thing,
Ful glad and blith, this noble doughty king

ⁿ Cervantes mentions a horse of wood, which, like this of Chaucer, on turning a pin in his forehead, carried his rider through the air. [A similar fiction occurs in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and must be in the recollection of every reader.] This horse, Cervantes adds, was made by Merlin for Peter of Provence; with which that valorous knight carried off the fair Magalona. From what romance Cervantes took this I do not recollect: but the reader sees its correspondence with the fiction of Chaucer's horse, and will refer it to the same original. See *Don Quixote*, B. iii. ch. 8. We have the same thing in *Valentine and Orson*, ch. xxxi. [The romance alluded to by Cervantes, is entitled "*La Historia de la linda Maga-*

lona hija del rey de Napoles y de Pierres de Provença," printed at Seville 1533, and is a translation from a much more ancient and very celebrated French Romance under a similar title. *RITSON*.] —The French romance is confessedly but a translation: "*Ordonnée en cestui language . . . et fut mis en cestui language l'an mil cccclvii*." A Provençal romance on this subject, doubtlessly the original, was written by Bernard de Treviez, a Canon of Maguelone, before the close of the twelfth century. See *Roquefort*, *Poesies des Troubadours*, vol. ii. p. 317. On the authority of Gariel's, "*Idee de la ville de Montpellier*," Petrarch is stated to have corrected and embellished this romance.—*EDIT.*]

^o then.

Repaireth to his revel as beforne:
 The brydel is into the Toure yborne*,
 And kept among his jewels^p lefe and dere:
 The horse vanisht: I n'ot in what manere.^q

By such inventions we are willing to be deceived. These are the triumphs of deception over truth.

Magnanima mensogna, hor quando è al vero
 Si bello, che si possa à te preporre?

The CLERKE OF OXENFORDES TALE, or the story of Patient Grisilde, is the next of Chaucer's Tales in the serious style which deserves mention. The Clerke declares in his Prologue, that he learned this tale of Petrarch at Padua. But it was the invention of Boccacio, and is the last in his DECAMERON^r. Petrarch, although most intimately connected with Boccacio for near thirty years, never had seen the Decameron till just before his death. It accidentally fell into his hands, while he resided at Arque between Venice and Padua, in the year one thousand three hundred and seventy-four. The tale of Grisilde struck him the most of any: so much, that he got it by heart to relate it to his friends at Padua. Finding that it was the most popular of all Boccacio's tales, for the benefit of those who did not understand Italian, and to spread its circulation, he translated it into Latin with some alterations. Petrarch relates this in a letter to Boccacio: and adds, that on shewing the translation to one of his Paduan friends, the latter, touched

* [The bridle of the enchanted horse is carried into the tower, which was the treasury of Cambuscan's castle, to be kept among the *jewels*. Thus when king Richard the First, in a crusade, took Cyprus, among the treasures in the castles are recited pretious stones, and golden cups, together with "*Sellis aureis frenis et calcaribus*." Galfr. Vinesauf. ITER. HIEROSOL. cap. xli. p. 328. VET. SCRIPT. ANGL. tom. ii.—ADDITIONS.]

^p *jocalia*; precious things.

^q v. 322. seq. 355. seq.

^r Giorn. x. Nov. 10. Dryden, in the superficial but lively Preface to his Fa-

bles, says, "The Tale of Grisilde was the invention of Petrarch: by him sent to Boccace, from whom it came to Chaucer."

[It may be doubted whether Boccacio invented the story of Grisilde. For, as the late inquisitive and judicious editor of the CANTERBURY TALES observes, it appears by a Letter of Petrarch to Boccacio, [OPP. Petrarch. p. 540—7. edit. Basil. 1581.] sent with his Latin translation, in 1373, that Petrarch had *heard the story with pleasure*, many years before he saw the Decameron. vol. iv. p. 157.—ADDITIONS.]

with the tenderness of the story, burst into such frequent and violent fits of tears, that he could not read to the end. In the same letter he says, that a Veronese having heard of the Paduan's exquisiteness of feeling on this occasion, resolved to try the experiment. He read the whole aloud from the beginning to the end, without the least change of voice or countenance; but on returning the book to Petrarch, confessed that it was an affecting story: "I should have wept," added he, "like the Paduan, had I thought the story true. But the whole is a manifest fiction. There never was, nor ever will be, such a wife as Grisilde^s." Chaucer, as our Clerke's declaration in the Prologue seems to imply, received this tale from Petrarch, and not from Boccacio: and I am inclined to think, that he did not take it from Petrarch's Latin translation, but that he was one of those friends to whom Petrarch used to relate it at Padua. This too seems sufficiently pointed out in the words of the Prologue.

I wol you tell a talè which that I
Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk:—
Fraunceis Petrark, the laureat poete,
Highte this clerke, whos rhetorik swete
Enlumined all Itaille of poetrie.^t

Chaucer's tale is also much longer, and more circumstantial, than Boccacio's. Petrarch's Latin translation from Boccacio was never printed. It is in the royal library at Paris, in that of Magdalene college at Oxford^u, and in Bennet college library, with this title: "*HISTORIA sive FABULA de nobili Marchione WALTERIO domino terræ Saluciarum, quomodo duxit in uxorem GRISILDEM pauperulam, et ejus constantiam et patien-*

^s Vie de Petrarch, iii. 797.

^t v. 1057. p. 96. Urr. Afterwards Petrarch is mentioned as dead. He died of an apoplexy, Jul. 18, 1374. See v. 2168.

^u Viz. "Vita Grisildis per Fr. Petrarcham de vulgari in Latinam linguam traducta." But Rawlinson cites, "Epistola Francisci Petrarchæ de insigni obe-

dientia et fide uxoria Griseldis in Waltherum Ulme, impress." per me R. . . . A.D. 1843. MS. Not. in Mattairii Typogr. Hist. i. i. p. 104. In Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Among the royal manuscripts, in the British Museum, there is, "Fr. Petrarchæ super Historiam Walterii Marchionis et Griseldis uxoris ejus." 8. B. vi. 17.

tiam mirabiliter et acriter comprobavit: quam de vulgari sermone Saluciarum in Latinum transtulit D. Franciscus Petrarca*.”

The story soon became so popular in France, that the comedians of Paris represented a Mystery in French verse entitled *LE MYSTERE DE GRISEILDIS MARQUIS DE SALUCES*, in the year 1393^w. Lydgate, almost Chaucer's cotemporary, in his manuscript poem entitled the *TEMPLE OF GLASS*^x, among the celebrated lovers painted on the walls of the temple^y, mentions Dido, Medea and Jason, Penelope, Alcestis, *PATIENT GRISILDE*, Bel Isoulde and Sir Tristram^z, Pyramus and Thisbe, Theseus, Lucretia, Canace, Palamon and Emilia^a.

* [CLXXVII. 10. fol. 76. Again, *ibid.* cclxxv. 14. fol. 163. Again, *ibid.* cccclviii. 3. with the date 1476, I suppose, from the scribe. And in *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. LAUD. G. 80.—ADDITIONS.*]

^w It was many years afterwards printed at Paris, by Jean Bonnefons. [This is the whole title: “*Le MYSTERE de Griseldis, Marquis de Saluces, mis en rime Françoise et par personnaiges.*” Without date, in quarto, and in the Gothic type. In the colophon, *Cy finist la vie de Griseldis, &c.—ADDITIONS.*] The writers of the French stage do not mention this piece. See p. 81. Their first theatre is that of Saint Maur, and it's commencement is placed five years later, in the year 1398. Afterwards Apostolo Zeno wrote a theatrical piece on this subject in Italy. I need not mention that it is to this day represented in England, on a stage of the lowest species, and of the highest antiquity: I mean at a puppet-show. The French have this story in their *PAREMENT DES DAMES*. See *Mem. Lit. Tom. ii. p. 743. 4to.*

^x And in a *Balade*, translated by Lydgate from the Latin, “Grisilde's humble patience” is recorded. *Urr. Ch. p. 550. v. 108.*

^y There is a more curious mixture in Chaucer's *Balade to king Henry IV.* Where Alexander, Hector, Julius Cesar, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bulloign, and king Arthur, are all thrown together as ancient heroes. v. 281. seq. [These are the nine worthies. The *balade* is Gow-

er's.—*RITSON.*] But it is to be observed, that the French had a metrical romance called *Judas Macchabée*, begun by Gualtier de Belleperche, before 1240. It was finished a few years afterwards by Pierros du Reiz. *Fauch. p. 197.* See also Lydgate, *Urr. Chauc. p. 550. v. 89.* M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye has given us an extract of an old Provencal poem, in which, among heroes of love and gallantry, are enumerated Paris, Sir Tristram, Ivaine the inventor of gloves and other articles of elegance in dress, Apollonius of Tyre, and king Arthur. *Mem. Chev. Extr. de Poes. Prov. ii. p. 154.* In a French romance, *Le livre de cuer d'amour espris*, written 1457, the author introduces the blasoning of the arms of several celebrated lovers: among which are king David, Nero, Mark Antony, Theseus, Hercules, Eneas, Sir Lancelot, Sir Tristram, Arthur duke of Bretagne, Gaston du Foix, many French dukes, &c. *Mem. Lit. viii. p. 592. edit. 4to.* The chevalier Bayard, who died about the year 1524, is compared to Scipio, Hannibal, Theseus, king David, Samson, Judas Maccabeus, Orlando, Godfrey of Bulloign, and monsieur de Palisse, marshal of France. *LA VIE ET LES GESTES DU PREUX CHEVALIER BAYARD, &c. Printed 1525.*

^z From *MORTE ARTHUR*. They are mentioned in Chaucer's *ASSEMBLIE OF FOWLES*, v. 290. See also *Compl. Bl. Kn. v. 367.*

^a *MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 16.*

The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquisite, chiefly consists in invention of incidents, and the contrivance of the story, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place: and it will be impossible to give any idea of it's essential excellence by exhibiting detached parts. The versification is equal to the rest of our author's poetry.

SECTION XVI.

THE TALE of the NONNES PRIEST is perhaps a story of English growth. The story of the cock and the fox is evidently borrowed from a collection of Esopean and other fables, written by Marie a French poetess, whose LAIS are preserved in MSS. HARL.* Beside the absolute resemblance, it appears still more probable that Chaucer copied from Marie, because no such fable is to be found either in the Greek Esop, or in any of the Latin Esopean compilations of the dark ages†. All the manuscripts of Marie's fables in the British Museum prove, that she translated her work "de l'Anglois en Roman." Probably her English original was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Esop modernised, and still bearing his name. She professes to follow the version of a king; who, in the best of the Harleian copies, is called LI REIS ALURED‡. She appears, from passages in her LAIS, to have understood English§. I will give her Epilogue to the Fables from MSS. JAMES. viii. p. 23. Bibl. Bodl.

Al finement de cest escrit
 Qu'en romanz ai treite e dit
 Me numerai pour remembraunce
 Marie ai nun sui de France
 Pur cel estre que clerc plusur
 Prendreient sur eus mun labeur
 Ne voit que nul sur li sa die
 Eil fait que fol que sei ublie
 Pur amur le cunte Wllame
 Le plus vaillant de nul realme

* [ut infr. see f. 139.]

† [See MSS. HARL. 978. f. 76.]

‡ [MSS. HARL. 978. supr. citat.]

§ [See Chaucer's CANTERB. TALES, vol. iv. p. 179.]

Meinlemir de ceste livre feire
 E des Engleis en romanz treire
 Esop apelum cest livre
 Quil translata e fist escrire
 Del Gru en Latin le turna
 Le Reiz Alurez que mut lama
 Le translata puis en Engleis
 E jeo lai rimee en Franceis
 Si cum jeo poi plus proprement
 Ore pri a dieu omnipotent, &c.

The figment of Dan Burnell's Ass is taken from a Latin poem entitled *SPECULUM STULTORUM*,^a written by Nigellus de Wireker, monk and precentor of Canterbury cathedral, a profound theologian, who flourished about the year 1200^b. The narrative of the two pilgrims is borrowed from Valerius Maximus^c. It is also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favourite author^d. There is much humour in the description of the prodigious confusion which happened in the farm-yard after the fox had conveyed away the cock.

————After him they ran,
 And eke with staves many another man.
 Ran Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Gerlond^e,
 And Malkin with her distaf in hire hond.
 Ran cow and calf, and eke the very hogges.—
 The dokes crieden as men wold hem quelle^f,
 The gees for fere flewen over the trees,
 Out of the hive came the swarme of bees.^g

Even Jack Strawe's insurrection, a recent transaction, was not attended with so much noise and disturbance.

^a v. 1427. p. 172. Urr.

^b Or John of Salisbury. Printed at Cologne in 1449.

[It is entitled *BURNELLUS, sive Speculum Stultorum*, and was written about the year 1190. See Leyser. *POET. MED. ÆVI*, p. 752. It is a common manuscript. *Burnell* is a nick-name for Ba-

laam's ass in the Chester *WHITSUN PLAYS*. MSS. HARL. 2013.—*ADDITIONS*.]

^c v. 1100.

^d See Val. Max. i. 7. And Cic. de *Divinat.* i. 27.

^e names of dogs.

^f kill.

^g v. 1496.

So hidous was the noise, *ah Benedicite!*
 Certes he Jacke Strawe, and his meine,
 Ne maden never shoutes half so shrille, &c.^h

The importance and affectation of sagacity with which dame Partlett communicates her medical advice, and displays her knowledge in physic, is a ridicule on the state of medicine and its professors.ⁱ

In another strain, the cock is thus beautifully described, and not without some striking and picturesque allusions to the manners of the times.

—A cok highte chaunteclere,
 In all the land of crowing n'as his pere.
 His vois was merier than the mery orgon^k
 On masse-daiès that in the cherches gon.
 Wel sikerer^l was his crowing in his loge^m
 Than is a klok, or any abbey orloge.—
 His combe was redder than the fin corall,
 Enbattelⁿ as it were a castel wall,
 His bill was black and as the jet it shone,
 Like asure were his legges, and his tone^o:
 His nailes whiter than the lilie flour,
 And like the burned gold was his colour.^p

In this poem the fox is compared to the three arch-traitors Judas Iscariot, Virgil's Sinon, and Ganilion who betrayed the Christian army under Charlemagne to the Saracens, and is mentioned by archbishop Turpin.^q Here also are cited, as writers of high note or authority, Cato, Physiologus or Pliny* the elder, Boethius on music, the author of the legend of the life of saint Kenelme, Josephus, the historian of Sir Lancelot du Lake, Saint Austin, bishop Bradwardine, Jeffrey Vinesauf who wrote a monody in Latin verse on the death of king Richard the First, Ecclesiastes, Virgil, and Macrobius.

^h v. 1509. This is a proof that the
 CANTERBURY TALES were not written
 till after the year 1381.

^k organ. ^l clearer. [surer. RITSON.]

^m pen; yard.

^o toes.

^p v. 96

^q v. 1341. See also Monk. T. v. 806.

* [Dr. Warton afterwards discovered
 that by Physiologus, Florinus was in-
 tended, and not Pliny; and has corrected
 his mistake in Section xxvii. vol. iii. p. 5.
 Note 1.]

Our author's JANUARY AND MAY, or the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, seems to be an old Lombard story. But many passages in it are evidently taken from the POLYCRATICON of John of Salisbury. *De molestiis et oneribus conjugiorum secundum Hieronymum et alios philosophos. Et de perniciē libidinis. Et de mulieris Ephesinæ et similium fide.*^r And by the way, about forty verses belonging to this argument are translated from the same chapter of the POLYCRATICON, in the WIFE OF BATH'S Prologue^s. In the mean time it is not improbable, that this tale might have originally been Oriental. A Persian tale is just published which it extremely resembles^t; and it has much of the allegory of an Eastern apologue.

The following description of the wedding-feast of January and May is conceived and expressed with a distinguished degree of poetical elegance.

Thus ben they wedded with solempnite,
And at the feste sitteth he and she,
With other worthy folk upon the deis^u:
Al ful of joye and blisse is the paleis,

^r L. viii. c. 11. fol. 193. b. edit. 1513.

^s Mention is made in this Prologue of St. Jerom and Theophrast, on that subject, v. 671. 674. The author of the Polycraticon quotes Theophrastus from Jerom, viz. "Fertur auctore Hieronimo aureolus Theophrasti libellus de non ducenda uxore." fol. 194. a. Chaucer likewise, on this occasion, cites Valerie, v. 671. This is not the favorite historian of the middle ages, Valerius Maximus. It is a book written by Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, under the assumed name of Valerius, entitled, *Valerius ad Rufinum de non ducenda uxore*. This piece is in the Bodleian library with a large Gloss. MSS. Digb. 166. ii. 147. Mapes perhaps adopted this name, because one Valerius had written a treatise on the same subject, inserted in St. Jerom's works. Some copies of this Prologue, instead of "Valerie and Theophrast," read *Paraphrast*. If that be the true reading, which I do not believe, Chaucer alludes to the gloss above mentioned. Helowis, cited just after-

wards, is the celebrated Eloisa. Trotula is mentioned, v. 677. Among the manuscripts of Merton College in Oxford, is, "Trottula Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum." There is also extant, "Trottula, seu potius Erotis medici muliebrium liber." Basil. 1586. 4to. See also Montfauc. Catal. MSS. p. 385. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. p. 439.

^t By Mr. Dow, ch. xv. p. 252.

[The ludicrous adventure of the Pear Tree, in JANUARY AND MAY, is taken from a collection of Fables in Latin elegiacs, written by one Adolphus in the year 1315. Leyser. HIST. POET. MED. ÆVI, p. 2008. The same fable is among the *Fables of Alphonse*, in Caxton's Esop. — ADDITIONS.]

^u I have explained this word, vol. i. p. 43. But will here add some new illustrations of it. Undoubtedly the high table in a public refectory, as appears from these words in Mathew Paris, "Priore prandente ad MAGNAM MENSAM quam DAIS vulgo appellamus." In Vit. Abbat. S.

And ful of instruments and of vitaille,
 The most daynteous of all Itaille.
 Before hem stood swiche instruments of soun,
 That Orpheus, ne of Thebes Amphion
 Ne maden never swiche a melodie;
 At every cours in cam loude minstralcie,
 That never Joab tromped^w, for to here,
 Ne he Theodamas yet half so clere,
 At Thebes, whan the citee was in doute^y.
 Bacchus the win hem skinketh^z al aboute,
 And Venus laugheth upon every wight,
 For January was become hire knight,
 And wolde bothe assaien his corage
 In libertee and eke in mariage,
 And with hire firebronde in hire hond aboute
 Danceth before the bride and al the route.
 And certainly I dare right wel say this,
 Ymeneus that god of wedding is
 Saw never his life so mery a wedded man.
 Hold thou thy pees, thou poet Marcian^a,
 That writest us that ilke wedding mery
 Of hire Philologie and him Mercurie,

Albani, p. 92. And again the same writer says, that a cup, with a foot, or stand, was not permitted in the hall of the monastery, "Nisi tantum in MAJORI MENSA quam DAIS appellamus." Addit. p. 148. There is an old French word, DAIS, which signifies a throne, or canopy, usually placed over the head of the principal person at a magnificent feast. Hence it was transferred to the table at which he sate. In the antient French *Roman de Garin*;

Au plus haut DAIS sist roy Anseis.

Either at the first table, or, which is much the same thing, under the highest canopy.

[I apprehend that [dais] originally signified the wooden floor [d'ais Fr. de assibus Lat.] which was laid at the upper end of the hall, as we still see it in college halls &c. That part of the room there-

fore which was floored with planks, was called the *dais* (the rest being either the bare ground, or at best paved with stone); and being raised above the level of the other parts, it was often called the *high dais*. As the principal table was always placed upon a dais, it began very soon, by a natural abuse of words, to be called itself a *dais*; and people were said to sit at the *dais*, instead of at the table upon the *dais*. Menage, whose authority seems to have led later antiquaries to interpret *dais* a canopy, has evidently confounded *deis* with *ders*, [which] as he observes, meant properly the hangings at the back of the company. But as the same hangings were often drawn over, so as to form a kind of canopy over their heads, the whole was called a *ders*.—T.]

^w "such as Joab never," &c.

^y danger.

^z fill, pour.

^a See supr. p. 227.

And of the songes that the Muses songe;
 To smal is both thy pen, and eke thy tonge.
 For to descriven of his mariage,
 Whan tendre Youth hath wedded stouping Age.—
 MAIUS that sit with so benigne a chere
 Hire to behold it semed faerie^a:
 Quene Hester loked never with swiche an eye
 On Assuere, so meke a loke hath she:
 I may you not devise al hire beautee,
 But thus moch of hire beautee tel I may
 That she was like the brighte morwe of May,
 Fulfilled of all beautee and plesance.
 This JANUARY is ravished in a trance
 At every time he loketh in hire face,
 But in his herte he gan hire to manace, &c.^b

Dryden and Pope have modernised the two last-mentioned poems. Dryden the tale of the NONNES PRIEST, and Pope that of JANUARY and MAY: intending perhaps to give patterns of the best of Chaucer's Tales in the comic species. But I am of opinion that the MILLER'S TALE has more true humour than either. Not that I mean to palliate the levity of the story, which was most probably chosen by Chaucer in compliance with the prevailing manners of an unpolished age, and agreeable to ideas of festivity not always the most delicate and refined. Chaucer abounds in liberties of this kind, and this must be his apology. So does Boccacio, and perhaps much more, but from a different cause. The licentiousness of Boccacio's tales, which he composed *per cacciar le malincolia delle femine*, to amuse the ladies, is to be vindicated, at least accounted for, on other principles: it was not so much the consequence of popular incivility, as it was owing to a particular event of the writer's age. Just before Boccacio wrote, the plague at Florence had totally changed the customs and manners of the people. Only a few of the women had survived this fatal malady;

^a A phantasy, enchantment.

^b v. 1225. Urr.

who having lost their husbands, parents, or friends, gradually grew regardless of those constraints and customary formalities which before of course influenced their behaviour. For want of female attendants, they were obliged often to take men only into their service: and this circumstance greatly contributed to destroy their habits of delicacy, and gave an opening to various freedoms and indecencies unsuitable to the sex, and frequently productive of very serious consequences. As to the monasteries, it is not surprising that Boccacio should have made them the scenes of his most libertine stories. The plague had thrown open their gates. The monks and nuns wandered abroad, and partaking of the common liberties of life, and the levities of the world, forgot the rigour of their institutions, and the severity of their ecclesiastical characters. At the ceasing of the plague, when the religious were compelled to return to their cloisters, they could not forsake their attachment to these secular indulgences; they continued to practise the same free course of life, and would not submit to the disagreeable and unsocial injunctions of their respective orders. Cotemporary historians give a shocking representation of the unbounded debaucheries of the Florentines on this occasion: and ecclesiastical writers mention this period as the grand epoch of the relaxation of monastic discipline. Boccacio did not escape the censure of the Church for these compositions. His conversion was a point much laboured; and in expiation of his follies, he was almost persuaded to renounce poetry and the heathen authors, and to turn Carthusian. But, to say the truth, Boccacio's life was almost as loose as his writings; till he was in great measure reclaimed by the powerful remonstrances of his master Petrarch, who talked much more to the purpose than his confessor. This Boccacio himself acknowledges in the fifth of his eclogues, which like those of Petrarch are enigmatical and obscure, entitled PHILOSOTROPHOS.

But to return to the MILLER'S TALE. The character of the Clerke of Oxford, who studied astrology, a science then in high repute, but under the specious appearance of decorum, and the

mask of the serious philosopher, carried on intrigues, is painted with these lively circumstances.

This clerk was cleped hendy Nicholas^c,
 Of dernè^d love he coude and of solas :
 And therto he was slie, and ful prive,
 And like a maiden meke for to se.
 A chambre had he in that hostelrie^e
 Alone, withouten any compaignie,
 Ful fetisly ydight with herbes sote^f;
 And he himself was swete as is the rote^g
 Of licoris, or any setewale^h.
 His almagesteⁱ, and bokes grete and smale,
 His astrelabre^k longing for his art,
 His augrim stones^l layen faire apart,
 On shelves, couched at his beddes hed;
 His presse^m ycovered with a falding red :

^c the gentle Nicholas.

^d secret.

^e *Hospitium*, one of the old hostels at Oxford, which were very numerous before the foundation of the colleges. This is one of the citizens houses : a circumstance which gave rise to the story.

^f sweet.

^g root.

^h the herb Valerian.

ⁱ A book of astronomy written by Ptolemy. It was in thirteen books. He wrote also four books of judicial astrology. He was an Egyptian astrologist, and flourished under Marcus Antoninus. He is mentioned in the *Sompnour's Tale*, v. 1025, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 324.

^k asterlabore ; an astrolabe.

^l stones for computation. Augrim is *Algorithm*, the sum of the principal rules of common arithmetic. Chaucer was himself an adept in this sort of knowledge. The learned Selden is of opinion, that his *Astrolabe* was compiled from the Arabian astronomers and mathematicians. See his pref. to Notes on Drayt. Polyolb. p. 4. where the word *Dulcar-non* (Troil. Cr. iii. 933, 935.) is explained to be an Arabic term for a root in calculation. His CHANON YEMAN'S TALE proves his intimate acquaintance with the Hermetic philosophy, then much

in vogue. There is a statute of Henry the Fifth, against the transmutation of metals, in Statut. an. 4. Hen. V. cap. iv. viz. A.D. 1416. Chaucer, in the *Astrolabe*, refers to two famous mathematicians and astronomers of his time, John Some, and Nicholas Lynne, both Carmelite friars of Oxford, and perhaps his friends, whom he calls "reverent clerkes." *Astrolabe*, p. 440. col. i. Urr. They both wrote calendars, which, like Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, were constructed for the meridian of Oxford. Chaucer mentions Alcabucius, an astronomer, that is, Abdilazi Alchabitius, whose *Isagoge in astrologiam* was printed at Venice, 1485, 4to. Ib. fol. 440. col. ii. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 963. b. V. KETAB. *Alasthorlab*. p. 141. a. Nicholas Lynne above mentioned is said to have made several voyages to the most northerly parts of the world, charts of which he presented to Edward the Third. Perhaps to Iceland, and the coasts of Norway, for astronomical observations. These charts are lost. Hakluyt apud Anderson. Hist. Com. i. p. 191. sub ann. 1360. (See Hakl. Voy. i. 121. seq. ed. 1598.)
^m press.

And all above there lay a gay sautrieⁿ,
 On which he made on nightes melodie
 So swetely that al the chambre rong,
 And *Angelus ad Virginem* he song^o.

In the description of the young wife of our philosopher's host, there is great elegance with a mixture of burlesque allusions. Not to mention the curiosity of a female portrait, drawn with so much exactness at such a distance of time.

Fayre was this yongè wife, and therewithal
 As any wesel^p hire body gent and smal.
 A seint she wered, barred all of silk^r,
 A barmecloth^s eke, as white as morwe milk,
 Upon hire lendes, ful of many a gore^t.
 White was hire smok, and brouded all before^u,
 And eke behind, on hire colere aboute,
 Of coleblak silk, within, and eke withoute.
 The tapes^w of hire whitè volipere^x
 Were of the samè suit of hire colere^y.
 Hire fillet^z brode of silk, and set full hye,
 And sikerly^a she had a likerous eye.
 Ful smal ypulled^b were hire browes two,
 And thy^c were bent^d and black as any slo.
 And she was wel more blisful on to see
 Than is the newè perienet^e tree;
 And softer than the wolfe is of a wether:
 And by hire girdle heng a purse of lether,

ⁿ psaltery; an instrument like a harp.

^o v. 91. p. 24. Urr.

^p weasle.

^r "A girdle edged with silk." But we have no exact idea of what is here meant by *barrid*. The DOCTOR OF PHISICKE is "girt with a *seint* of silk with *barris* smale." Prol. v. 138. I once conjectured *barded*. See Hollingsh. Chron. iii. 84. col. ii. 850. col. 1. &c. &c. [See supr. p. 213, note ¹.]

^s apron.

^t plait; fold.

^u edged; adorned.

^w tapes; strings.

^x head-dress.

^y collar.

^z knot; top-knot.

^a certainly.

^b "made small or narrow, by plucking."

^c they.

^d arched.

^e a young pear-tree. Fr. *Poir jeunet*.

Tasseled^b with silk, and perlid^c with latoun^d.
 In all this world to seken up and doun,
 There nis no man so wise that coudè thenche
 So gay a popelot^e or swiche a wenche.
 Full brighter was the shining of hire hewe
 Than in the Tour the noble^f yforged newe.
 But of hire song, it was as loud and yerne^g,
 As any swallow sitting on a berne.
 Therto she coude skip, and make a game,
 As any kid or calf folowing his dame.
 Hire mouth was swete as braket^h or the meth,
 Or hord of appels laid in hay or heth.
 Winsing she was as is a joly colt,
 Long as a mast, and upright as a boltⁱ.
 A broche^k she bare upon hire low colere
 As brode as is the bosse of a bokelere^l.
 Hire shoon were laced on hire legges hie, &c.^m

Nicholas, as we may suppose, was not proof against the charms of his blooming hostess. He has frequent opportunities of conversing with her; for her husband is the carpenter of Oseney Abbey near Oxford, and often absent in the woods belonging to the monasteryⁿ. His rival is Absalom, a parish-clerk, the gaiest of his calling, who being amorously inclined,

^b tasseled; fringed.

^c I would read *purfild*. [I believe ornamented with latoun in the shape of pearls.—T. An expression used by Francis Thynne in his letter to Speght will explain this term: *Orfrayes* being compounded of the French *or* and *frays*, (or *fryse* English,) is that which to this daye (being now made all of one stuffe or substance) is called *frised* or *perled* cloth of gold.—EDIT.]

^d latoun, or chekelaton, is cloth of gold.

^e “so pretty a puppet.” [This may either be considered as a diminutive from *poupée* a puppet, or as a corruption of *papillot*, a young butterfly.—T.]

^f a piece of money.

^g shrill; [brisk, eager. T.]

^h bragget. A drink made of honey, spices, &c.

ⁱ “straight as an arrow.”

^k a jewel. [It seems to have signified originally the tongue of a buckle or clasp, and from thence the buckle or clasp itself. It probably came by degrees to signify any kind of jewel.—T.]

^l buckler.

^m v. 125, Urr.

ⁿ See v. 557.

—I trow that he bewent
 For timber, there our abbot hath him
 sent:

For he is wont for timber for to go,
 And dwellin at the grange a day or two,

very naturally avails himself of a circumstance belonging to his profession: on holidays it was his business to carry the censer about the church, and he takes this opportunity of casting unlawful glances on the handsomest dames of the parish. His gallantry, agility, affectation of dress and personal elegance, skill in shaving and surgery, smattering in the law, taste for music, and many other accomplishments, are thus inimitably represented by Chaucer, who must have much relished so ridiculous a character.

Now was ther of that chirche a parish clerke,
 The which that was ycleped Absalon,
 Crulle was his here, and as the golde it shone,
 And strouted as a fannè large and brode,
 Ful streight and even lay his joly shode^o.
 His rode^p was red, his eyen grey as goos,
 With Poules windowes corven on his shoos^q.
 In hosen red he went ful fetisly:
 Yclad he was ful smal and properly
 All in a kirtel^r of a light waget,
 Ful faire, and thickè ben the pointes set:
 And therupon he had a gay surplise
 As white as is the blosme upon the rise^s.
 A mery child he was, so god me save,
 Wel coud he leten blod, and clippe, and shave.
 And make a chartre of lond and a quitance;
 In twenty manere coud he trip and dance,
 After the scole of Oxenforde tho,
 And with his legges casten to and fro.

^o hair.^p complexion.

^q See p. 215, note ^t. supr. [*Calcei fenestrati* occur in antient Injunctions to the clergy. In Eton-college statutes, given in 1446, the fellows are forbidden to wear *sotularia rostrata*, as also *caligæ*, white, red, or green. CAP. XIX. In a chantry, or chapel, founded at Winchester in the year 1318, within the cemetery of the Nuns of the Blessed Virgin, by Roger Inkpenne, the members, that

is, a warden, chaplain and clerk, are ordered to go "in meris caligis, et sotularibus non rostratis, nisi forsitan botis uti voluerunt." And it is added, "Vestes deferant non *fibulatas*, sed desuper clausas, vel brevitate non notandas." REGISTR. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MS. supr. citat. Quatern. 6. Compare Wilkins's CONCIL. iii. 670. ii. 4.—ADDITIONS.]

^r jacket.^s hawthorn [branch].

And playen songes on a smal ribible^s,
Therto he song sometime a loud quinible^t.

His manner of making love must not be omitted. He serenades her with his guittar.

He waketh al the night, and al the day,
He kembeth his lockes brode, and made him gay.
He woeth her by menes and brocage^u,
And swore he wolde ben hire owen page.
He singeth brokking^w as a nightingale.
He sent hire pinnes, methe, and spiced ale,
And wafres piping hot out of the glede^y,
And, for she was of toun, he profered mede^z.—

^s v. 224. A species of guittar. Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairf. 16. In a poem, never printed, called *Reason and Sensuallite*, compyled by Jhon Lydgate.

Lutys, rubibis (l. ribibles), and geternes, More for estatys than tavernes.

^t treble.

^u by offering money: or a settlement.

^w quavering.

^y the coals; the oven.

^z See RIME OF SIR THOPAS, v. 3357. p. 146. Urr. Mr. Walpole has mentioned some curious particulars concerning the liquors which antiently prevailed in England. Anecd. Paint. i. p. 11. I will add, that cyder was very early a common liquor among our ancestors. In the year 1295, an. 23 Edw. I. the king orders the sheriff of Southamptonshire to provide with all speed four hundred quarters of wheat, to be collected in parts of his bailiwick nearest the sea, and to convey the same, being well winnowed, in good ships from Portsmouth to Winchelsea. Also to put on board the said ships, at the same time, two hundred tons of cyder. Test. R. apud Canterbury. The cost to be paid immediately from the king's wardrobe. This precept is in old French. Registr. Joh. Pontissar. Episc. Winton. fol. 172. It is remarkable that Wickliffe translates, Luc. i. 21. "He schal not drinke wyn ne sydyr." This translation was made about A. D. 1380. At a visitation of St. Swi-

thin's priory at Winchester, by the said bishop, it appears that the monks claimed to have, among other articles of luxury, on many festivals, "Vinum, tam album quam rubeum, claretum, medonem, burgastrum," &c. This was so early as the year 1285. Registr. Priorat. S. Swith. Winton. MS. supr. citat. quatern. 5. It appears also, that the *Hordarius* and *Cammerarius* claimed every year of the prior ten *dolia vini*, or twenty pounds in money, A. D. 1337. Ibid. quatern. 5. A benefactor grants to the said convent on the day of his anniversary, "unam pipam vini pret. xx.s." for their refection, A. D. 1286. Ibid. quatern. 10. Before the year 1200, "Vina et medones" are mentioned as not uncommon in the abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire. Stevens Monast. Append. p. 138. The use of mead, *medo*, seems to have been very antient in England. See Mon. Angl. i. 26. Thorne, Chron. sub ann. 1114. Compare DISSERTAT. i. [It is not my intention to enter into the controversy concerning the cultivation of vines, for making wine, in England. I shall only bring to light the following remarkable passage on that subject from an old English writer on gardening and farming. "We might have a reasonable good wine growyng in many places of this realme: as undoubtedly wee had immediately after the Conquest; tyll partly by slouthfulness, not liking any thing long that is painefull, partly by civill discord long

Sometime to shew his lightnesse and maistrie
He plaieth herode^a on a scaffold hie.

Again,

Whan that the firste cocke hath crowe anon,
Uprist this joly lover Absolon;
And him arayeth gay at point devise.
But first he cheweth grein^b and licorise,
To smellen sote, or he had spoke with here.
Under his tonge a trewe love he bere,
For therby wend he to ben gracious;
He cometh to the carpenteres hous^c.

In the mean time the scholar, intent on accomplishing his intrigue, locks himself up in his chamber for the space of two days. The carpenter, alarmed at this long seclusion, and supposing that his guest might be sick or dead, tries to gain admittance, but in vain. He peeps through a crevice of the door, and at length discovers the scholar, who is conscious that he was seen, in an affected trance of abstracted meditation. On this our carpenter, reflecting on the danger of being wise, and exulting in the security of his own ignorance, exclaims,

continuyng, it was left, and so with tyme lost, as appeareth by a number of places in this realme that keepe still the name of Vineyardes: and uppon many cliffes and hilles, are yet to be seene the rootes and olde remaynes of Vines. There is besides Nottingham, an auncient house called Chilwell, in which house remayneth yet, as an auncient monument, in a Great Wyndowe of Glasse, the whole Order of planting, pruyning, [pruning,] stamping and pressing of vines. Beside, there [at that place] is yet also growing an old vine, that yields a grape sufficient to make a right good wine, as was lately proved.—There hath, moreover, good experience of late yeeares been made, by two noble and honorable barons of this realme, the lorde Cobham and the lorde Wylliams of Tame, who had both growyng about their houses, as good wines as are in many parts of Fraunce," &c. Barnabie Googe's *FOURE BOOKES OF*

HUSBANDRY, &c. Lond. 1578. 4to. To THE READER.—ADDITIONS.]

^a Speght explains this "feats of activity, furious parts in a play." Gloss. Ch. Urr. Perhaps the character of HEROD in a MYSTERY. [The old reading was "heraudes."]

^b Greyns, or grains, of Paris, or Paradise, occurs in the ROMANT OF THE ROSE. v. 1369. A rent of herring pies is an old payment from the city of Norwich to the king, seasoned among other spices with half an ounce of grains of Paradise. Blomf. Norf. ii. 264.

^c v. 579. It is to be remarked, that in this tale the carpenter swears, with great propriety, by the patroness saint of Oxford, saint Frideswide, v. 340.

This carpenter to blissin him began,
And seide now helpin us saint Frideswide.

A man wote litel what shal him betide !
 This man is fallen with his astronomie
 In som woodnesse, or in som agonie.
 I thought ay wel how that it shuldè be :
 Men shuldè not know^d of goddes privetee.
 Ya blessed be alway the lewed-man^e,
 That nought but only his beleve can^f.
 So ferd another clerke with astronomie ;
 He walked in the felde for to prie
 Upon the sterres what there shuld befallè
 Till he was in a marlèpit yfalle ;
 He saw not that. But yet, by seint Thomas,
 Me reweth sore of hendy Nicholas :
 He shall be rated for his studying.

But the scholar has ample gratification for this ridicule. The carpenter is at length admitted ; and the scholar continuing the farce, gravely acquaints the former that he has been all this while making a most important discovery by means of astrological calculations. He is soon persuaded to believe the prediction : and in the sequel, which cannot be repeated here, this humourous contrivance crowns the scholar's schemes with success, and proves the cause of the carpenter's disgrace. In this piece the reader observes that the humour of the characters is made subservient to the plot.

I have before hinted, that Chaucer's obscenity is in great measure to be imputed to his age. We are apt to form romantic and exaggerated notions about the moral innocence of our ancestors. Ages of ignorance and simplicity are thought to be ages of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the case. Rude periods have that grossness of manners which is not less friendly to virtue than luxury itself. In the middle ages, not only the most flagrant violations of modesty were frequently practised and permitted, but the most infamous vices.

^d "pry into the secrets of nature."
^e unlearned.

^f "Who knows only what he believes:" or, his Creed.

Men are less ashamed as they are less polished. Great refinement multiplies criminal pleasures, but at the same time prevents the actual commission of many enormities: at least it preserves public decency, and suppresses public licentiousness.

The REVES TALE, or the MILLER of TROMPINGTON, is much in the same style, but with less humourⁱ. This story was enlarged by Chaucer from Boccacio^k. There is an old English poem on the same plan, entitled, *A ryght pleasant and merye history of the Mylner of Abington, with his Wife and faire Daughter, and two poore Scholars of Cambridge*^l. It begins with these lines.

“Faïre lordinges, if you list to heere
A mery jest^m your minds to cheere.”

This piece is supposed by Wood to have been written by Andrew Borde, a physician, a wit, and a poet, in the reign of Henry the Eighthⁿ. It was at least evidently written after

ⁱ See also THE SHIPMAN'S TALE, which was originally taken from some comic French troubadour. But Chaucer had it from Boccacio. The story of Zenobia, in the MONKES TALE, is from Boccacio's Cas. Vir. Illustr. (See Lydg. Boch. viii. 7.) That of Hugolin of Pisa in the same Tale, from Dante. That of Pedro of Spain, from archbishop Turpin, *ibid.* Of Julius Cesar, from Lucan, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus, *ibid.* The idea of this TALE was suggested by Boccacio's book on the same subject.

^k Decamer. Giom. ix. Nov. 6. [But both Boccacio and Chaucer probably borrowed from an old CONTE, or FABLEAU, by an anonymous French rhymist, *De Gombert et des deux Clercs*. See FABLEAUX et CONTES, Paris, 1756. tom. ii. p. 115—124. The SHIPMAN'S TALE, as I have hinted, originally came from some such French FABLEOUR, through the medium of Boccacio.—ADDITIONS.]

^l A manifest mistake for Oxford, unless we read Trumpington for Abington, or retaining Abington we might read Oxford for Cambridge. [There is, however, Abington, with a mill-stream,

seven miles from Cambridge.] Imprint. at London by Rycharde Jones, 4to. Bl. Let. It is in Bibl. Bodl. Selden, C. 39. 4to. This book was probably given to that library, with many other petty black letter histories, in prose and verse, of a similar cast, by Robert Burton, author of the ANATOMY of MELANCHOLY, who was a great collector of such pieces. One of his books now in the Bodleian is the HISTORY of TOM THUMB; whom a learned antiquary, while he laments that antient history has been much disguised by romantic narratives, pronounces to have been no less important a personage than king Edgar's dwarf. ^m story.

ⁿ See Wood's Athen. Oxon. BORDE. And Hearne's Bened. Abb. i. Præfat. p. xl. lv. I am of opinion that Solere-Hall, in Cambridge, mentioned in this poem, was Aula Solarii. The hall, with the upper story, at that time a sufficient circumstance to distinguish and denominate one of the academical hospitia. Although Chaucer calls it, “a grete college,” v. 881. Thus in Oxford we had Chimney-hall, Aula cum Camino, an almost parallel proof of the simplicity of their antient houses of learning. Twyne

the time of Chaucer. It is the work of some tasteless imitator, who has sufficiently disguised his original, by retaining none of its spirit. I mention these circumstances, lest it should be thought that this frigid abridgment was the ground-work of Chaucer's poem on the same subject. In the class of humorous or satirical tales, the *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*, which exposes the tricks and extortions of the Mendicant friars, has also distinguished merit. This piece has incidentally been mentioned above with the *PLOWMAN'S TALE*, and *Pierce Plowman*.

Genuine humour, the concomitant of true taste, consists in discerning improprieties in books as well as characters. We therefore must remark under this class another tale of Chaucer, which till lately has been looked upon as a grave heroic narrative. I mean the *RIME OF SIR THOPAS*. Chaucer, at a period which almost realised the manners of romantic chivalry, discerned the leading absurdities of the old romances: and in this poem, which may be justly called a prelude to *Don Quixote*, has burlesqued them with exquisite ridicule. That this was the poet's aim, appears from many passages. But, to put the matter beyond a doubt, take the words of an ingenious critic. "We are to observe," says he, "that this was Chaucer's own Tale: and that, when in the progress of it, the good sense of the host is made to break in upon him, and interrupt him, Chaucer approves his disgust, and changing his note, tells the simple instructive Tale of *MELIBOEUS*, a *moral tale vertuous*, as he terms it; to show what sort of fictions were most expressive of real life, and most proper to be put into the hands of the people. It is further to be noted, that the *Boke of The Giant Olyphant, and Chylde Thopas*, was not a fiction of his own, but a story of antique fame, and very celebrated in the

also mentions Solere-hall, at Oxford. Also Aula Salarii, which I doubt not is properly Solarii. Compare Wood Ant. Oxon. ii. 11. col. i. 13. col. i. 12. col. ii. Caius will have it to be Clare-hall. Hist. Acad. p. 57. Those who read Scholars-hall (of Edw. III.) may consult Wacht. V. SOLLER. In the mean time, for the

reasons assigned, one of these two halls or colleges at Cambridge, might at first have been commonly called Soler-hall. A hall near Brazen-nose college, Oxford, was called Glazen-hall, having glass windows, antiently not common. See Twyne Miscel. quædam, &c. ad calc. Apol. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.

days of chivalry: so that nothing could better suit the poet's design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them^o." But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer's design was intended to ridicule the frivolous descriptions, and other tedious impertinencies, so common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age was overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expose a mode of fabling, whose sublime extravagancies constitute the marvellous graces of his own *CAMBUSCAN*; a composition which at the same time abundantly demonstrates, that the manners of romance are better calculated to answer the purposes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagination, and to produce surprise, than the fictions of classical antiquity.

^o See Dr. Hurd's *LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE*. Dialogues, &c. iii. 218. edit. 1765. [With regard to "The boke of The Giant Olyphant and Chylde Thopas, Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed: "I can only say that I have not

been so fortunate as to meet with any traces of such a story of an earlier date than the *Canterbury Tales*." And Mr. Ritson in language at once elegant and expressive, has pronounced the whole statement "a lye."—*EDIT.*]

SECTION XVII.

BUT Chaucer's vein of humour, although conspicuous in the *CANTERBURY TALES*, is chiefly displayed in the Characters with which they are introduced. In these his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give such an accurate picture of antient manners, as no contemporary nation has transmitted to posterity. It is here that we view the pursuits and employments, the customs and diversions, of our ancestors, copied from the life, and represented with equal truth and spirit, by a judge of mankind, whose penetration qualified him to discern their foibles or discriminating peculiarities; and by an artist, who understood that proper selection of circumstances, and those predominant characteristics, which form a finished portrait. We are surprised to find, in so gross and ignorant an age, such talents for satire, and for observation on life; qualities which usually exert themselves at more civilised periods, when the improved state of society, by subtilising our speculations, and establishing uniform modes of behaviour, disposes mankind to study themselves, and renders deviations of conduct, and singularities of character, more immediately and necessarily the objects of censure and ridicule. These curious and valuable remains are specimens of Chaucer's native genius, unassisted and unalloyed. The figures are all British, and bear no suspicious signatures of Classical, Italian, or French imitation. The characters of Theophrastus are not so lively, particular, and appropriated. A few *traites* from this celebrated part of our author, yet too little tasted and understood, may be sufficient to prove and illustrate what is here advanced.

The character of the *PRIORESSE* is chiefly distinguished by

an excess of delicacy and decorum, and an affectation of courtly accomplishments. But we are informed, that she was educated at the school of Stratford at Bow near London, perhaps a fashionable seminary for breeding nuns.

There was also a nonne a Prioressse
That of hire smiling was ful simple and coy;
Hire gretest othe n'as but by seint Eloy^b, &c.
And Frenche she spake full fayre and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frenche of Paris was to hire unknowe.
At metè^c was she wel ytaughte withalle;
She lette no morsel from hire lippes falle,

^b *Seyntè Loy*, i. e. Saint Lewis. [Sanctus Eligius. T. This saint is mentioned by Lyndsay in his *Monarchy*.] The same oath occurs in the *FREERE'S TALE*, v. 300. p. 88. Urr.

^c dinner. [The Prioress's exact behaviour at table, is copied from *ROM. ROSE*, 14178—14199.

Et bien se garde, &c.

To speak French is mentioned above, among her accomplishments. There is a letter in old French from queen Philippa, and her daughter Isabell, to the Priour of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, to admitt one Agnes Patshull into an eleemosynary sisterhood belonging to his convent. The Priour is requested to grant her, "Une Lyvere en votre Maison dieu de Wyncestere et estre un des soers," for her life. Written at *Windesor*, Apr. 25. The year must have been about 1350. *REGISTR. Priorat*. MS. supr. citat. Quatern. xix. fol. 4. I do not so much cite this instance to prove that the Priour must be supposed to understand French, as to shew that it was now the court language, and even on a matter of business. There was at least a great propriety, that the queen and princess should write in this language, although to an ecclesiastic of dignity. In the same Register, there is a letter in old French from the queen Dowager Isabell to the Priour and Convent of Winchester; to shew, that it was at her request, that king Edward the

Third her son had granted a church in Winchester diocese, to the monastery of Leedes in Yorkshire, for their better support, "a trouver sis chagnoignes chantans tous les jours en la chapele du Chastel de Ledes, pour laime madame Alianore reyne d'Angleterre," &c. A. D. 1341. Quatern. vi.

The Prioress's *greatest* oath is by Saint Eloy. I will here throw together some of the most remarkable oaths in the *Canterbury Tales*. The *Host*, swears by *my father's soule*. Urr. p. 7. 783. Sir THOMAS, by *ale and breade*. p. 146. 3377. ARCITE, by *my pan*, i. e. *head*. p. 10. 1167. THESEUS, by *mightie Mars the red*. p. 14. 1749. Again, *as he was a trew knight*. p. 9. 961. The CARPENTER's wife, by *saint Thomas of Kent*. p. 26. 183. The SMITH, by *Christes foote*. p. 29. 674. The CAMBRIDGE SCHOLAR, by *my father's kinn*. p. 31. 930. Again, by *my croune*. ib. 933. Again, for *godes benes*, or *benison*. p. 32. 965. Again, by *seint Cuthberde*. ib. 1019. Sir JOHAN of BOUNDIS, by *seint Martyne*. p. 37. 107. GAMELYN, by *goddis boke*. p. 38. 181. GAMELYN's brother, by *saint Richere*. ibid. 273. Again, by *Cristis ore*. ib. 279. A FRANKLEYN, by *saint Jame that in Galis is*, i. e. saint James of Galicia, p. 40. 549. 1514. A PORTER, by *Goddis berde*. ib. 581. GAMELYN, by *my hals*, or *neck*. p. 42. 773. The MAISTIR OUTLAW, by the *gode rode*. p. 45. 1265. The *Hoste*, by the *precious corpus Ma-*

Ne wette hire fingres in hire saucè depe;
 Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,
 Thatte no drope ne fell upon hire brest;
 In curtesie was sette ful moche hire lest^d.
 Hire overlippè wiped she so clene,
 That in hire cuppe was no ferthing sene
 Of gresè, whan she dronken hadde hire draught,
 Ful semely after hire mete she raught^e.—
 And peined hire to contrefeten chere
 Of court, and bene statelich of manere^f.

She has even the false pity and sentimentality of many modern ladies.

She was so charitable and so pitous,
 She woldè wepe if that she saw a mous
 Caughte in a trappe, if it were ded or bledde.
 Of smalè houndes hadde she that she fed
 With rosted flesh, and milk, and wastel brede^g:
 But sore wept she if on of hem were dede,
 Or if men smote it with a yerdè^h smert:
 And all was conscience and tendre herteⁱ.

The WIFE OF BATH is more amiable for her plain and useful qualifications. She is a respectable dame, and her chief pride consists in being a conspicuous and significant character at church on a Sunday.

Of clothmaking^k she haddè swiche an haunt
 She passed hem of Ipres and of Gaunt^l.

drian. p. 160. 4. Again, by *saint Paulis bell*. p. 168. 893. The MAN of LAWE, *Depardeux*. p. 49. 39. The MARCHAUNT, by *saint Thomas of Inde*. p. 66. 745. The SOMPNOUR, by *goddis armis two*. p. 82. 833. The HOSTE, by *cockis bonis*. p. 106. 2235. Again, by *naylis* and by *blode*, i. e. of Christ. p. 130. 1802. Again, by *saint Damian*. p. 131. 1824. Again, by *saint Runion*. ib. 1834. Again, by *Corpus domini*. ib. 1838. The RIOTTOUR, by *Goddis digne bones*. p. 135. 2211. The HOSTE, to the Monke, by *your father kin*.

p. 160. 43. The MONKE, by his *porthose*, or *breviary*. p. 139. 2639. Again, by *God and saint Martin*. ib. 2656. The HOSTE, by *armis, blode and bonis*. p. 24. 17. —ADDITIONS.] ^d pleasure, desire.

^e literally, *stretched* [reached].

^f Prol. v. 124.

^g bread of a finer sort.

^h stick. ⁱ v. 143.

^k It is to be observed, that she lived in the neighbourhood of Bath; a country famous for clothing to this day.

^l See above, p. 9, note.

In all the parish, wif ne was there non
 That to the offring bifore hire shulde gon;
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
 That she was out of alle charite.
 Hire coverchiefs^m weren ful fine of ground,
 I dorste swere they weyeden a pound,
 That on the sonday were upon hire hede:
 Her hosen weren of fine scarlet rede,
 Full streite iteyed, and shoon ful moist and newe:
 Bold was hire face, and fayre and rede of hew.
 She was a worthy woman all hire live:
 Housbondes at the chirche doreⁿ had she had five.^o

The FRANKLEIN is a country gentleman, whose estate consisted in free land, and was not subject to feudal services or payments. He is ambitious of shewing his riches by the plenty of his table: but his hospitality, a virtue much more practicable among our ancestors than at present, often degenerates into luxurious excess. His impatience if his sauces were not sufficiently poignant, and every article of his dinner in due form and readiness, is touched with the hand of Pope or Boileau. He had been a president at the sessions, knight of the shire, a sheriff, and a coroner^p.

An housholder, and that a grete, was he:
 Seint Julian he was in his contree^q.

^m head-dress.

ⁿ At the southern entrance of Norwich cathedral, a representation of the ESPOUSALS, or sacrament of marriage, is carved in stone; for here the hands of the couple were joined by the priest, and great part of the service performed. Here also the bride was endowed with what was called *Dos ad ostium ecclesiæ*. This ceremony is exhibited in a curious old picture engraved by Mr. Walpole, where king Henry the Seventh is married to his queen, standing at the façade or western portal of a magnificent Gothic church. Anecd. Paint. i. 31. Compare

Marten. Rit. Eccl. Anecd. ii. p. 630. And Hearne's Antiquit. Glastonb. Append. p. 310.

^o v. 449.

^p An office antiently executed by gentlemen of the greatest respect and property.

^q Simon the leper, at whose house our Saviour lodged in Bethany, is called, in the Legends, *Julian the good herborow*, and bishop of Bethpage. In the TALE OF BERYN, St. Julian is invoked to revenge a traveller who had been traitrously used in his lodgings. See Urr. Ch. p. 599. v. 625.

His brede, his ale, was alway after on ;
 A better envyned^r man was no wher non.
 Withouten bake mete never was his hous
 Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous,
 It snewed^s in his hous of mete and drinke,
 Of alle deintees that men coud of thinke.
 After the sondry sesons of the yere,
 So changed he his mete^t, and his soupere.
 Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
 And many a breme, and many a luce^u, in stewe.
 Wo was his coke, but if his saucè were
 Poinant and sharpe, and ready all his gere !
 His table dormant^w in his halle alway,
 Stode redy covered, all the longè day.^x

The character of the Doctor of PHISICKE preserves to us the state of medical knowledge, and the course of medical erudition then in fashion. He treats his patients according to rules of astronomy: a science which the Arabians engrafted on medicine.

For he was grounded in astronomie :
 He kept his patient a ful gret dele
 In houres by his magike naturel.^y

Petrarch leaves a legacy to his physician John de Dondi, of Padua, who was likewise a great astronomer, in the year 1370^z. It was a long time before the medical profession was purged from these superstitions. Hugo de Evesham, born in Worcestershire, one of the most famous physicians in Europe about the year 1280, educated in both the universities of England, and at others in France and Italy, was eminently skilled in mathematics and astronomy^a. Pierre d'Apono, a celebrated professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua, wrote commentaries on the problems of Aristotle, in the year 1310. Roger

^r [stored with wine. T.]

^s snowed,

^u pike,

^t dinner.

^w never removed.

^x v. 356.

^y v. 416.

^z See Acad. Inscript. xx. 443.

^a Pits. p. 370. Bale, iv. 50. xiii. 86.

Bacon says, "*astronomiæ pars melior medicina*^b." In the statutes of New-College at Oxford, given in the year 1387, medicine and astronomy are mentioned as one and the same science. Charles the Fifth king of France, who was governed entirely by astrologers, and who commanded all the Latin treatises which could be found relating to the stars, to be translated into French, established a college in the university of Paris for the study of medicine and astrology^c. There is a scarce and very curious book, entitled, "*Nova medicinæ methodus curandi morbos ex mathematica scientia deprompta, nunc denuo revisa, &c.* Joanne Hasfurto Virdungo, medico et astrologo doctissimo, auctore, Haganoæ excus. 1518^d." Hence magic made a part of medicine. In the MARCHAUNTS second tale, or HISTORY OF BERYN, falsely ascribed to Chaucer, a surgical operation of changing eyes is partly performed by the assistance of the occult sciences.

—The whole science of all surgery,
Was unyd, or the chaunge was made of both eye,
With many sotill enchantours, and eke nygrymauncers,
That sent wer for the nonis, maistris, and scoleris.^e

Leland mentions one William Glatisaunt, an astrologer and physician, a fellow of Merton college in Oxford, who wrote a medical tract, which, says he, "*nescio quid MAGIÆ spirabat*^f." I could add many other proofs^g.

The books which our physician studied are then enumerated.

Well knew he the old Esculapius,
And Dioscorides, and eke Rufus,
Old Hippocras, Hali, and Gallien,
Serapion, Rasis, and Avicen,
Averrois, Damascene, and Constantin,
Bernard, and Gattisden, and Gilbertin.

^b Bacon, Op. Maj. edit. Jebb, p. 158.
See also p. 240. 247.

^c Montfaucon, Bibl. Manuscript. tom. ii. p. 791. b.

^d In quarto.

^e v. 2989. Urr. Ch.

^f Lel. apud Tann. Bibl. p. 262. And Lel. Script. Brit. p. 400.

^g See Ames's Hist. Print. p. 147.

Rufus, a physician of Ephesus, wrote in Greek, about the time of Trajan. Some fragments of his works still remain^b. Haly was a famous Arabic astronomer, and a commentator on Galen, in the eleventh century, which produced so many famous Arabian physiciansⁱ. John Serapion, of the same age and country, wrote on the practice of physic^k. Avicen, the most eminent physician of the Arabian school, flourished in the same century^l. Rhasis, an Asiatic physician, practised at Cordoua in Spain, where he died in the tenth century^m. Averroes, as the Asiatic schools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of those philosophers who adorned the Moorish schools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a professor in the university of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Aristotle's works, and died about the year 1160. He was styled the most *Peripatetic* of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordoua of an antient Arabic familyⁿ. John Damascene, secretary to one of the Caliphs, wrote in various sciences, before the Arabians had entered Europe, and had seen the Grecian philosophers^o. Constantinus Afer, a monk of Cassino in Italy, was one of the Saracen physicians who brought medicine into Europe, and formed the Salernitan school, chiefly by translating various Arabian and Grecian medical books into Latin^p. He was born at Carthage: and learned grammar,

^b Conring. Script. Com. Sæc. i. cap. 4. p. 66. 67. The Arabians have translations of him. Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 972. b. 977. b.

ⁱ Id. ibid. Sæc. xi. cap. 5. p. 114. Haly, called Abbas, was likewise an eminent physician of this period. He was called "Simia Galeni" Id. ibid.

^k Id. ibid. p. 113, 114.

^l Id. ibid. See Pard. T. v. 2407. Urr. p. 136.

^m Conring. ut supr. Sæc. x. cap. 4. p. 110. He wrote a large and famous work, called *Continens*. Rhasis and Almasor, (f. Albumasar, a great Arabian astrologer,) occur in the library of Peterborough Abby, Matric. Libr. Monast. Burgi S. Petri. Gunton, Peterb. p. 187. See Hearne, Ben, Abb. Præf. lix.

ⁿ Conring. ut supr. Sæc. xii. cap. 2. p. 118.

^o Voss. Hist. Gr. L. ii. c. 24.

^p Petr. Diacon. de Vir. illustr. Monast. Cassin. cap. xxiii. See the DISSERTATIONS. He is again mentioned by our author in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1326. p. 71. Urr.

And lectuaries had he there full fine,
Soche as the cursid monk *Dan Constantine*

Hath written in his boke de Coitu.

The title of this book is "DE COITU, quibus prosit aut obsit, quibus medicaminibus et alimentis acuatur impediaturve." Inter Op. Basil. 1536. fol.

logic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and natural philosophy, of the Chaldees, Arabians, Persians, Saracens, Egyptians, and Indians, in the schools of Bagdat. Being thus completely accomplished in these sciences, after thirty-nine years study, he returned into Africa, where an attempt was formed against his life. Constantine, having fortunately discovered this design, privately took ship and came to Salerno in Italy, where he lurked some time in disguise. But he was recognised by the Caliph's brother then at Salerno, who recommended him as a scholar universally skilled in the learning of all nations, to the notice of Robert duke of Normandy. Robert entertained him with the highest marks of respect: and Constantine, by the advice of his patron, retired to the monastery of Cassino, where being kindly received by the abbot Desiderius, he translated in that learned society the books above mentioned, most of which he first imported into Europe. These versions are said to be still extant. He flourished about the year 1086^q. Bernard, or Bernardus Gordonius, appears to have been Chaucer's cotemporary. He was a professor of medicine at Montpellier, and wrote many treatises in that faculty^r. John Gatisden was a fellow of Merton college, where Chaucer was educated, about the year 1320^s. Pits says, that he was

^q See Leo Ostiensis; or P. Diac. Auctar. ad Leon. Chron. Mon. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 35. p. 445. Scriptor. Italic. tom. iv. Murator. In his book DE INCANTATIONIBUS, one of his inquiries is, *An invenerim in libris GRÆCORUM hoc qualiter in INDORUM libris est invenire*, &c. Op. tom. i. ut supr.

^r Petr. Lambec. Prodrom. Sæc. xiv. p. 274. edit. ut supr.

^s It has been before observed, that at the introduction of philosophy into Europe by the Saracens, the clergy only studied and practised the medical art. This fashion prevailed a long while afterwards. The Prior and Convent of S. Swithin's at Winchester granted to Thomas of Shaftesbury, clerk, a corrody, consisting of two dishes daily from the Prior's kitchen, bread, drink, robes,

and a competent chamber in the monastery, for the term of his life. In consideration of all which concessions, the said Thomas paid them fifty marcs; and moreover is obliged, "*deservire nobis in Arte medicinæ*. Dat. in dom. Capitul. Feb. 15. A. D. 1319." Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. supr. citat. The most learned and accurate Fabricius has a separate article on THEOLOGI MEDICI. Bibl. Gr. xii. 739. seq. See also Gianon. Istori. Neapol. l. x. ch. xi. § 491. In the romance of SIR GUY, a monk heals the knight's wounds. Signat. G. iiiii.

There was a *monke* beheld him well
That could of *leach crafte* some dell.

In G. of Monmouth, who wrote in 1128, Eopa intending to poison Ambro-

professor of physic in Oxford^t. He was the most celebrated physician of his age in England; and his principal work is entitled *ROSA MEDICA*, divided into five books, which was printed at Paris in the year 1492^u. Gilbertine, I suppose, is Gilbertus Anglicus, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a popular compendium of the medical art^w. About the same time, not many years before Chaucer wrote, the works of the most famous Arabian authors, and among the rest those of Avicenne, Averroes, Serapion, and Rhasis, above mentioned, were translated into Latin^x. These were our physician's library. But having mentioned his books, Chaucer could not forbear to add a stroke of satire so naturally introduced.

His studie was but litel on the *bible*.^y

The following anecdotes and observations may serve to throw general light on the learning of the authors who compose this curious library. The Aristotelic or Arabian philosophy continued to be communicated from Spain and Africa to the rest

sus, introduces himself as a physician. But in order to sustain this character with due propriety, he first shaves his head, and assumes the habit of a monk. lib. viii. c. 14. John Arundale, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was chaplain and first physician to Henry the Sixth, in 1458. Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 777. Faricius abbot of Abingdon, about 1110, was eminent for his skill in medicine; and a great cure performed by him is recorded in the register of the abbey. Hearne's *Bened. Abb. Præf.* xlvii. King John, while sick at Newark, made use of William de Wodestoke, abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Croxton, as his physician. Bever, *Chron. MSS. Harl.* apud Hearne, *Præf.* ut supr. p. xlix. Many other instances may be added. The physicians of the university of Paris were not allowed to marry till the year 1452. Menagian. p. 333. In the same university, antiently at the admission to the degree of doctor in physic, they took an oath that they were not married,

MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 249. [See Freind's *HIST. OF PHYSICK*, ii. 257.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^t p. 414.

^u Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 312. Leland styles this work, "opus luculentum juxta ac eruditum." *Script. Brit.* p. 355.

^w Conring. ut supr. *Sæc.* xiii. cap. 4. p. 127. And Leland. *Script. Brit.* p. 291. Who says, that Gilbert's *Practica et Compendium Medicinæ* was most carefully studied by many "ad quæstum prope-rantes." He adds, that it was common, about this time, for English students abroad to assume the surname *Anglicus*, as a plausible recommendation. [See more of Gilbertus Anglicus, *ibid.* p. 356.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^x Conring. ut supr. *Sæc.* xiii. cap. 4. p. 126. About the same time, the works of Galen and Hippocrates were first translated from Greek into Latin: but in a most barbarous style. *Id. ibid.* p. 127.

^y v. 440.

of Europe chiefly by means of the Jews: particularly to France and Italy, which were overrun with Jews about the tenth and eleventh centuries. About these periods, not only the courts of the Mahometan princes, but even that of the pope himself, were filled with Jews. Here they principally gained an establishment by the profession of physic; an art then but imperfectly known and practised in most parts of Europe. Being well versed in the Arabic tongue, from their commerce with Africa and Egypt, they had studied the Arabic translations of Galen and Hippocrates; which had become still more familiar to the great numbers of their brethren who resided in Spain. From this source also the Jews learned philosophy; and Hebrew versions made about this period from the Arabic, of Aristotle and the Greek physicians and mathematicians, are still extant in some libraries^y. Here was a beneficial effect of the dispersion and vagabond condition of the Jews: I mean the diffusion of knowledge. One of the most eminent of these learned Jews was Moses Maimonides, a physician, philosopher, astrologer, and theologian, educated at Cordoua in Spain under Averroes. He died about the year 1208. Averroes being accused of heretical opinions, was sentenced to *live with the Jews in the street of the Jews* at Cordoua. Some of these learned Jews began to flourish in the Arabian schools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. Many of the treatises of Averroes were translated by the Spanish Jews into Hebrew: and the Latin pieces of Averroes now extant were translated into Latin from these Hebrew versions. I have already mentioned the school or university of Cordoua. Leo Africanus speaks of “*Platea bibliothecariorum Cordouæ*.” This, from what follows, appears to be a street of booksellers. It was in the time of Averroes, and about the year 1220. One of our Jew philosophers having fallen in love, turned poet, and his verses were publicly sold in this street^z. My author says,

^y Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. 254.

^z Leo African. de Med. et Philosoph. Hebr. c. xxviii. xxix.

that renouncing the dignity of the Jewish doctor, he took to writing verses^a.

The SOMPNOUR, whose office it was to summon uncanonical offenders into the archdeacon's court, where they were very rigorously punished, is humourously drawn as counteracting his profession by his example: he is libidinous and voluptuous, and his rosy countenance belies his occupation. This is an indirect satire on the ecclesiastical proceedings of those times. His affectation of Latin terms, which he had picked up from the decrees and pleadings of the court, must have formed a character highly ridiculous.

And whan that he wel dronken had the win,
 Than wold he speken no word but Latine.
 A fewe termes coude he two or three,
 That he had lerned out of som decree.
 No wonder is, he herd it all the day:
 And eke ye knowen wel, how that a jay
 Can clepen watte* as wel as can the pope:
 But whoso wolde in other thing him grope^b,
 Than hadde he spent all his philosophie,
 Ay *questio quid juris* wolde he crie.^d

He is with great propriety made the friend and companion of the PARDONERE, or dispenser of indulgences, who is just arrived from the pope, "brimful of pardons come from Rome al hote:" and who carries in his wallet, among other holy curiosities, the virgin Mary's veil, and part of the sail of Saint Peter's ship.^e

The MONKE is represented as more attentive to horses and hounds than to the rigorous and obsolete ordinances of Saint

^a Leo, *ibid.* "Amore capitur, et DIGNITATE DOCTORUM POSTHABITA cœpit edere carmina." See also Simon, in *Suppl. ad Leon. Mutinens. de Ritib. Hebr.* p. 104.

* [So edit, 1561. See Johnson's Dictionary, in *MAGPIE*.—ADDITIONS.]

^b examine.

^d v. 639.

^e v. 670. seq.

Benedict. Such are his ideas of secular pomp and pleasure, that he is even qualified to be an abbot^f.

An outrider that loved venerie^g,
 A manly man, to ben an abbot able :
 Ful many a deinte hors hadde he in stable.—
 This ilkè^h monk lette old thinges pace,
 And held after the new world the trace.
 He yave not of the text a pulled henⁱ
 That saith, that hunters ben not holy men.^k

He is ambitious of appearing a conspicuous and stately figure on horseback. A circumstance represented with great elegance.

And whan he rode, men mighte his bridel here
 Gingeling in a whistling wind, as clere
 And eke as loude, as doth the chapel bell.^l

The gallantry of his riding-dress, and his genial aspect, is painted in lively colours.

I saw his sleeves purfiled^m at the hond,
 With grisⁿ, and that the finest of the lond.
 And for to fasten his hode under his chinne
 He hadde of gold ywrought a curious pinne,
 A love-knotte in the greter end ther was.
 His hed was balled, and shone as any glas,

^f There is great humour in the circumstances which qualify our monk to be an abbot. Some time in the thirteenth century, the prior and convent of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, appear to have recommended one of their brethren to the convent of Hyde as a proper person to be preferred to the abbacy of that convent, then vacant. These are his merits. "Est enim confrater ille noster in glosanda sacra pagina bene callens, in scriptura [transcribing] peritus, in capitalibus literis appingendis bonus artifex, in regula S. Benedicti instructissimus, psallendi doctissimus," &c. MS. Registr. ut supr. p. 277. These were the ostensible qualities of the master of

a capital monastery. But Chaucer, in the verses before us, seems to have told the real truth, and to have given the real character as it actually existed in life. I believe that our industrious *confrere*, with all his knowledge of glossing, writing, illuminating, chanting, and Benedict's rules, would in fact have been less likely to succeed to a vacant abbey, than one of the genial complexion and popular accomplishments here inimitably described.

^g hunting.

^h same.

ⁱ "He did not care a straw for the text," &c.

^k v. 176. seq.

^l See vol. i. p. 176.

^m fringed.

ⁿ fur.

And eke his face as it hadde ben anoint :
 He was a lord ful fat, and in good point.
 His eyen stepe, and rolling in his hed,
 That stemed as a forneis of a led.
 His botes souple, his hors in gret estat,
 Now certainly he was a fayre prelat !
 He was not pale as a forpined gost ;
 A fat swan loved he best of any rost.
 His palfrey was as broune as is a berry.^o

The FRERE, or friar, is equally fond of diversion and good living; but the poverty of his establishment obliges him to travel about the country, and to practise various artifices to provide money for his convent, under the sacred character of a confessor.

A frere there was, a wanton and a mery ;
 A limitour^p, a ful solempne man :
 In all the ordres foure^q is non that can
 So moche of daliance, and fayre langage.—
 Ful swetely herde he confession :
 Ful plesant was his absolution.
 His tippet was ay farsed ful of knives
 And pinnes for to given fayre wives.
 And certainly he had a mery note :
 Wel coude he singe and plaien on a rote^r.

^o v. 193.

^p A friar that had a particular grant for begging or hearing confessions within certain limits. See supr. p. 124. seq.

^q of Mendicants.

^r In Urry's Glossary this expression, *on a Rote*, is explained, *by Rote*. But a rote is a musical instrument. Lydgate, MSS. Fairfax, Bibl. Bodl. 16.

For ther was Rotys of Almayne,
 And eke of Arragon and Spayne.

Again, in the same manuscript,

Harpys, fithels, and eke rotys,
 Wel according to ther notys.

Where *fithels* is *fiddles*, as in the Prol. Cl. Oxenf. v. 298. So in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. fol. i. b. col. 2.

Rote, harpe, viole, et gigne, et siphonie.

I cannot help mentioning in this place, a pleasant mistake of bishop Morgan, in his translation of the New Testament into Welch; printed 1567. He translates the VIALS of *wrath*, in the Revelations, by *Crythan* i. e. *Crouds* or *Fiddles*, Rev. v. 8. The Greek is *φιάλαι*. Now it is probable that the bishop translated only from the English, where he found VIALS, which he took for VIOLS.

Of yeddinges^s he bare utterly the pris.—
 Ther n'as no man no wher so vertuous;
 He was the beste begger in all his hous^t.—
 Somewhat he lisped for his wantonnesse,
 To make his English swete upon his tonge;
 And in his harping, whan that he hadde songe,
 His eyen twinkeled in his hed aright
 As don the sterres in a frosty night.^u

With these unhallowed and untrue sons of the church is contrasted the PARSON, or parish-priest: in describing whose sanctity, simplicity, sincerity, patience, industry, courage, and conscientious impartiality, Chaucer shews his good sense and good heart. Dryden imitated this character of the GOOD PARSON, and is said to have applied it to bishop Ken.

The character of the SQUIRE teaches us the education and requisite accomplishments of young gentlemen in the gallant reign of Edward the Third. But it is to be remembered, that our squire is the son of a knight, who has performed feats of chivalry in every part of the world; which the poet thus enumerates with great dignity and simplicity.

At Alisandre' he was whan it was wonne,
 Ful often time he hadde the bord begonne^w,
 Aboven allè nations in Pruce^x.
 In Lettowe^y hadde he reysed and in Ruce:^z
 No cristen man so ofte of his degre
 In Gernade, at the siege eke hadde he be

^s yelding, i.e. dalliance. [The *Prompt. Parv.* makes *yedding* to be the same as *geste* which it explains thus: *geest* or *romaunce*, *gestio*. So that of *yeddinges* may perhaps mean of story-telling. T.

^t convent.

^u v. 208.

^w See this phrase explained above, p. 5, note ^k. I will here add a similar expression from Gower, *Conf. Amant.* lib. viii. fol. 177. b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

—Bad his marshall of his hall
 To setten him in such degre,
 That he upon him myght se.
 The kyng was soone sette and served:
 And he which had his prise deserved,
 After the kyngis own worde,
 Was made *begyn* a myddle *borde*.

That is, "he was seated in the middle of the table, a place of distinction and dignity."

^y Lithuania.

^x Prussia.

^z Russia.

Of Algesir^a, and ridden in Belmarie^b.
 At Leyes^c was he, and at Satalie^d,
 Whan they were wonne: and in the gretè see:
 At many a noble armee hadde he be:
 At mortal batailles had he ben fiftene,
 And foughten for our faith at Tramissene^e
 In lystes thries, and ay slain his fo.
 This ilkè worthy Knight hadde ben also
 Sometime with the lord of Palatie^f:
 Agen^g another hethen in Turkie.
 And evermore he hadde a sovereigne pris,
 And though that he was worthy he was wise.^h

The poet in some of these lines implies, that after the Christians were driven out of Palestine, the English knights of his days joined the knights of Livonia and Prussia, and attacked the pagans of Lithuania, and its adjacent territories. Lithu-

^a A city of Spain; perhaps Gibraltar. [Algesiras; a Spanish town on the opposite side of the bay of Gibraltar.—EDIT.]

^b Speght supposes it to be that country in Barbary which is called Benamarin. It is mentioned again in the KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 2632. p. 20. Urr.

Ne in *Balmarie* ther is no lion,
 That huntid is, &c.

By which at least we may conjecture it to be some country in Africa. Perhaps a corruption for Barbarie. [Froissart reckons it among the kingdoms of Africa: Thunes, Bovgie, Maroch, *Bellemarine*, Tremessen. The battle of Benamarin is said by a late author of *Viage de Espanna*, p. 73. n. 1. to have been so called: "por haber quedallo en ella Albohacen, Rey de Marruccos del linage de Aben Marin." Perhaps therefore the dominions of that family in Africa might be called abusively Benamarin, and by a further corruption Belmarie.—T.]

^c Some suppose it to be Lavissa, a city on the continent, near Rhodes. Others Lybissa, a city of Bithynia.

^d A city in Anatolia, called Atalia. Many of these places are mentioned in the history of the Crusades.

[The gulf and castle of Satalia are mentioned by Benedictus Abbas, in the Crusade under the year 1191. "Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab Antiochet, statim intravit *gulfum SATHALIÆ*.—*SATHALIÆ Castellum* est optimum, unde *gulfus* ille nomen accepit; et super *gulfum* illum sunt duo Castella et Villæ, et utrumque dicitur SATALIA. Sed unum illorum est desertum, et dicitur Vetus SATALIA quod piratæ destruxerunt, et alterum Nova SATALIA dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit." VIT. ET GEST. HENR. et RIC. ii. p. 680. Afterwards he mentions *Mare Græcum*, p. 683. That is, the Mediterranean from Sicily to Cyprus. I am inclined, in the second verse following, to read "Greke sea." *Leyis* is the town of Layas in Armenia.—ADDITIONS.]

^e "In the holy war at Thrasimene, a city in Barbary."

^f Palathia, a city in Anatolia. See Froissart, iii. 40.

^g against.

^h v. 51.

ania was not converted to christianity till towards the close of the fourteenth century. Prussian targets are mentioned, as we have before seen, in the *KNIGHT'S TALE*. Thomas duke of Gloucester, youngest son of king Edward the Third, and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards king Henry the Fourth, travelled into Prussia: and in conjunction with the grand Masters and Knights of Prussia and Livonia, fought the infidels of Lithuania. Lord Derby was greatly instrumental in taking Vilna, the capital of that country, in the year 1390^h. Here is a seeming compliment to some of these expeditions. This invincible and accomplished champion afterwards tells the heroic tale of *PALAMON* and *ARCITE*. His son the *SQUIER*, a youth of twenty years, is thus delineated.

And he hadde be somtime in chevachieⁱ
 In Flandres, in Artois, and in Picardie:
 And borne him wel, as of so litel space,
 In hope to stonden in his ladies grace.
 Embrouded was he as it were a mede
 Alle ful of freshe floures white and rede.
 Singing he was or floytyng alle the day,
 He was as freshe as is the moneth of May.
 Short was his goune with sleeves long and wide,
 Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride.
 He coude songes make, and wel endite,
 Juste, and eke dance, and well pourtraie, and write.^k

To this young man the poet, with great observance of decorum, gives the tale of *Cambuscan*, the next in knightly dignity to that of *Palamon* and *Arcite*. He is attended by a yeoman, whose figure revives the ideas of the forest laws.

And he was cladde in cote and hode of grene:
 A sheff of peacocke arwes bright and kene.^l

^h See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 122. seq. edit. 1598. See also Hakluyt's account of the conquest of Prussia by the Dutch Knights Hospitalaries of Jerusalem, *ibid*.

ⁱ Chivalry, riding, exercises of horsemanship, *Compl. Mar. Ven.* v. 144.

Ciclinus riding in his *chivauchie*
 From Venus. —————

^k v. 85.

^l *Comp. Gul. Waynflete*, *episc. Winton.* an. 1471. (*supr. citat.*) Among the stores of the bishop's castle of Farnham.

Under his belt he bare ful thriftily :
 Wel coude he dresse his takel yemanly :
 His arwes drouped not with fetheres lowe ;
 And in his hond he bare a mighty bowe.
 Upon his arm he bare a gaie bracer^m,
 And by his side a swerd and a bokeler.—
 A Cristofreⁿ on his brest of silver shene :
 A horne he bare, the baudrik was of grene.^o

The character of the REEVE, an officer of much greater trust and authority during the feudal constitution than at present, is happily pictured. His attention to the care and custody of the manors, the produce of which was then kept in hand for furnishing his lord's table, perpetually employs his time, preys upon his thoughts, and makes him lean and choleric. He is the terror of bailiffs and hinds: and is remarkable for his circumspection, vigilance, and subtlety. He is never in arrears, and no auditor is able to over-reach or detect him in his accounts: yet he makes more commodious purchases for himself than for his master, without forfeiting the good will or bounty of the latter. Amidst these strokes of satire, Chaucer's genius for descriptive painting breaks forth in this simple and beautiful description of the REEVE's rural habitation.

His wonning^p was ful fayre upon an heth,
 With grene trees yshadewed was his place.^q

In the CLERKE OF OXENFORDE our author glances at the

Arcus cum chordis. Et red. comp. de xxiv. arcubus cum xxiv. chordis de remanentia.—*Sagittæ magnæ.* Et de cxliv. sagittis magnis barbatis cum pennis pavonum.” In a *Computus* of bishop Gervays, episc. Winton. an. 1266. (supr. citat.) among the stores of the bishop's castle of Taunton, one of the heads or styles is, *Caudæ pavonum*, which I suppose were used for feathering arrows. In the articles of *Arma*, which are part of the episcopal stores of the said castle, I find enumerated one thousand four hundred and twenty-one great arrows for cross-bows, remaining over and above three hundred and seventy-one delivered

to the bishop's vassals *tempore guerre*. Under the same title occur cross-bows made of horn. Arrows with feathers of the peacock occur in Lydgate's Chronicle of Troy, B. iii. cap. 22. sign. O iii. edit. 1555. fol.

—Many good archers
 Of Boeme, which with their arrows kene,
 And with fethirs of pecocke freshe and
 shene, &c.

^m armour for the arms.

ⁿ A saint who presided over the weather. The patron of field sports.

^o v. 103.

^p dwelling.

^q v. 608.

inattention paid to literature, and the unprofitableness of philosophy. He is emaciated with study, clad in a thread-bare cloak, and rides a steed lean as a rake.

For he hadde gotten him yet no benefice,
 Ne was nought worldly to have an office:
 For him was lever^r han at his beddes hed
 A twenty bokes, clothed in black or red,
 Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
 Then robes riche, or fidel^s, or sautrie:
 But allbe that he was a philosophre,
 Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre.^t

His unwearied attention to logic had tintured his conversation with much pedantic formality, and taught him to speak on all subjects in a precise and sententious style.* Yet his conversation was instructive: and he was no less willing to submit than to communicate his opinion to others.

Souning in moral vertue was his speche,
 And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.^u

The perpetual importance of the SERJEANT OF LAWE, who by habit or by affectation has the faculty of appearing busy when he has nothing to do, is sketched with the spirit and conciseness of Horace.

No wher so besy a man as he ther n'as,
 And yet he semed besier than he was.^w

^r rather.

^s fiddle. See supr. p. 282, note ^r.

^t v. 293. Or it may be explained, "Yet he could not find the philosopher's stone."

* [This opinion is founded on the following passage:

Not a word spake he more than was nede
 And that was said in forme and reverence
 And short and quicke and ful of high sentence.

Mr. Tyrwhitt has given a happier and unquestionably a correcter interpretation of

these lines: "In forme and reverence:" with propriety and modesty. In the next line, "ful of high sentence" means only, I apprehend, full of high or excellent sense. Mr. Warton will excuse me for suggesting these explanations of this passage in lieu of those which he has given. The credit of good letters is concerned that Chaucer should not be supposed to have made a pedantic formality and a precise sententious style on all subjects the characteristics of a scholar.—TYRWHITT.] ^u v. 300.

^w v. 323. He is said to have "often yben at the parvise." v. 312. It is not

There is some humour in making our lawyer introduce the language of his pleadings into common conversation. He addresses the hoste,

Hoste, quoth he, *de pardeux jeo assent*.^x

The affectation of talking French was indeed general, but it is here appropriated and in character.

Among the rest, the character of the HostE, or master of the Tabarde inn where the pilgrims are assembled, is conspicuous. He has much good sense, and discovers great talents for managing and regulating a large company; and to him we are indebted for the happy proposal of obliging every pilgrim to tell a story during their journey to Canterbury. His interpositions between the tales are very useful and enlivening; and he is something like the chorus on the Grecian stage. He is of great service in encouraging each person to begin his part, in conducting the scheme with spirit, in making proper observations on the merit or tendency of the several stories, in settling disputes which must naturally arise in the course of such an entertainment, and in connecting all the narratives into one continued system. His love of good cheer, experience in marshalling guests, address, authoritative deportment, and facetious disposition, are thus expressively displayed by Chaucer.

Gret chere made our Hoste everich on,
And to the souper sette he us anon;

my design to enter into the disputes concerning the meaning or etymology of *parvis*: from which *parvisia*, the name for the public schools in Oxford, is derived. But I will observe, that *parvis* is mentioned as a court or portico before the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in John de Meun's part of the *Roman de la Rose*, v. 12529.

A Paris n'eust hommes ne femme
Au *parvis* devant Nostre Dame.

The passage is thus translated by Chaucer. *Rom. R.* v. 7157.

Ther n'as no wight in all Paris
Before our Ladie at *Parvis*.

The word is supposed to be contracted

from Paradise. This perhaps signified an ambulatory. Many of our old religious houses had a place called Paradise. In the year 1300, children were taught to read and sing in the *Parvis* of St. Martin's church at Norwich. *Blomf. Norf.* ii. 748. Our Serjeant is afterwards said to have received many *fees and robes*, v. 319. The serjeants and all the officers of the superior courts of law, antiently received winter and summer robes from the king's wardrobe. He is likewise said to cite cases and decisions, "that from the time of king William were full," v. 326. For this line see the very learned and ingenious Mr. Barrington's *Observations on the antient Statutes*.^x v. 309.

And served us with vitaille of the beste :
 Strong was his win, and wel to drinke us leste^y.
 A semely man our Hostè was with alle
 For to han ben a marshal in a halle.
 A largè man he was, with eyen stepe,
 A fairer burgeis is ther non in Chepe.^z
 Bold of his speche, and wise, and wel ytaught,
 And of manhood him lacked righte naught.
 Eke therto was he right a mery man, &c.^a

Chaucer's scheme of the *CANTERBURY TALES* was evidently left unfinished. It was intended by our author, that every pilgrim should likewise tell a Tale on their return from Canterbury^b. A poet who lived soon after the *CANTERBURY TALES* made their appearance, seems to have designed a supplement to this deficiency, and with this view to have written a Tale called the *MARCHAUNT'S SECOND TALE*, or the *HISTORY OF BERYN*. It was first printed by Urry, who supposed it to be Chaucer's^c. In the Prologue, which is of considerable length, there is some humour and contrivance: in which the author, happily enough, continues to characterise the pilgrims, by imagining what each did, and how each behaved, when they all arrived at Canterbury. After dinner was ordered at their inn, they all proceed to the cathedral. At entering the church one of the monks sprinkles them with holy water. The Knight

^y "we liked."

^z Cheapside.

^a Prol. v. 749.

^b Or rather, two on their way thither, and two on their return. Only Chaucer himself tells two tales. The poet says, that there were twenty-nine pilgrims in company: but in the *CHARACTERS* he describes more. Among the *TALES* which remain, there are none of the Prioress's Chaplains, the Haberdasher, Carpynter, Webbe, Dyer, Tapiser, and Hoste. The Chanon's Yeman has a *TALE*, but no *CHARACTER*. The Plowman's Tale is certainly supposititious. See *supr.* p. 142. And *Obs. Spens.* ii. 217. It is omitted

in the best manuscript of the *CANTERBURY TALES*, MSS. Harl. 1758. fol. membran. These *TALES* were supposed to be *spoken*, not *written*. But we have in the Plowman's, "For my *WRITING* me allow." v. 3309. Urr. And in other places. "For my *WRITING* if I have blame."—"Of my *WRITING* have me excus'd." etc. See a *NOTE* at the beginning of the *CANT. TALES*, MSS. Laud. K. 50. Bibl. Bodl. written by John Barcham. But the discussion of these points properly belongs to an editor of Chaucer. [See Mr. Tyrwhitt's *INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE* to the *Canterbury Tales*.—*EDIT.*]
^c Urr. Chauc. p. 595.

with the better sort of the company goes in great order to the shrine of Thomas a Becket. The Miller and his companions run staring about the church: they pretend to blazon the arms painted in the glass windows, and enter into a dispute in heraldry: but the Hoste of the Tabarde reproves them for their improper behaviour and impertinent discourse, and directs them to the martyr's shrine. When all had finished their devotions, they return to the inn. In the way thither they purchase toys for which that city was famous, called *Canterbury brochis*, and here much facetiousness passes betwixt the Frere and the Sompnour, in which the latter vows revenge on the former, for telling a Tale so palpably levelled at his profession, and protests he will retaliate on their return by a more severe story. When dinner is ended, the Hoste of the Tabarde thanks all the company in form for their several Tales. The party then separate till supper-time by agreement. The Knight goes to survey the walls and bulwarks of the city, and explains to his son the Squier the nature and strength of them. Mention is here made of great guns. The Wife of Bath is too weary to walk far; she proposes to the Prioress to divert themselves in the garden, which abounds with herbs proper for making salves. Others wander about the streets. The Pardoner has a low adventure, which ends much to his disgrace. The next morning they proceed on their return to Southwark: and our genial master of the Tabarde, just as they leave Canterbury, by way of putting the company into good humour, begins a panegyric on the morning and the month of April, some lines of which I shall quote, as a specimen of our author's abilities in poetical description.^c

Lo ! how the seson of the yere, and Averell^d shouris,
Doith^e the bushis burgyn^f out blossomes and flouris.
Lo ! the prymerosys of the yere, how fresh they bene to sene,
And many othir flouris among the grassis grene.

^c There is a good description of a magical palace, v. 1973—2076.

^d April.

^e make.

^f shoot.

Lo ! how they springe and sprede, and of divers hue,
Beholdith and seith, both white, red, and blue.
That lusty bin and comfortabyll for mannis sight,
For I say for myself it makith my hert to light.^s

On casting lots, it falls to the Marchaunt to tell the first tale, which then follows. I cannot allow that this Prologue and Tale were written by Chaucer. Yet I believe them to be nearly coeval.

Æ v. 690.

SECTION XVIII.

IT is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer, how much soever he may deserve it; nor can it be expected, that, in a work of this general nature, I should enter into a critical examination of all Chaucer's pieces. Enough has been said to prove, that in elevation, and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety: that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word, that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taste; and when to write verses at all, was regarded as a singular qualification. It is true, indeed, that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made considerable advances and improvements in poetry: and although proofs have already been occasionally given of his imitations from these sources, I shall close my account of him with a distinct and comprehensive view of the nature of the poetry which subsisted in France and Italy when he wrote: pointing out, in the mean time, how far and in what manner the popular models of those nations contributed to form his taste, and influence his genius.

I have already mentioned the troubadours of Provence, and have observed that they were fond of moral and allegorical fables^a. A taste for this sort of composition they partly acquired by reading Boethius, and the *PSYCHOMACHIA* of Pru-

^a See vol. i. p. 151. seq.

dentius, two favorite classics of the dark ages: and partly from the Saracens their neighbours in Spain, who were great inventors of apologues. The French have a very early metrical romance *DE FORTUNE ET DE FELICITE*, a translation from Boethius's book *DE CONSOLATIONE*, by Reynault de Louens a Dominican friar^b. From this source, among many others of the Provencial poems, came the Tournament of *ANTICHRIST* above mentioned, which contains a combat of the Virtues and Vices^c: the Romaunt of Richard de Lisle, in which *MODESTY* fighting with *LUST*^d is thrown into the river Seine at Paris: and, above all, the *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE*, translated by Chaucer, and already mentioned at large in its proper place. Visions were a branch of this species of poetry, which admitted the most licentious excursions of fancy in forming personifications, and in feigning imaginary beings and ideal habitations. Under these we may rank Chaucer's *HOUSE OF FAME*, which I have before hinted to have been probably the production of Provence†.

^b See Mem. Lit. tom. xviii. p. 741. 4to. And tom. vii. 293. 294. I have before mentioned John of Meun's translation of Boethius. It is in verse. John de Langres is said to have made a translation in prose, about 1336. It is highly probable that Chaucer translated Boethius from some of the French translations. In the Bodleian library there is an *EXPLANATIO* of Boethius's *CONSOLATION* by our countryman Nicholas Trevett, who died before 1329.

^c See *supr.* p. 121.

^d *PUTERIE*. Properly Bawdry, Obscenity. *MODESTY* is drowned in the river, which gives occasion to this conclusion, "*Dont vien que plus n'y a HONTE dans Paris.*" The author lived about the year 1300.

† [The ingenious editor of the *CANTERBURY TALES* treats the notion, that Chaucer imitated the Provencial poets, as totally void of foundation. He says, "I have not observed in any of his writings a single phrase or word, which has the least appearance of having been fetched from the South of the Loire. With respect to the manner and matter of his compositions, till some clear in-

stance of imitation be produced, I shall be slow to believe, that in either he ever copied the poets of Provence; with whose works, I apprehend, he had very little, if any acquaintance." vol. i. APPEND. PREF. p. xxxvi. I have advanced the contrary doctrine, at least by implication: and I here beg leave to explain myself on a subject materially affecting the system of criticism that has been formed on Chaucer's works. I have never affirmed, that Chaucer imitated the Provencial bards; although it is by no means improbable, that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the Provencial poetry entered deeply into the substance, cast, and character, of some of those French and Italian models, which he is allowed to have followed, he certainly may be said to have copied, although not immediately, the *matter* and *manner* of these writers. I have called his *HOUSE OF FAME* originally a Provencial composition. I did not mean that it was written by a Provencial troubadour: but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant style of fiction, which constitute the

But the principal subject of their poems, dictated in great measure by the spirit of chivalry, was love: especially among the troubadours of rank and distinction, whose castles being crowded with ladies, presented perpetual scenes of the most splendid gallantry. This passion they spiritualised into various metaphysical refinements, and filled it with abstracted notions of visionary perfection and felicity. Here too they were perhaps influenced by their neighbours the Saracens, whose philosophy chiefly consisted of fantastic abstractions. It is manifest, however, that nothing can exceed the profound pedantry with which they treated this favorite argument. They defined the essence and characteristics of true love with all the parade of a Scotist in his professorial chair: and bewildered their imaginations in speculative questions concerning the most desperate or the most happy situations of a sincere and sentimental heart^e. But it would be endless, and indeed ridiculous, to describe at length the systematical solemnity with which they cloathed this passion^f. The ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, which I have just alledged as a proof of their allegorising turn, is not less an instance of their affectation in writing on this subject: in which the poet, under the agency of allegorical personages, displays the gradual approaches and impediments to fruition, and intro-

essence of the Provençal poetry. As to the FLOURE AND THE LEAFE, which Dryden pronounces to have been composed *after their manner*, it is framed on the old allegorising spirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century. The ideas of these fablers had been so strongly imbibed, that they continued to operate long after Petrarch had introduced a more rational method of composition.—ADDITIONS.]

^e In the mean time the greatest liberties and indecencies were practised and encouraged. These doctrines did not influence the manners of the times. In an old French tale, a countess in the absence of her lord having received a knight into her castle, and conducted him in great state to his repose, will not suffer him to sleep alone: with infinite politeness she orders one of her damsels,

la plus cortoise et la plus bele, into his bed-chamber, *avec ce chevalier gesir*. Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 70. Not. 17.

^f This infatuation continued among the French down to modern times. “Les gens de qualité,” says the ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, “conservoient encore ce goût que leurs pères avoient pris dans nos anciennes cours: ce fut sans doute pour complaire à son fondateur, que l’Académie Française traita, dans ses premiers séances, plusieurs sujets qui concernoient l’AMOUR; et l’on vit encore dans l’hôtel du Longueville les personnes les plus qualifiées et le plus spirituelles du siècle de Louis XIV. se disputer à qui commenteroit et raffineroit le mieux sur la délicatesse du cœur et des sentimens, à qui feroit, sur ce chapitre, les distinctions le plus subtiles.” Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. P. v. pag. 17.

duces a regular disputation conducted with much formality between Reason and a lover. Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE is also formed on this philosophy of Gallantry. It is a lover's parody of Boethius's book DE CONSOLATIONE mentioned above. His poem called LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCY^g, and his ASSEMBLE OF LADIES, are from the same school^h. Chaucer's PRIORESSE and MONKE, whose lives were devoted to religious reflection and the most serious engagements, and while they are actually travelling on a pilgrimage to visit the shrine of a sainted martyr, openly avow the universal influence of love. They exhibit, on their apparel, badges entirely inconsistent with their profession, but easily accountable for from these principles. The Prioress wears a bracelet on which is inscribed, with a crowned A, *Amor vincit omnia*ⁱ. The Monke ties his hood with a true-lover's knot.^k The early poets of Provence, as I before hinted, formed a society called the COURT OF LOVE, which gave rise to others in Gascony, Languedoc, Poictou, and Dauphiny: and Picardy, the constant rival of Provence, had a similar institution called *Plaids et Gieux sous l'Ormel*. These establishments consisted of ladies and gentlemen of the highest rank, exercised and approved in courtesy, who tried with the most consummate ceremony, and decided with supreme authority, cases in love brought before their tribunal. Martial d'Avergne, an old French poet, for the diversion and at the request of the countess of Beaujeu, wrote a poem entitled ARRESTA AMORUM, or the Decrees of Love, which is a humorous description of the *Plaids* of Picardy. Fontenelle has recited one of their processes, which conveys an idea of all the rest^l. A queen of France was appealed to from an unjust

^g Translated or imitated from a French poem of Alain Chartier, v. 11.

Which Maistir Alayne made of remembrance

Chief secretary to the king of France.

He was secretary to Charles the Sixth and Seventh. But he is chiefly famous for his prose. [Alain Chartier was certainly living near *fifty* years after Chaucer's death, which makes it quite incredi-

ble, that the latter should have translated any thing of his. In MS. Harl. 372. La belle Dame sans Mercie is attributed to Sir Richard Ros.—TYRWHITT. Mr. Tyrwhitt also rejects the Assembly of Ladies from the list of Chaucer's works.—EDIT.]

^h So is Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS, as we shall see hereafter.

ⁱ v. 162.

^k v. 197.

^l Hist. Theat. Franc. p. 15. tom. iii. Oeuvr. Paris, 1742.

sentence pronounced in the love-pleas, where the countess of Champagne presided. The queen did not chuse to interpose in a matter of so much consequence, nor to reverse the decrees of a court whose decision was absolute and final. She answered, "God forbid, that I should presume to contradict the sentence of the countess of Champagne!" This was about the year 1206. Chaucer has a poem called the COURT OF LOVE, which is nothing more than the love-court of Provenceⁿ: it contains the twenty statutes which that court prescribed to be universally observed under the severest penalties^o. Not long afterwards, on the same principle, a society was established in Languedoc, called the *Fraternity of the Penitents of Love*. Enthusiasm was here carried to as high a pitch of extravagance as ever it was in religion. It was a contention of ladies and gentlemen, who should best sustain the honour of their amorous fanaticism. Their object was to prove the excess of their love, by shewing with an invincible fortitude and consistency of conduct, with no less obstinacy of opinion, that they could bear extremes of heat and cold. Accordingly the resolute knights and esquires, the dames and damsels, who had the hardiness to embrace this severe institution, dressed themselves during the heat of summer in the thickest mantles lined with the warmest fur. In this they demonstrated, according to the antient poets, that love works

ⁿ See also Chaucer's TEN COMMANDMENTS OF LOVE, p. 554. Urr.

^o Vie de Petrarque, tom. ii. Not. xix. p. 60. Probably the *Cour d'Amour* was the origin of that called *La Cour Amoureuse*, established under the gallant reign of Charles the Sixth, in the year 1410. The latter had the most considerable families of France for its members, and a parade of grand officers, like those in the royal household and courts of law. See Hist. Acad. Inscript. Tom. vii. p. 287. seq. 4to. See also Hist. Langued. tom. iii. p. 25. seq.

The most uniform and unembarrassed view of the establishment and usages of this COURT, which I can at present recollect, is thrown together from scattered and scarce materials by the ingenious author of VIE DE PETRARQUE, tom. ii.

p. 45. seq. Not. xix. But for a complete account of these institutions, and other curious particulars relating to the antient manners and antient poetry of the French, the public waits with impatience for the history of the Provencal poets written by Mons. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who has copied most of their manuscripts with great care and expence. [The only authentic source of information on this subject is a work written about the year 1170 and published (among other places) at Dorpmund 1610. *Erotica seu Amatoria Andreae capellarii regis &c.* See Roquefort's *Poesies des Troubadours*, von Aretins *Ausprüche der Minnegerichte* and Müncher 1813 and No. II. of the *Retrospective Review*.—EDIT.]

the most wonderful and extraordinary changes. In winter, their love again perverted the nature of the seasons: they then cloathed themselves in the lightest and thinnest stuffs which could be procured. It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the most piercing cold; or to appear with a hood, cloak, gloves, or muff. The flame of love kept them sufficiently warm. Fires, all the winter, were utterly banished from their houses; and they dressed their apartments with evergreens. In the most intense frost their beds were covered only with a piece of canvass. It must be remembered, that in the mean time they passed the greater part of the day abroad, in wandering about from castle to castle; insomuch, that many of these devotees, during so desperate a pilgrimage, perished by the inclemency of the weather, and died martyrs to their profession^p.

The early universality of the French language greatly contributed to facilitate the circulation of the poetry of the troubadours in other countries. The Frankish language was familiar even at Constantinople and its dependent provinces in the eleventh century, and long afterwards. Raymond Montaniero, an historian of Catalonia, who wrote about the year 1300, says, that the French tongue was as well known in the Morea and at Athens as at Paris. "E parlavan axi belle Francis com dins en Paris^q." The oldest Italian poetry seems to be founded on that of Provence. The word SONNET was adopted from the French into the Italian versification. It occurs in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE, "Lais d'amour et SONNETS courtois^r." Boccacio copied many of his best Tales from the troubadours^s.

^p See D. Vaisette, Hist. du Langue-
doc, tom. iv. p. 184. seq.

^q Compare p. 145. Note ^y. Hist.
Arragon. c. 261.

^r v. 720.

^s Particularly from Rutebeuf and Herbers. Rutebeuf was living in the year 1310. He wrote tales and stories of entertainment in verse. It is certain that Boccacio took, from this old French minstrel, Nov. x. Giorn. ix. And perhaps two or three others. Herbers lived about the year 1200. [1260. See Roque-

fort ut supr. p. 172.] He wrote a French romance, in verse, called the *Seven Sages of Greece, or Dolopathos*. He translated it from the Latin of Dom Johans, a monk of the abbey of Haute-selve.

[Uns blancs moine de bele vie
De Halte-Selve l'abeie
A ceste histoire novelée
Par bel latin l'a ordenee
Herbers le velt en romans traire
Et de romans un livre faire.]

It has great variety, and contains several

Several of Dante's fictions are derived from the same fountain. Dante has honoured some of them with a seat in his Paradise^s: and in his tract *DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA*, has mentioned Thiebault king of Navarre as a pattern for writing poetry^t. With regard to Dante's capital work the *INFERNO*, Raoul de Houdane, a Provencial [French] bard about the year 1180, wrote a poem entitled, *LE VOYE OU LE SONGE D'ENFER*^u. Both Boccacio and Dante studied at Paris, where they much

agreeable stories, pleasant adventures, emblems, and proverbs. Boccacio has taken from it four Tales, viz. Nov. ii. Giorn. iii. Nov. iv. Giorn. vii. Nov. viii. Giorn. viii. And the Tale of the Boy who had never seen a woman, since finely touched by Fontaine. An Italian book called *Erastus* is compiled from this *Roman of the Seven Sages*. It is said to have been first composed by Sandaber the Indian, a writer of proverbs: that it afterwards appeared successively in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek; was at length translated into Latin by the monk above mentioned, and from thence into French by Herbers. It is very probable that the monk translated it from some Greek manuscript of the dark ages, which Huet says was to be found in some libraries. Three hundred years after the *Roman* of Herbers, it was translated into Dutch, and again from the Dutch into Latin. There is an English abridgement of it, which is a story-book for children. See *Mem. Lit.* Tom. ii. p. 731. 4to. Fauchet, p. 106. 160. Huet, *Orig. Fab. Rom.* 136. *Fabric. Bibl. Gr.* x. 339. Massieu, *Poes. Fr.* p. 137. Crescimben. *Volg. Poes.* Vol. i. L. v. p. 332.

[The ground-work of *DOLOPATHOS* is a Greek story-book called *SYNTIPAS*, often cited by Du Cange, whose copy appears to have been translated from the Syriac. See *Gloss. Med. et Infim. Græcitat.*—*IND. AUCTOR.* p. 33. Among the Harleian manuscripts is another, which is said to be translated from the Persic. MSS. HARL. 5560. Fabricius says, that *Syntipas* was printed at Venice, *lingua vulgari.* *BIBL. GR.* x. 515. On the whole, the plan of *SYNTIPAS* appears to be exactly the same with that of *LES SEPT SAGES*, the Italian *ERASTO*, and our

own little story-book the *SEVEN WISE MASTERS*: except that, instead of Dioclesian of Rome, the king is called *CYRUS* of *PERSIA*; and, instead of one Tale, each of the Philosophers tells two. The circumstance of *Persia* is an argument, that *SYNTIPAS* was originally an oriental composition. See what is collected on this curious subject, which is intimately concerned with the history of the invention of the middle ages, by the learned editor of the *CANTERBURY TALES*, vol. iv. p. 329. There is a translation, as I am informed by the same writer, of this Romance in octosyllable verse, probably not later than the age of Chaucer. MSS. COTTON. GALB. E ix. It is entitled "The Proces of the seven Sages," and agrees entirely with *LES SEPT SAGES DE ROME* in French prose. MSS. HARL. 3860. See also MSS. C. C. Coll. Oxon. 252. in membran. 4to. The Latin book, called *HISTORIA SEPTEM SAPIENTUM ROMÆ*, is not a very scarce manuscript: it was printed before 1500. I think there are two old editions among More's books at Cambridge. Particularly one printed in quarto at Paris, in 1493.—*ADDITIONS.*] [See the Introduction to the *Seven Wise Masters* in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of English Metrical Romances*, and Mr. Weber's edition of the same romance.—*EDIT.*]

Many of the old French minstrels deal much in Tales and novels of humour and amusement, like those of Boccacio's *Decameron*. They call them *Fabliaux*.

^s See vol. i. p. 121. Compare Crescimben. *Volg. Poes. L. i. c. xiv.* p. 162.

^t See p. 43. 45. And *Commed. Infern. cant. xxii.*

^u Fauch. *Rec.* p. 96.

improved their taste by reading the songs of Thiebault king of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Coucy, and other antient French fabulists^w. Petrarch's refined ideas of love are chiefly drawn from those amorous reveries of the Provençals which I have above described; heightened perhaps by the Platonic system, and exaggerated by the subtilising spirit of Italian fancy. Varchi and Pignatelli have written professed treatises on the nature of Petrarch's love. But neither they, nor the rest of the Italians who, to this day, continue to debate a point of so much consequence, consider how powerfully Petrarch must have been influenced to talk of love in so peculiar a strain by studying the poets of Provence. His *TRIUMFO DI AMORE* has much imagery copied from Anselm Fayditt, one of the most celebrated of these bards. He has likewise many imitations from the works of Arnaud Daniel, who is called the most eloquent of the troubadours^x. Petrarch, in one of his sonnets, represents his mistress Laura sailing on the river Rhone, in company with twelve Provençal ladies, who at that time presided over the *COURT OF LOVE*^y.

Pasquier observes, that the Italian poetry arose as the Provençal declined^z. It is a proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that period they began to translate into prose their old metrical romances: such as the fables of king Arthur, of Charlemagne, of Oddegir the Dane, of Renaud of Montauban, and other illustrious champions, whom their early writers had celebrated in rhyme^a. At length, about the year 1380, in the

^w See Fauchet, Rec. p. 47. 116. And Huet, Rom. p. 121. 108.

^x See vol. i. p. 121. He lived about 1189. Recherch. Par Beauchamps, p. 5. Nostradamus asserts, that Petrarch stole many things from a troubadour called Richard seigneur de Barbezeiuz, who is placed under 1383. Petrarch however was dead at that time.

^y Sonnet. clxxxviii. Dodici Donne, &c. The academicians della Crusca in their Dictionary, quote a manuscript entitled, *LIBRO D'AMORE* of the year

1408. It is also referred to by Crescimbeni in his Lives of the Provençal poets. It contains verdicts or determinations in the *Court of Love*.

^z Pasq. Les Recherch. de la France, vii. 5. p. 609. 611. edit. 1633. fol.

^a These translations, in which the originals were much enlarged, produced an infinite number of other romances in prose: and the old metrical romances soon became unfashionable and neglected. The romance of *PERCEFORREST*, one of the largest of the French ro-

place of the Provencial a new species of poetry succeeded in France, consisting of Chants Royaux^b, Balades, Rondeaux, and Pastorales^c. This was distinguished by the appellation of the NEW POETRY: and Froissart, who has been mentioned above chiefly in the character of an historian, cultivated it with so much success, that he has been called its author. The titles of Froissart's poetical pieces will alone serve to illustrate the nature of this NEW POETRY: but they prove, at the same time, that the Provencial cast of composition still continued to prevail. They are, *The Paradise of Love, A Panegyric on the Month of May, The Temple of Honour, The Flower of the Daisy, Amorous Lays, Pastorals, The Amorous Prison, Royal Ballads in honour of our Lady, The Ditty of the Amorous Spinett, Virelais, Rondeaux, and The Plea of the Rose and Violet*^d. Whoever examines Chaucer's smaller pieces will per-

mances of chivalry, was written in verse about 1220. It was not till many years afterwards translated into prose. M. Falconet, an ingenious inquirer into the early literature of France, is of opinion, that the most antient romances, such as that of the ROUND TABLE, were first written in Latin prose: it being well known that Turpin's CHARLEMAGNE, as it is now extant, was originally composed in that language. He thinks they were translated into French rhymes, and at last into French prose, *tels que nous les avons aujourd'hui*. See Hist. Acad. Inscript. vii. 293. But part of this doctrine may be justly doubted.

^b With regard to the *Chaunt royal*, Pasquier describes it to be a song in honour of God, the holy Virgin, or any other argument of dignity, especially if joined with distress. It was written in heroic stanzas, and closed with a *l'Envoy*, or stanza containing a recapitulation, dedication, or the like. Chaucer calls the *Chant royal* above mentioned, a *Kyn-gis Note*. Mill, T. v. 111. p. 25. His *Complaint of Venus, Cuckow and Nightingale*, and *La belle Dame sans Mercy*, have all a *l'Envoy*, and belong to this species of French verse. His *l'Envoy* to the *Complaint of Venus*, or *Mars and Venus*, ends with these lines, v. 79:

And eke to me it is a grete penaunce,
Sith rime in English hath soche scarcite,
To follow word by word the curiosite
Of gransonflour of them that *make* in
Fraunce.

Make signifies to write poetry; and here we see that this poem was translated from the French. See also Chaucer's *Dreame*, v. 2204. Petrarch has the *Envoi*. I am inclined to think, that Chaucer's *Assemble of Fowles* was partly planned in imitation of a French poem written by Gace de la Vigne, Chaucer's cotemporary, entitled, *Roman d'Oiseaux*, which treats of the nature, properties, and management of all birds *de chasse*. But this is merely a conjecture, for I have never seen the French poem. At least there is an evident similitude of subject.

^c About this time, a Prior of S. Genevieve at Paris wrote a small treatise entitled, *L'Art de Dictier BALLADES ET RONDELLES*. See Mons. Beauchamps Rech. Theatr. p. 88. M. Massieu says this is the first ART OF POETRY printed in France. Hist. Poes. Fr. p. 222. See *L'ART POETIQUE* du Jaques Pelloutier du Mons. Lyon, 555. 8vo. Liv. 11. ch. i. Du *l'Ode*.

^d Pasquier, ubi sup. p. 612. Who calls such pieces MIGNARDISES.

ceive that they are altogether formed on this plan, and often compounded of these ideas. Chaucer himself declares, that he wrote

————Many an hymne for your holidaiies
^e That hightin balades, rondils, virelaies.^f

But above all, Chaucer's FLOURE AND THE LEAFE, in which an air of rural description predominates, and where the allegory is principally conducted by mysterious allusions to the virtues or beauties of the vegetable world, to flowers and plants, exclusive of its general romantic and allegoric vein, bears a strong resemblance to some of these subjects. The poet is happily placed in a delicious arbour, interwoven with eglantine. Imaginary troops of knights and ladies advance: some of the ladies are crowned with flowers, and others with chaplets of agnus castus, and these are respectively subject to *a Lady of the Flower, and a Lady of the Leaf*^g. Some are cloathed in green, and others in white. Many of the knights are distinguished in much the same manner. But others are crowned with leaves of oak or of other trees: others carry branches of oak, laurel, hawthorn, and woodbine^h. Besides this profusion of vernal ornaments, the whole procession glitters with gold, pearls, rubies, and other costly decorations. They are preceded by minstrels cloathed in green and crowned with flowers. One of the ladies sings a bargaret, or pastoral, in praise of the daisy.

A bargaretⁱ in praising the daisie,
 For as methought among her notis swete
 She said *si douce est le margaruite*.^k

^e Here is an elleipsis. He means, *And poems*.

^f Prol. Leg. G. W. v. 422. He mentions this sort of poetry in the *Frankelein's Tale*, v. 2493. p. 109. Urr.

Of which matere [love] madin he many layes,
 Songis, Complaintis, Roundils, Virelayes.

Compare Chaucer's DREME, v. 973.

In the FLOURE AND LEAFE we have the words of a French Roundeau, v. 177.

^g In a decision of the COURT OF LOVE cited by Fontenelle, the judge is called *Le Marquis des fleurs et violettes*. Font. ubi supr. p. 15.

^h v. 270.

ⁱ Rather *Bergerette*. A song *du Berger*, of a shepherd.

^k v. 350. A panegyric on this flower

This might have been Froissart's song: at least this is one of his subjects. In the mean time a nightingale, seated in a laurel-tree, whose shade would cover an hundred persons, sings the whole service, "longing to May." Some of the knights and ladies do obeysance to the leaf, and some to the flower of the daisy. Others are represented as worshipping a bed of flowers. Flora is introduced "of these flouris goddesse." The lady of the leaf invites the lady of the flower to a banquet. Under these symbols is much morality couched. The leaf signifies perseverance and virtue: the flower denotes indolence and pleasure. Among those who are crowned with the leaf, are the knights of king Arthur's round table, and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers; together with the knights of the order of the Garter now just established by Edward the Third¹.

But these fancies seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the FLORAL GAMES instituted in France in the year 1324^m, which filled the French poetry with images of this sortⁿ. They were founded by Clementina Isaure countess of Tholouse,

is again introduced in the Prologue to the *Leg. of G. Wom.* v. 180.

The long daie I shope me for to abide
For nothing ellis, and I shall not lie
But for to lokin upon the *daisie*,
That wel by reason men it callè maie
The *Daisie*, or els the *eye of the daie*:
The emprise, and the floure, of flouris
al, &c.

Speght supposes that he means to pay a compliment to Lady Margaret, countess of Pembroke, king Edward's daughter, one of his patronesses. See the *Balade* beginning *In Fevrere*, &c. p. 556. Urr. v. 688. Froissart's song in *praise of the daisy* might have the same tendency: for he was patronised both by Edward and Philippa. *Margaruite* is French for *Daisy*. Chaucer perhaps intends the same compliment by the "*Margarite perle*," *Test. Love*, p. 483. col. i. &c. Urr. See also *Prol. Leg. G. Wom.* v. 218. 224. That Prologue has many images like those in the *Flower and the Leafe*. It was evidently written after that poem.

[See *Le dit de la fleur de lis et de la*

Marguerite, by Guillaume Machaut, *ACAD. INSCRIPT.* xx. p. 381. x. 669. *infr. citat.* On the whole, it may be doubted whether, either Froissart, or Chaucer, means Margaret, countess of Pembroke. For compare *APPEND. PREF. CANTERB. TALES*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. I add, that in the year 1547, the poetical pieces of Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, were collected and published under the title of *MARGUERITE de la Marguerites des princesses, tres illustre Royne de Navarre*, by John de la Haye, her valet de chambre. It was common in France, to give the title of *MARGUERITES* to studied panegyrics, and flowery compositions of every kind, both in prose and verse.—*ADDITIONS.*]

¹ v. 516. 517. 519.

^m *Mem. Lit.* tom. vii. p. 422. 4to.

ⁿ Hence Froissart in the *EPINETTE AMOUREUSE*, describing his romantic amusements, says he was delighted with

Violettes en leur saisons
Et roses blanches et vermeilles, &c.

See *Mem.* it. tom. x. p. 665. 287. 4to.

and annually celebrated in the month of May. She published an edict, which assembled all the poets of France in artificial arbours dressed with flowers: and he that produced the best poem was rewarded with a violet of gold. There were likewise inferior prizes of flowers made in silver. In the mean time the conquerors were crowned with natural chaplets of their own respective flowers. During the ceremony, degrees were also conferred. He who had won a prize three times was created a doctor *en gaye Science*, the name of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. The instrument of creation was in verse^o. This institution, however fantastic, soon became common through the whole kingdom of France: and these romantic rewards, distributed with the most impartial attention to merit, at least infused an useful emulation, and in some measure revived the languishing genius of the French poetry.

The French and Italian poets, whom Chaucer imitates, abound in allegorical personages: and it is remarkable, that the early poets of Greece and Rome were fond of these creations. Homer has given us, STRIFE, CONTENTION, FEAR, TERROR, TUMULT, DESIRE, PERSUASION, and BENEVOLENCE. We have in Hesiod, DARKNESS, and many others if the Shield of Hercules be of his hand. COMUS occurs in the Agamemnon of Eschylus; and in the Prometheus of the same poet, STRENGTH and FORCE are two persons of the drama, and perform the capital parts. The fragments of Ennius indicate, that his poetry consisted much of personifications. He says, that in one of the Carthaginian wars, the gigantic image of SORROW appeared in every place: “Omnibus endo locis ingens apparet imago TRISTITIAS.” Lucretius has drawn the great and terrible figure of SUPERSTITION, “Quæ caput e cœli regionibus ostendebat.” He also mentions, in a beautiful procession of the Seasons, CALOR ARIDUS, HYEMS, and ALGUS. He introduces MEDICINE *muttering with silent fear*, in the midst of the deadly pestilence at Athens. It seems to have escaped the many critics who have written on Milton’s noble but romantic

^o Recherches sur les poètes couronnez, Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 567. 4to.

allegory of SIN and DEATH, that he took the person of Death from the *Alcestis* of his favorite tragedian, Euripides, where ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ is a principal agent in the drama. As knowledge and learning increase, poetry begins to deal less in imagination: and these fantastic beings give way to real manners and living characters.

SECTION XIX.

IF Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and uncircumscribed, his course of reading extensive, and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he laboured to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style^a. In these respects he resembled his friend and cotemporary Chaucer^b: but he participated no considerable portion of Chaucer's spirit, imagination, and elegance. His language is tolerably perspicuous, and his versification often harmonious: but his poetry is of a grave and sententious turn. He has much good sense, solid reflection, and useful observation. But he is serious and didactic on all occasions: he preserves the tone of the scholar and the moralist on the most lively topics. For this reason he seems to have been characterised by Chaucer with the appellation of the MORALL Gower^c. But his talent is not confined to English verse only. He wrote also in Latin; and copied Ovid's Elegiacs with some degree of purity, and with fewer false quantities and corrupt phrases, than any of our countrymen had yet exhibited since the twelfth century.

Gower's capital work, consisting of three parts, only the last of which properly furnishes matter for our present inquiry, is

^a See supra, pag. 177. line 19.

^b It is certain that they both lived and wrote together. But I have considered Chaucer first, among other reasons hereafter given, as Gower survived him.

Chaucer died October 25, 1400, aged 72 years. Gower died, 1402.

^c Troil. Cress. ad calc. pag. 333. edit. Urr. ut supr.

entitled SPECULUM MEDITANTIS, VOX CLAMANTIS, CONFESSIO AMANTIS. It was finished, at least the third part, in the year 1393^d. The SPECULUM MEDITANTIS, or the *Mirroure of Meditation*, is written in French rhymes, in ten books^e. This tract, which was never printed, displays the general nature of virtue and vice, enumerates the felicities of conjugal fidelity by examples selected from various authors, and describes the path which the reprobate ought to pursue for the recovery of the divine grace. The VOX CLAMANTIS, or the *Voice of one crying in the Wilderness*, which was also never printed, contains seven books of Latin elegiacs. This work is chiefly historical, and is little more than a metrical chronicle of the insurrection of the Commons in the reign of king Richard the Second. The best and most beautiful manuscript of it is in the library of All Souls college at Oxford; with a dedication in Latin verse, addressed by the author, when he was old and blind, to archbishop Arundel^f. The CONFESSIO AMANTIS, or the *Lover's Confession*, is an English poem, in eight books, first printed by Caxton, in the year 1483. It was written at the command of Richard the Second; who, meeting our poet Gower rowing on the Thames near London, invited him into the royal barge, and after much conversation requested him to *book some new thing*^g.

This tripartite work is represented by three volumes on

^d CONFESS. AMANT. Prol. fol. 1. a. col. 1. Imprinted at London, in Flete-strete, by Thomas Berthelette, the xii. daie of March, ann. 1554. folio. This edition is here always cited.

^e Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. NE. F.8. 9. And MSS. Fairf. 3. [Gower's *Speculum Meditantis* has never, I believe, been seen by any of our poetical antiquaries; nor does it exist in the Bodleian Library. Campbell, the author of Gower's article in the *Biographia Brit.*, and Warton, who profess to give an account of its contents, were deceived by the ambiguity of a reference in Tanner; and, instead of the work in question, describe a much shorter

poem or *balade*, by the same author.—ELLIS.]

^f MSS. Num. 26. It occurs more than once in the Bodleian library; and, I believe, often in private hands. There is a fine manuscript of it in the British Museum. It was written in the year 1397, as appears by the following line, MSS. Bodl. 294.

Hos ego BIS DENO Ricardi regis in anno.

^g TO THE READER, in Berthelette's edition. From the PROLOGUE. See *supra*, p. 174. Note^r, line 3, col. a.

Gower's curious tomb in the conventual church of Saint Mary Overee in Southwark, now remaining in its antient state; and this circumstance furnishes me with an obvious opportunity of adding an anecdote relating to our poet's munificence and piety, which ought not to be omitted. Although a poet, he largely contributed to rebuild that church in its present elegant form, and to render it a beautiful pattern of the lighter Gothic architecture: at the same time he founded, at his tomb, a perpetual chantry.

It is on the last of these pieces, the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, that Gower's character and reputation as a poet are almost entirely founded. This poem, which bears no immediate reference to the other two divisions, is a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, who is a priest of Venus, and, like the mystagogue in the *PICTURE* of Cebes, is called Genius. Here, as if it had been impossible for a lover not to be a good Catholic, the ritual of religion is applied to the tender passion, and Ovid's *Art of Love* is blended with the breviary. In the course of the confession, every evil affection of the human heart, which may tend to impede the progress or counteract the success of love, is scientifically subdivided; and its fatal effects exemplified by a variety of apposite stories, extracted from classics and chronicles. The poet often introduces or recapitulates his matter in a few couplets of Latin long and short verses. This was in imitation of Boethius.

This poem is strongly tinged with those pedantic affectations concerning the passion of love, which the French and Italian poets of the fourteenth century borrowed from the troubadours of Provence, and which I have above examined at large. But the writer's particular model appears more immediately to have been John of Meun's celebrated *ROMAUNT DE LA ROSE*. He has, however, seldom attempted to imitate the picturesque imageries, and expressive personifications, of that exquisite allegory. His most striking pourtraits, which yet are conceived with no powers of creation, nor delineated

with any fertility of fancy, are IDLENESS, AVARICE, MICHERIE or Thieving, and NEGLIGENCE, the secretary of SLOTH^h. Instead of boldly cloathing these qualities with corporeal attributes, aptly and poetically imagined, he coldly yet sensibly describes their operations, and enumerates their properties. What Gower wanted in invention, he supplied from his common-place book; which appears to have been stored with an inexhaustible fund of instructive maxims, pleasant narrations, and philosophical definitions. It seems to have been his object to crowd all his erudition into this elaborate performance. Yet there is often some degree of contrivance and art in his manner of introducing and adapting subjects of a very distant nature, and which are totally foreign to his general design.

In the fourth book our confessor turns chemist; and discoursing at large on the Hermetic science, developes its principles, and exposes its abuses, with great penetrationⁱ. He delivers the doctrines concerning the vegetable, mineral, and animal stones, to which Falstaffe alludes in Shakespeare^k,

^h Lib. iv. f. 62. a. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 94. a. col. 1. Lib. iv. f. 68. a. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 119. a. col. 2.

ⁱ Lib. iv. f. 76. b. col. 2.

^k Falstaffe mentions a philosopher's or chemist's *two stones*. See P. Henr. IV. Act iii. Sc. 2. Our author abundantly confirms Doctor Warburton's explication of this passage, which the rest of the commentators do not seem to have understood. See Ashm. Theatr. Chemic. p. 484. edit. Lond. 1652. 4to.

[The nations bordering upon the Jews, attributed the miraculous events of that people, to those external means and material instruments, such as symbols, ceremonies, and other visible signs or circumstances, which by God's special appointment, under their mysterious dispensation, they were directed to use. Among the observations which the oriental Gentiles made on the history of the Jews, they found that the Divine will was to be known by certain appearances in pretious stones. The Magi of the East, believing that the preternatural

discoveries obtained by means of the Urim and Thummim, a contexture of gems in the breast-plate of the Mosaic priests, were owing to some virtue inherent in those stones, adopted the knowledge of the occult properties of gems as a branch of their magical system. Hence it became the peculiar profession of one class of their Sages, to investigate and interpret the various shades and coruscations, and to explain, to a moral purpose, the different colours, the dews, clouds, and imageries, which gems, differently exposed to the sun, moon, stars, fire, or air, at particular seasons, and inspected by persons particularly qualified, were seen to exhibit. This notion being once established, a thousand extravagancies arose, of healing diseases, of procuring victory, and of seeing future events, by means of pretious stones and other lucid substances. See Plin. NAT. HIST. xxxvii. 9. 10. These superstitions were soon ingrafted into the Arabian philosophy, from which they were propagated all over Europe, and continued to ope-

with amazing accuracy and perspicuity¹; although this doctrine was adopted from systems then in vogue, as we shall see below. In another place he applies the Argonautic expedition in search of the golden fleece, which he relates at length, to the same visionary philosophy^m. Gower very probably conducted his associate Chaucer into these profound mysteries, which had been just opened to our countrymen by the books of Roger Baconⁿ.

In the seventh book, the whole circle of the Aristotelic philosophy is explained; which our lover is desirous to learn, supposing that the importance and variety of its speculations might conduce to sooth his anxieties by diverting and engaging his attention. Such a discussion was not very likely to afford him much consolation: especially, as hardly a single ornamental digression is admitted, to decorate a field naturally so destitute of flowers. Almost the only one is the following description of the chariot and crown of the sun; in which the Arabian ideas concerning precious stones are interwoven with Ovid's fictions and the classical mythology.

Of goldè glistrende^o, spoke and whele,
The Sonne his Carte^p hath, faire and wele;
In which he sit, and is croned
With bright stones environed:
Of which, if that I speke shall
There be tofore^q, inspeciall^r,

rate even so late as the visionary experiments of Dee and Kelly¹. It is not in the mean time at all improbable, that the Druidical doctrines concerning the virtues of stones were derived from these lessons of the Magi: and they are still to be traced among the traditions of the vulgar, in those parts of Britain and Ireland, where Druidism retained its latest

establishments. See Martin's *WEST. ISLES*, p. 167. 225. And Aubrey's *MISCELL.* p. 128. Lond. 8vo.—*ADDITIONS.*]

¹ Ibid. f. 77. a. col. 1.

^m Lib. v. f. 101. a. seq.

ⁿ See supra, p. 260, Note ¹.

^o glittering.

^p chariot.

^q before.

^r above all.

¹ When king Richard the First, in 1191, took the Isle of Cyprus, he is said to have found the castles filled with rich furniture of gold and silver, "*necnon lapidibus pretiosis, et plurimam virtutem habentibus.*" G. VINES. *ITER HIEROSOL.* cap. xli. p. 328. *Hist. Anglic. SCRIPT.* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687.

Set in the front of his corone,
 Thre stones, which no persone
 Hath upon erth: and the first is
 By name cleped Leucachatis;
 That other two cleped thus
 Astroites and Ceraunus,
 In his corone; and also byhynde,
 By olde bokes, as I fynd,—
 There ben of worthy stones three,
 Set eche of hem in his degree;
 Whereof a Cristelle is that one,
 Which that corone is sett upon:
 The second is an Adamant;
 The third is noble and avenant^s,
 Which cleped is Idriades—
 And over this yet natheless^t,
 Upon the sidis of the werke,
 After the writynge of the clerke^u,
 There sitten five stones mo^w;
 The Smaragdine is one of tho^x,
 Jaspis, and Helitropius,
 And Vandides, and Jacinctus.
 Lo! thus the corone is beset,
 Whereof it shineth wel the bet^y.
 And in such wise, his light to sprede,
 Sit, with his diademe on heade,
 The Sonne, shinende in his carte:
 And for to lead him swithe^z and smarte,
 After the bright daiès lawe,
 There ben ordained for to drawe
 Four hors his chare, and him withall,
 Whereoff the names tell I shall:

^s beautiful.^t still farther.^u the philosopher.^w more.^x them.^y much better.^z swift.

Eritheus the first is hote^a,
 The whiche is redde, and shineth hote;
 The second Acteos the bright,
 Lampes the third courser hight,
 And Philogeus is the ferth^b,
 That bringen light unto this erth
 And gone so swift upon the heven, &c.^c

Our author closes this course of the Aristotelic philosophy with a system of politics^d: not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first chapter of a spurious compilation entitled, *SECRETUM SECRETORUM ARISTOTELIS*^e, addressed under the name of Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great, and printed at Bononia in the year 1516. A work, treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloss, by Roger Bacon^f: and of the highest reputation in Gower's age, as it was transcribed, and illustrated with a commentary, for the use of king Edward the Third, by his chaplain Walter de Millemete, prebendary of the collegiate church of Glaseney in Cornwall^g. Under this head, our author takes an opportunity of giving advice to a weak yet amiable prince, his patron king Richard the Second, on a subject of the most difficult and delicate nature, with much freedom and dignity. It might also be proved, that Gower, through this detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*; which is a sort of an abridgement of the Aristotelic philosophy, filled with many Arabian innovations and absurdities, and enriched with an appendix concerning the choice of wines, phlebotomy, justice, public notaries, tournaments, and physiognomy, rather than from the Latin translations of Aristotle. It is evident, that he copied from this work the doctrine of the

^a named.^b fourth.^c Lib. vii. f. 145. b. col. 1. 2.^d Lib. vii. f. 151. a.^e See supr. vol. i. p. 136. Note x.^f See Wood, Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 15. col. 1.^g Tanner, Bibl. p. 527. It is cited by Bradwardine, a famous English theologist, in his grand work *De CAUSA DEI*. He died 1349.

three chemical stones, mentioned above^h. That part of our author's astronomy, in which he speaks of the magician Nectabanus instructing Alexander the Great, when a youth, in the knowledge of the fifteen stars, and their respective plants and precious stones, appropriated to the operations of natural magicⁱ, seems to be borrowed from Callisthenes, the fabulous writer of the life of Alexander^k. Yet many wonderful inventions, which occur in this romance of Alexander, are also to be found in the *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*: particularly the fiction of Alexander's Stentorian horn, mentioned above, which was heard at the distance of sixty miles^l, and of which Kircher has given a curious representation in his *PHONURGIA*, copied from an antient picture of this gigantic instrument, belonging to a manuscript of the *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*, preserved in the Vatican library^m.

It is pretended by the mystic writers, that Aristotle in his old age reviewed his books, and digested his philosophy into one system or body, which he sent, in the form of an epistle, to Alexander. This is the supposititious tract of which I have been speaking; and it is thus described by Lydgate, who has translated a part of it.

Title of this boke *LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM*,
Namyd also *DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM*,
Of philosophres *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*.—

^h There is an Epistle under the name of Alexander the Great, *De Lapide Philosophorum*, among the *SCRIPTORES CHYMICI artis auriferæ*, Basil. 1593. tom. i. And edit. 1610. See below, Note ^k.

I have mentioned a Latin romance of Alexander's life, as printed by Frederick Corsellis, about 1468. sup. vol. i. p. 135. On examination, that impression is said to be finished December 17, 1468. Unluckily, the seventeenth day of December was a Sunday that year. A manifest proof that the name of Corsellis was forged. [The 17th December, 1468, was a Saturday.—RITSON.]

ⁱ Lib. vii. f. 148, a. seq.

^k Or from fictitious books attributed to Alexander the Great, *De septem Herbis septem Planetarum*, &c. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. tom. ii. p. 206. See supra, vol. i. p. 133. And vol. ii. p. 56. Note ^f. Callisthenes is mentioned twice in this poem, Lib. vii. f. 139. b. col. 2; and vi. f. 139. b. col. 2. See a chapter of Callisthenes and Alexander, in Lydgate's *FALL OF PRINCES*, B. iv. ch. 1. seq. fol. 99. edit. ut infr.

^l See supra, vol. i. p. 136.

^m Pag. 140. See *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. D. i. 5. Cap. penult. lib. 5.

The which booke direct to the kyng
 Alysaundre, both in the werre and peesⁿ,
 Lyke^o his request and royall commanding,
 Fulle accomplishid by *Aristotiles*.
 Feeble of age. - - - -

Then follows a rubric "How Aristotile declareth to kynge Alysandre of the stonys^p." It was early translated into French prose^q, and printed in English, "The SECRET OF ARISTOTYLE, with the GOVERNALE OF PRINCES and every maner of estate, with rules for helth of body and soul, very gode to teche children to rede English, newly translated out of French, and emprented by Robert and William Copland, 1528^r." This work will occur again under Occleve and Lidgate. There is also another forgery consecrated with the name of Aristotle, and often quoted by the astrologers, which Gower might have used: it is DE REGIMINIBUS COELESTIBUS, which had been early translated from Arabic into Latin^s.

Considered in a general view, the CONFESSIO AMANTIS may be pronounced to be no unpleasing miscellany of those shorter tales which delighted the readers of the middle age. Most of these are now forgotten, together with the voluminous chronicles in which they were recorded. The book which appears to have accommodated our author with the largest quantity of materials in this article, was probably a chronicle entitled PANTHEON, or MEMORIÆ SECVLORVM, compiled in Latin, partly in prose and partly in verse, by Godfrey of Viterbo, a chaplain

ⁿ peace.

^o according to.

^p MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. B. 24. K. 53. Part of this manuscript is printed by Ashmole, THEATR. CHEMIC. ut supr. p. 397. See Julius Bartolocc. tom. i. Bibl. Rabbinic. p. 475. And Joann. a Lent, Theol. Judaic. p. 6.

^q Mém. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 737. 4to.

^r Octavo. A work called Aristotle's POLITIQUES, or DISCOURSES OF GOVERN-

MENT, from the French of Louis le Roy, printed by Adam Islip, in folio, in the year 1527, and dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, is Aristotle's genuine work. In Gresham college library there is "Alexandri M. Epistolæ ad preceptorem Aristotelem, Anglice factæ." MSS. 52. But I believe it Occleve's or Lydgate's poem on the subject, hereafter mentioned.

^s Hotting. Bibl. Orient. p. 255. See Pic. Mirandulan. contra Astrolog. lib. i. p. 284.

and notary to three German emperours, who died in the year 1190^t. It commences, according to the established practice of the historians of this age, with the creation of the world, and is brought down to the year 1186. It was first printed at Basil in the year 1569^u. The learned Muratori has not scrupled to insert the five last sections of this universal history in the seventh tome of his writers on Italy^w. The subject of this work, to use the laborious compiler's own expressions, is the Old and New Testament; and all the emperours and kings, which have existed from the beginning of the world to his own times: of whom the origin, end, names, and atchievements are commemorated^x. The authors which our chronicler professes to have consulted for the gentile story, are only Josephus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Orosius, Hegesippus^y, Suetonius, Solinus, and Julius Africanus: among which, not one of the purer Roman historians occurs. Gower also seems to have used another chronicle written by the same Godfrey, never printed, called SPECULUM REGUM, or the MIRROR OF KINGS, which is almost as multifarious as the last; containing a genealogy of all the potentates, Trojan and German, from Noah's flood to the reign of the emperour Henry the Sixth, according to the chronicles of the venerable Bede, Eusebius, and Ambrosius^z. There are, besides, two ancient collectors of marvellous and delectable occurrences to which our author is indebted, Cassiodorus and Isidorus. These are mentioned as two of the chroniclers which Caxton used in compiling his CRONICLES OF

^t See supra, p. 185. Note ^h. And Jacob. Quetif. i. p. 740.

^u In folio. Again, among Scriptor. de Reb. Germanicis, by Pistorius. Francof. fol. 1584. And Hanov. 1613. Lastly in a new edit. of Pistorius's collection by Struvius, Ratisbon. 1726. fol. There is a chronicle, I believe sometimes confounded with Godfrey's PANTHEON, called the PANTALEONE, from the creation to the year 1162, about which time it was compiled by the Benedictine monks of Saint Pantaleon at Cologne, printed by

Eccard, with a German translation, in the first volume of SCRIPTORES MEDIÆVI, p. 683. 945. It was continued to the year 1237, by Godfridus, a Pantaleonist monk. This continuation, which has considerable merit as a history, is extant in Freherus, Rer. Germanicar. tom. i. edit. Struvian. p. 335.

^w p. 346.

^x in proem.

^y See supra, p. 50.

^z See Lambecc. ii. p. 274.

ENGLAND^a. Cassiodorus^b wrote, at the command of the Gothic king Theodoric, a work named *CHRONICON BREVE*, commencing with our first parents, and deduced to the year 519, chiefly deduced from Eusebius's ecclesiastic history, the chronicles of Prosper and Jerom, and Aurelius Victor's *Origin of the Roman nation*^c. An Italian translation by Lodovico Dolce was printed in 1561^d. Isidorus, called Hispalensis, cited by Davie and Chaucer^e, in the seventh century, framed from the same author a *CRONICON*, from Adam to the time of the emperor Heraclius, first printed in the year 1477, and translated into Italian under the title of *CRONICA D'ISIDORO*, so soon after as the year 1480^f.

These comprehensive systems of all sacred and profane events, which in the middle ages multiplied to an excessive degree, superseded the use of the classics and other established authors, whose materials they gave in a commodious abridgement, and in whose place, by selecting those stories only which suited the taste of the times, they substituted a more agreeable kind of reading: nor was it by these means only, that they greatly contributed to retard the acquisition of those ornaments of style, and other arts of composition, which an attention to the genuine models would have afforded, but by being written without any ideas of elegance, and in the most barbarous phraseology. Yet productive as they were of these and other

^a Bale, apud Lewis's *CAXTON*, p. xvii. post pref. And in the prologue to the *FRUCTUS TEMPORUM*, printed at St. Alban's in 1483, one of the authors is "Cassiodorus of the actys of emperours and bisshoppys."

^b See *CONFES. AMANT.* lib. vii. f. 156. b. col. 1. And our author to king Henry, Urry's *Ch.* p. 542. v. 330.

^c It has often been printed. See *OPERA Cassiodori*, duobus tomis, Rothomag. 1679. fol.

^d *Compendio di Sesto Ruffo, con la CRONICA DI CASSIODORO, de Fatti de Romani, &c.* In Venezia, per il Giolto, 1561. 4to.

^e See supra, p. 62, Note ^y.

^f Stampata nel Friuli. It is sometimes called *Chronica DE SEX MUNDI ÆTATIBUS, IMAGO MUNDI, and ABBREVIATIO TEMPORUM*. It was continued by Isidorus Pacensis from 610 to 754. This continuation was printed in 1634, fol. Pampelon. Under the title "Epitome Imperatorum vel Arabum Ephe- meridos una cum Hispaniæ Chronico."

Isidore has likewise left a history or chronicle of the Goths, copied also by our author, from the year 176, to the death of king Sisebut in the year 628. It was early printed. See it in Grotius's *COLLECTIO RERUM GOTHICARUM*, pag. 707. Amst. 1655. 8vo.

inconvenient consequences, they were not without their use in the rude periods of literature. By gradually weaning the minds of readers from monkish legends, they introduced a relish for real and rational history; and kindling an ardour of inquiring into the transactions of past ages, at length awakened a curiosity to obtain a more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by searching the original authors. Nor are they to be entirely neglected in modern and more polished ages. For, besides that they contain curious pictures of the credulity and ignorance of our ancestors, they frequently preserve facts transcribed from books which have not descended to posterity. It is extremely probable, that the plan on which they are all constructed, that of deducing a perpetual history from the creation to the writer's age, was partly taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and partly from the Bible.

In the mean time there are three histories of a less general nature, which Gower seems more immediately to have followed in some of his tales. These are Colonna's *Romance of Troy*, the *Romance of Sir Lancelot*, and the *GESTA ROMANORUM*.

From Colonna's *Romance*, which he calls *The Tale of Troie*, *The Boke of Troie*^g, and sometimes *The Cronike*^h, he has taken all that relates to the Trojan and Grecian story, or, in Milton's language, *THE TALE OF TROY DIVINE*. This piece was first printed at Cologne in the year 1477ⁱ. At Colonia an Italian

^g Of Palamedes and Nauplius, "The boke of Troie whoso rede." Lib. ii. fol. 52. b. col. 2. The story of Jason and Medea, "whereof the tale in speciall is in the boke of Troie writte." Lib. v. fol. 101. a. col. 2. Of the Syrens seen by Ulysses, "which in the tale of Troie I finde." Lib. i. f. 10. b. col. 1. Of the eloquence of Ulysses, "As in the boke of Troie is funde." Lib. vii. f. 150. a. col. 1. &c. &c. See supra, vol. i. p. 130.

^h In the story of the Theban chief Capaneus, "This knight as the CRONIKE seine." Lib. i. f. 18. b. col. 2. Of Achilles and Teucer, "In a CRONIQUE I fynde thus." Lib. iii. fol. 62. a. col. 1. Of Pe-

leus and Phocus, "As the CRONIQUE seithe." Lib. iii. f. 61. b. col. 1. Of Ulysses and Penelope, "In a CRONIQUE I finde writte." Lib. iv. f. 63. b. col. 2. He mentions also the CRONIQUE for tales of other nations. "In the CRONIQUE as I finde, Cham was he which first the letters fonde, and wrote in Hebrew with his honde, of naturall philosophie." Lib. iv. fol. 76. a. col. 1. For Darius's four questions, Lib. vii. fol. 151. b. col. 1. For Perillus's brazen bull. f. &c. &c. See below.

ⁱ In quarto. *HISTORIA TROJANA*, a Guidone de Columpna Messanensi Judice edita 1287. Impressa per Arnoldum Ther-

translation appeared in the same year, and one at Venice in 1481. It was translated into Italian so early as 1324, by Philipp Ceffi a Florentine^k. By some writers it is called the British as well as the Trojan story^l; and there are manuscripts in which it is entitled the history of Medea and Jason^m. In most of the Italian translations it is called LA STORIA DELLA GUERRA DI TROJA. This history is repeatedly called the TROIE BOKE by Lydgate, who translated it into English verseⁿ.

As to the romance of Sir Lancelot, our author, among others on the subject, refers to a volume of which he was the hero: perhaps that of Robert Borron, altered soon afterwards by Godefroy de Leigny, under the title of le ROMAN DE LA CHARETTE, and printed with additions at Paris by Antony Verard, in the year 1494.

For if thou wilt the *bokes* rede
Of LAUNCELOT and other mo,
Then might thou seen how it was tho
Of armes, for this wolde atteine
To love, which, withouten peine
Maie not be gette of idleness:
And that I take to witnesse

burnem Coloniae commorantem, 1477. *Die penult. Nov.* I am mistaken in what I have said, *supra*, vol. i. p. 130. There is another edition at Oxford by Rood, 1480, 4to. Two at Strasburgh 1486, and 1489. fol. Ames calls him Columella. *Hist. Print.* p. 204.

^k See Haym's *Bibl. Italian.* p. 35. edit. Venez. 1741. 4to. I am not sure whether Haym's Italian translation in the year 1477, is not the Latin of that year. They are both in quarto, and by Arnolfo Terbone. A Florence edition of the translation in 1610, quarto, is said to be most scarce.

^l Sandius and Hallerwood, in their *Supplement to Vossius's Latin Historians*, suppose Colonna's Trojan and Bri-

tish chronicle the same. In Theodoric Engelhusen's *CHRONICA CHRONICORUM*, compiled about the year 1420, where the author speaks of Troy, he cites Colonna *de Bello Trojano*. In the Preface he mentions Colonna's *CHRONICA BRITANNORUM*. See Engelhusen's first edition, Helmst. 1671, 4to. Or rather, Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnitii, tom. p. 977. See also Fabian and other historians.

^m See *supra*, vol. i. p. 142. It will occur again under Lydgate.

ⁿ Tragedies of Bochas, B. i. ch. xvi. *How the translatoure wrote a booke of the siege of Troy, called TROYE BOKE.* And *ib.* St. 7. 17. 20. edit. Wayland. fol. xxx. b. xxxi. a. And in Lydg. *DESTR.* of Troy.

An old Cronike in speciall
 The which in to memoriall
 Is write for his loves sake,
 How that a Knight shall undertake^o.

He alludes to a story about Sir Tristram, which he supposes to be universally known, related in this romance.

In everie mans mouth it is
 How Tristram was of love dronke
 With Bele Isolde, whan this dronke
 The drinke which Bragweine him betoke,
 Er that kyng Marke, &c.^p

And again, in the assembly of lovers.

Ther was Tristram which was beloved
 With Bele Isolde, and Lancelot
 Stood with Gonnor^q, and Galahot
 With his lady^r. - - -

The oldest edition of the GESTA ROMANORUM, a manuscript of which I have seen in almost Saxon characters, I believe to be this. *Incipiunt Hystorie NOTABILES, collecte ex GESTIS ROMANORUM, et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem^s.* It is without date or place, but supposed by the critics in typographical antiquities to have been printed before or about the year 1473. Then followed a second edition at Louvain by John de Westfalia, with this title: *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis.* At the end this colophon appears; *GESTA ROMANORUM cum quibusdam aliis historiis eisdem annexis ad moralitates dilucide reducta*

^o Lib. iv. f. 74. a. col. 2.

^p Lib. vi. f. 130. b. col. 2.

^q Geneura, Arthur's queen.

^r Lib. viii. f. 188. a. col. 1.

^s *Princip.* "Pompeius regnavit dives, &c. *Fin.*" "Quidam vero princeps no-

mine Cleonicus, &c. Karissimi, iste princeps est xps, &c. Oscula blandientis, &c." It is in folio, in double columns, without initials, pages, signatures, or catchwords. *ANGLIE* is mentioned in chapters 155. 161.

hic finem habent. Quæ diligenter, correctis aliorum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia, alma in Univers. Louvaniensi^t. This edition has twenty-nine chapters more than there are in the former: and the first of these additional chapters is the story of Antiochus, related in our author. It is probably of the year 1473. Another followed soon afterwards, by *GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES moralizatae per Girardum Lieu. Goudæ, 1480*^u. The next^w is at Louvain, *GESTA ROMANORUM, cum applicationibus moralisatis ac mysticis*.—At the end.—*Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM cum pluribus applicatis HISTORIIS de virtutibus et vitiis mystice ad intellectum transumptis recollectorii finis. Anno nostræ salutis 1494. In die sancti Adriani martyris*^x.

It was one of my reasons for giving these titles and colophons so much at large, that the reader might more fully comprehend the nature and design of a performance which operated so powerfully on the present state of our poetry. Servius says that the *Eneis* was sometimes called *GESTA POPULI ROMANI*^y. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote about the year 450, mentions a work called the *GESTORUM VOLUMEN*, which, according to custom, was solemnly recited to the emperor^z. Here perhaps we may perceive the ground-work of the title.

In this mixture of moralisation and narrative, the *GESTA ROMANORUM* somewhat resembles the plan of Gower's poem. In the rubric of the story of Julius and the poor knight, our author alludes to this book in the expression, *Hic secundum GESTA, &c.*^a When he speaks of the emperours of Rome

^t *Princip.* "De DILECTIONE, cap. i. Pompeius regnavit dives valde, &c.—MORALIZATIO. De MISERICORDIA, cap. ii." De ADULTERIO, in cap. clxxxi. It is in quarto, with signatures to K k. The initials are written in red ink. Mr. Farmer of Cambridge has this edition.

^u In quarto.

^w But I think there is another Goudæ, 1489. fol. [Mr. Douce enumerates eight editions between those of Goudæ and Louvain, among which is one printed by Gerard Leeu in 1490. This latter is

probably the edition alluded to by Warton. See Douce's Illustration of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 358.—EDIT.]

^x In quarto. Again, Paris. 1499, 4to. Hagen. 1508. fol. Paris. 1521. octavo. And undoubtedly others. It appeared in Dutch so early as the year 1484. fol.

^y And *Æneid.* vi. 752.

^z "Imperator de more recitatum," Hist. xxix. i. In the title of the SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE, printed 1483, *Titus Livius de GESTIS ROMANORUM* is recited.

^a Lib. viii. f. 153. a. col. 1. And in

paying reverence to a virgin, he says he found this custom mentioned, "Of Rome among the GESTES olde^b." Yet he adds, that the GESTES took it from Valerius Maximus. The story of Tarquin and his son Arrous is ushered in with this line, "So as these olde GESTES seyne^c." The tale of Antiochus, as I have hinted, is in the GESTA ROMANORUM; although for some parts of it Gower was perhaps indebted to Godfrey's PANTHEON above mentioned^d. The foundation of Shakespeare's story of the three casketts in the MERCHANT OF VENICE, is to be found in this favourite collection: this is likewise in our author, yet in a different form, who cites a *Cronike*^e for his authority. I make no apology for giving the passage somewhat at large, as the source of this elegant little apologue, which seems to be of Eastern invention, has lately so much employed the searches of the commentators on Shakespeare, and that the circumstances of the story, as it is told by Gower, may be compared with those with which it appears in other books.

The poet is speaking of a king whose officers and courtiers complained that, after a long attendance, they had not received adequate rewards, and preferments due to their services. The king, who was no stranger to their complaints, artfully contrives a scheme to prove whether this defect proceeded from his own want of generosity, or their want of discernment.

other rubrics. In the rubric there is also GESTA ALEXANDRI, lib. iii. f. 61. a. col. 1. And in the story of Sardanapalus, "These olde GESTES tellen us," lib. iii. 167. a. col. 1.

^b Lib. v. f. 118. a. col. 2.

^c Lib. vii. f. 169. a. col. 1.

^d See supra, p. 185. Note ^h.

^e He refers to a CRONIKE for other stories, as the story of Lucius king of Rome, and the king's fool. "In a CRONIKE it telleth us." Lib. vii. f. 165. a. col. 2. Of the translation of the Roman empire to the Lombards. "This made an emperour anon, whose name, the CHRONICLE telleth, was Othes." Prol. fol. 5. b. col. 2. Of Constantine's le-

prosy. "For in CRONIKE thus I rede." Lib. iii. f. 46. b. col. 2. For which he also cites "the bokes of Latine," ib. f. 45. a. col. 1. In the story of Caius Fabricius, "In a CRONIQUE I fynde thus." Lib. vii. f. 157. a. col. 2. Of the soothsayer and the emperor of Rome. "As in CRONIKE it is witholde."—"Which the CHRONIKE hath authorized." Lib. vii. f. 154. b. col. 1. f. 155. b. col. 2. Of the emperor's son who serves the Soldan of Persia. "There was as the CRONIQUE seith, an emperour," &c. Lib. ii. f. 41. b. col. 1. For the story of Carmidotoirus consul of Rome, he refers to these *olde bokes*. Lib. vii. f. 157. b. col. 2. &c. &c.

Anone he lette two cofres^f make,
 Of one semblance, of one make,
 So lyche^g, that no life thilke throwe
 That one maie fro that other knowe:
 Thei were into his chambre brought,
 But no man wote why they be brought,
 And netheles the kynge hath bede,
 That thei be sette in privie stede,
 As he that was of wisdomes sligh,
 Whan he therto his tyme sigh^h,
 All privilycheⁱ, that none it wiste,
 His own hondes that one chist^k
 Of *fine golde* and of *fine perie*^l,
 (The which oute of his tresurie
 Was take) anone he filde full;
 That other cofre of *strawe* and *mulle*^m,
 With *stones mened*, he filde also:
 Thus be thei full both tho.

The king assembles his courtiers, and shewing them the two chests, acquaints them, that one of these is filled with gold and jewels; that they should chuse which of the two they liked best, and that the contents should instantly be distributed among them all. A knight by common consent is appointed to chuse for them, who fixes upon the chest filled with straw and stones.

This kynge then in the same stedeⁿ,
 Anone that other cofre undede,
 Whereas thei sawen grete richesse
 Wile more than thei couthen gesse.
 “Lo,” saith the kynge, “now maie ye see
 That there is no default in mee:

^f coffers; chests.^g like.ⁱ privily.^h saw.^k chest.^l gems.^m place.ⁿ rubbish.

Forthy^o, myself I will I acquite,
 And beareth your own wite
 Of that fortune hath you refused." ^p

It must be confessed, that there is a much greater and a more beautiful variety of incidents in this story as it is related in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, which Shakespeare has followed, than in Gower: and was it not demonstrable, that this compilation preceded our author's age by some centuries, one would be tempted to conclude, that Gower's story was the original fable in its simple unimproved state. Whatever was the case, it is almost certain that one story produced the other.

A translation into English of the *GESTA ROMANORUM* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date. In the year 1577, one Richard Robinson published *A Record of ancient Historyes, in Latin GESTA ROMANORUM, perused, corrected, and bettered, by R. Robinson, London, 1577*^q. Of this translation there were six impressions before the year 1601^r. The later editions, both Latin and English, differ considerably from a manuscript belonging to the British Museum^s, which con-

^o therefore.

^p Lib. v. f. 86. a. col. 1. seq. The story which follows is somewhat similar, in which the emperor Frederick places before two beggars two pasties, one filled with capons, the other with florins. *ibid.* b. col. 2.

^q In twelves. See among the Royal Manuscripts, Brit. Mus. "Richard Robinson's Eupolemia, Archippus and Panoplia: being an account of his Patrons and Benefactions, &c. 1603." See fol. 5. MSS. Reg. 18. A lxvi. This R. Robinson, I believe, published *Part of the harmony of king David's harp*. A translation of the first twenty-one psalms, for J. Wolfe, 1582. 4to. A translation of Leland's *ASSERTIO ARTHURI*, for the same, 1582. 4to. *The auncient order societie, &c. of prince Arthure, and his knightly armory of the round table*, in verse, for the same, 1583, 4to.

^r There is an edition, in black letter, so late as 1689.

^s MSS. Harl. 2270. 1. See *ibid.* cap. xcix. for this story. Tit. "*Liber Asceticus cui titulus Gesta Romanorum, cum Reductionibus sive Moralitytibus eorundem.*" There is an English translation, *ibid.* MSS. Harl. 7333. This has the *Jew's bond* and the *Casketts*. In the same library there is a large collection of legendary tales in different hands, written on parchment, 8vo. MSS. Harl. 2316. One of these is, "*De vera Amicitia, et de Passione Christi: Narratio a Petro Alphonso.*" 18. fol. 8. b. The history of the two friends here related, is told more at large in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, where the friends are two knights. Peter Alphonsus lived about 1110. This tale, I think, is Lydgate's *fabula duorum mercatorum*, MSS. Harl. 2251. 33. fol. 56. "In Egypt whilom," &c. See also 2255. 17. fol. 72. Manuscripts of these *GESTA* occur thrice in the Bodleian library. MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 10. *Ibid.* super O. 1. Art. 17. And Hyper. Bodl. (Cod. Gray.)

tains not only the story of the CASKETTS in Shakespeare's *MERCHANT of VENICE*, but that of the *JEW'S BOND* in the same play^t. I cannot exactly ascertain the age of this piece, which has many fictitious and fabulous facts intermixed with true history; nor have I been able to discover the name of its compiler.

It appears to me to have been formed on the model of Valerius Maximus, the favourite classic of the monks. It is quoted and commended as a true history, among many historians of credit, such as Josephus, Orosius, Bede, and Eusebius, by Herman Korner, a dominican friar of Lubec, who wrote a *CHRONICA NOVELLA*, or history of the world, in the year 1435^u.

In speaking of our author's sources, I must not omit a book translated by the unfortunate Antony Widville, first earl of Rivers, chiefly with a view of proving its early popularity. It is the *Dictes or Sayings of Philosophres*, which lord Rivers translated from the French of William de Thignonville, provost of the city of Paris about the year 1408, entitled *Les dictes moraux des philosophes, les dictes des sages et les secrets d'Aristote*^v. The English translation was printed by Caxton, in the year 1477. Gower refers to this tract, which first existed in Latin, more than once; and it is most probable, that he consulted the Latin original^w.

B. 55. 3. viz. *Narrationes breves e GESTIS ROMANORUM et aliorum*. But this last seems rather a defloration. In Hereford cathedral, 73. In Worcester cathedral, 80. In (late) Burscough's (rector of Totness) MSS. Cod. 82. 1. In (late) Sir Symonds D'Ewes's MSS. Cod. 150. 2. In Trinity college Dublin, G. 326. At Oxford, Saint John's college twice, C. 31. 2. G. 41. Magdalen college, twice, Cod. Lat. 13. 60. Lincoln college Libr. Theol. 60. See what is said of *Gests*, supr. vol. i. p. 78. Among the manuscript books written by Lopus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator from Greek into Latin, about the year 1350, Balusius mentions *De Origine Urbis Romæ, et de Gestis Romanorum*. What this piece is I cannot

ascertain. Apud Fabric. Bibl. Med. Inf. Latinitat. iv. 722. Compare de Gestis Imperatorum Liber, MSS. Harl. 5259. i. ^t ch. xlviii.

^u See Eccard's Corp. Histor. tom. ii. p. 432.—1343. Lips. 1723. fol.

^v See Mem. de Litt. xvii. 745. 4to.

^w Among these other "*tales wise of philosophers* in this wise I rede," &c. Lib. vii. f. 143. a. col. 1. f. 142. b. col. 2. &c. See Walpole's Cat. royal and noble authors. There is another translation, done in 1450, dedicated to Sir John Fastolfe, knight, by his son-in-law *Stevyn Scrope Squyer*. MSS. Harl. 2265. William de Thignonville is here said to have translated this book into French for the use of king Charles the Sixth.

It is pleasant to observe the strange mistakes which Gower, a man of great learning, and the most general scholar of his age, has committed in this poem, concerning books which he never saw, his violent anachronisms, and misrepresentations of the most common facts and characters. He mentions the Greek poet Menander, as one of the first historians, or "first enditours of the olde cronike," together with Esdras, Solinus, Josephus, Claudius Salpicius, Termegis, Pandulfe, Frigidilles, Ephiloquorus, and Pandas. It is extraordinary that Moses should not here be mentioned, in preference to Esdras. Solinus is ranked so high, because he recorded nothing but wonders^x; and Josephus, on account of his subject, had long been placed almost on a level with the Bible. He is seated on the first pillar in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME. His Jewish History, translated into Latin by Rufinus in the fourth century, had given rise to many old poems and romances^y: and his MACCABAICS, or History of the seven Maccabees martyred with their father Eleazar under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, a separate work, translated also by Rufinus, produced the JUDAS MACCABEE of Belleperche in the year 1240, and at length enrolled the Maccabees among the most illustrious heroes of romance^z. On this account too, perhaps, Esdras is here so respectably remembered. I suppose Sulpicius is Sulpicius Severus, a petty annalist of the fifth century. Termegis is probably Trismegistus, the mystic philosopher, certainly not an historian, at least not an antient one. Pandulf seems to be Pandulph of Pisa, who wrote lives of the popes, and died in the year 1198^a.

^x Our author has a story from Solinus concerning a monstrous bird, lib. iii. f. 62. b. col. 2. See supr. vol. i. p. 102. Note °.

^y See supr. p. 50. 147. There is JOSEPHUS *de la BATAILLE JUDAÏQUE traduit de Latin en François*, printed by Verard at Paris, 1480. fol. I think it is a poem. All Josephus's works were printed in the old Latin translation, at Verona, 1480. fol. And frequently soon afterwards. They were translated into French, German, Spanish, and Italian, and printed, between the years 1492 and

1554. See the COLLANA GRECA, in Haym's Bibliothec. p. 6. 7. A French translation was made in 1460, or 1463. Cod. Reg. Paris. 7015.

^z See supr. p. 50. In the British Museum there is "Maccabeorum et Josephi Historiarum Epitome, metricæ." 10 A. viii. 5. MSS. Reg. See MSS. Harl. 5713.

^a See the story, in our author, of pope Boniface supplanting Celestine. "In a CRONYKE of tyme ago." Lib. ii. f. 42. a. col. 2.

Frigidilles is perhaps Fregedaire, a Burgundian, who flourished about the year 641, and wrote a chronicon from Adam to his own times; often printed, and containing the best account of the Franks after Gregory of Tours^b. Our author, who has partly suffered from ignorant transcribers and printers, by Ephiloquorus undoubtedly intended Eutropius. In the next paragraph, indeed, he mentions Herodotus: yet not as an early historian, but as the first writer of a system of the metrical art, "of metre, of ryme, and of cadence^c." We smile, when Hector in Shakespeare quotes Aristotle: but Gower gravely informs his reader, that Ulysses was a *clerke*, accomplished with a knowledge of all the sciences, a great rhetorician and magician: that he learned rhetoric of Tully, magic of Zoroaster, astronomy of Ptolomy, philosophy of Plato, divination of the prophet Daniel, proverbial instruction of Solomon, botany of Macer, and medicine of Hippocrates^d. And in the seventh book, Aristotle, or the *philosophre*, is introduced reciting to his scholar Alexander the Great, a disputation between a Jew and a Pagan, who meet between Cairo and Babylon, concerning their respective religions: the end of the story is to shew the cunning, cruelty, and ingratitude of the Jew, which are at last deservedly punished^e. But I believe Gower's apology must be, that he took this narrative from some christian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpose, at the expence of all probability and propriety.

The only classic Roman writers which our author cites are Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tully. Among the Italian poets, one is surprised he should not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called "a certain poet of

^b See Ruinart. Dissertat. de Fredegario ejusque Operibus. tom. ii. Hist. Franc. p. 443. There is also Fridegodus, a monk of Dover, who wrote the lives of some sainted bishops about the year 960. And a Frigeridus, known only by a reference which Gregory of Tours makes to the *twelfth book of his History*, concerning the times preceding Valentinian the Third, and the capture

of Rome by Totila. Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor. lib. ii. cap. 8. 9. If this last be the writer in the text, a manuscript of Frigeridus's History might have existed in Gower's age, which is now lost.

^c Lib. vi. f. 76. b. col. 1.

^d Lib. vi. f. 135. a. col. 1.

^e Lib. vii. f. 156. b. col. 2.

Italy named Dante," *quidam poeta Italiæ qui DANTE vocabatur*^f. He appears to have been well acquainted with the Homilies of pope Gregory the great^g, which were translated into Italian, and printed at Milan, so early as the year 1479. I can hardly decypher, and must therefore be excused from transcribing, the names of all the renowned authors which our author has quoted in alchemy, astrology, magic, palmistry, geomancy, and other branches of the occult philosophy. Among the astrological writers, he mentions Noah, Abraham, and Moses. But he is not sure that Abraham was an author, having never seen any of that patriarch's works: and he prefers Trismegistus to Moses^h. Cabalistical tracts were however extant, not only under the names of Abraham, Noah, and Moses, but of Adam, Abel, and Enochⁱ. He mentions, with particular regard, Ptolomy's ALMAGEST; the grand source of all the superstitious notions propagated by the Arabian philosophers concerning the science of divination by the stars^k. These infatuations seem to have completed their triumph over human credulity in Gower's age, who probably was an ingenious adept in the false and frivolous speculations of this admired species of study.

Gower, amidst his graver literature, appears to have been a great reader of romances. The lover, in speaking of the gratification which his passion receives from the sense of hearing, says, that to hear his lady speak is more delicious, than to feast on all the dainties that could be compounded by a cook of Lombardy. They are not so restorative

As bin the wordes of hir mouth;

For as the wyndes of the South

Ben most of all debonaire,

So when hir lust^l to speak faire,

^f Lib. vii. f. 154. b. col. 1.

^g Prolog. f. 2. b. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 93. a. col. 1. 2. f. 94. a. col. 1.

^h Lib. vii. f. 134. b. col. 1. vii. f. 149. b. col. 1.

ⁱ See *supra*, p. 229. Note ^h. And Morhof. Polyhist. tom. ii. p. 455. seq. edit. 1747.

^k Mabillon mentions, in a manuscript of the ALMAGEST written before the year 1240, a drawing of Ptolomy, holding a mirrour, not an optical tube, in his hand, and contemplating the stars. Itin. Germanic. p. 49.

^l she chuses.

The vertue of her goodly speche
Is verily myne hartes leche^m.

These are elegant verses. To hear her sing is paradise.
Then he adds,

Full oft tyme it falleth so,
My ereⁿ with a good pitance
Is fed of *redynge of romance*
Of IDOYNE and AMADAS,
That whilom were in my cas;
And eke of *other, many a score*,
That loved long ere I was bore^o:
For when I of her^p loves rede,
Myn ere with the tale I fede;
And with the lust of her histoire,
Sometime I draw into memoire,
Howe sorrowe may not ever last,
And so hope comith in at last^q.

The romance of IDOYNE and AMADAS is recited as a favourite history among others, in the prologue to a collection of legends called CURSOR MUNDI, translated from the French^r. I have already observed our poet's references to Sir LANCELOT's romance.

Our author's account of the progress of the Latin language is extremely curious. He supposes that it was invented by the old Tuscan prophetess Carmens; that it was reduced to method, to composition, pronunciation, and prosody, by the grammarians Aristarchus, Donatus, and Didymus: adorned with the flowers of eloquence and rhetoric by Tully: then enriched by translations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek languages, more especially by the version of the Hebrew bible into Latin by Saint Jerom, in the fourth century: and that at length, after the labours of many celebrated writers, it received its final consummation in Ovid, the poet of lovers. At the mention of

^m physician.

^o born.

ⁿ ear.

^p their.

^q Lib. vi. f. 133. a. col. 2.

^r See supr. vol. I. p. 127. Note ^t.

Ovid's name, the poet, with the dexterity and address of a true master of transition, seizes the critical moment of bringing back the dialogue to its proper argument^s,

The CONFESSIO AMANTIS was most probably written after Chaucer's *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*. At the close of the poem, we are presented with an assemblage of the most illustrious lovers^t. Together with the renowned heroes and heroines of love, mentioned either in romantic or classical history, we have David and Bathsheba, Sampson and Dalila, and Solomon with all his concubines. Virgil, also, Socrates, Plato, and Ovid, are enumerated as lovers. Nor must we be surprised to find Aristotle honoured with a place in this gallant groupe: for whom, says the poet, the queen of Greece made such a syllogism as destroyed all his logic. But, among the rest, Troilus and Cressida are introduced; seemingly with an intention of paying a compliment to Chaucer's poem on their story, which had been submitted to Gower's correction^u. Although this famous pair had been also recently celebrated in Boccaccio's *FILIOSTRATO*^v. And in another place, speaking of his absolute devotion to his lady's will, he declares himself ready to acquiesce in her choice, whatsoever she shall command: whether, if when tired of dancing and caroling, she should chuse to play at chess, or read *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*. This is certainly Chaucer's poem.

That when her list on nights wake
In chambre, as to carol and daunce,
Methinke I maie me more avaunce,
If I may gone upon hir honde,
Than if I wyne a kynges londe.
For whan I maie her hand beclip^w,
With such gladness I daunce and skip,
Methinketh I touch not the floore;
The roe which renneth on the moore

^s Lib. iv. f. 77. b. col. 2.

^t Lib. viii. f. 158. a. col. 2.

^u Chaucer's Tr. Cress. Urr. edit. p. 333.

^v See supr. p. 220, 221.

^w clasp.

Is than nought so light as I.—
 And whan it falleth other gate^x,
 So that hir liketh not to daunce,
 But on the dyes to cast a chaunce,
 Or aske of love some demaunde;
 Or els that her list commaunde
 To rede and here of TROILUS^y.

That this poem was written after Chaucer's FLOURE AND LEAFE, may be partly collected from the following passage, which appears to be an imitation of Chaucer, and is no bad specimen of Gower's most poetical manner. Rosiphele, a beautiful princess, but setting love at defiance, the daughter of Herupus king of Armenia, is taught obedience to the laws of Cupid by seeing a vision of Ladies.

Whan come was the moneth of Maie,
 She wolde walke upon a daie,
 And that was er the son arist^z,
 Of women but a fewe it wist^a;
 And forth she went prively,
 Unto a parke was faste by,
 All softe walkende on the gras,
 Tyll she came there^b the launde was
 Through which ran a great rivere,
 It thought her fayre; and said, here
 I will abide under the shawe;
 And bad hir women to withdrawe:
 And ther she stood alone stille
 To thinke what was in her wille.
 She sighe^c the swete floures sprynge,
 She herde glad fowles synge;
 She sigh beastes in her kynde,
 The buck, the doo, the hert, the hynde,

^x gaiety, or way.

^y Lib. iv. f. 78. b. col. 1.

^z arose.

^a "But a few of her women knew of this."

^b there where.

^c saw.

The males go with the femele:
 And so began there a quarele^d
 Betwene love and her owne herte
 Fro whiche she couthe not asterte.
 And as she cast hir eie aboute,
 She sigh, clad in one suit, a route
 Of ladies where thei comen ride
 Alonge under the wooddè side;
 On fayre ambulende^e hors thei set,
 That were al whyte, fayre, and gret;
 And everichone ride on side^f.
 The sadels were of such a pride,
 So riche sighe she never none;
 With perles and golde so wel begone,
 In kirtels and in copes riche
 Thei were clothed all aliche^g,
 Departed even of white and blewe,
 With all lustes^h that she knewe
 Thei wer embroudred over all:
 Herⁱ bodies weren longe and small,
 The beautee of hir fayre face,
 There mai none erthly thing deface:
 Corownes on their heades thei bare,
 As eche of hem a quene were.
 That all the golde of Cresus hall
 The least coronall of all
 Might not have boughte, after the worth,
 Thus comen thei ridend forthe.
 The kynges doughter, whiche this sigh,
 For pure abasshe drewe hir adrigh,
 And helde hir close undir the bough.

At length she sees riding in the rear of this splendid troop,
 on a horse lean, galled, and lame, a beautiful lady in a tattered
 garment, her saddle mean and much worn, but her bridle richly

^d dispute.^e ambling.^g alike.^h lists; colours.^f A mark of high rank.ⁱ their.

studded with gold and jewels : and round her waist were more than an hundred halters. The princess asks the meaning of this strange procession ; and is answered by the lady on the lean horse, that these are spectres of ladies, who, when living, were obedient and faithful votaries of love. “As to myself,” she adds, “I am now receiving my annual penance for being a rebel to love.”

For I whilom no love had ;
My horse is now feble and badde,
And al to torn is myn araie ;
And everie year this freshe Maie
These lustie ladies ride aboute,
And I must nedes sew^k her route,
In this manner as ye now see,
And trusse her halters forth with mee,
And am but her horse knave^l.

The princess then asks her, why she wore the rich bridle, so inconsistent with the rest of her furniture, her dress, and horse ? The lady answers, that it was a badge and reward for having loved a knight faithfully for the last fortnight of her life.

“Now have ye herde all mine answere ;
To god, madam, I you betake,
And warneth all, for my sake,
Of love, that thei be not idell,
And bid hem thinke of my bridell.”
And with that worde, all sodenly
She passeth, as it were a skie^m,
All clean out of the ladies sightⁿ.

My readers will easily conjecture the change which this spectacle must naturally produce in the obdurate heart of the princess of Armenia. There is a farther proof that the FLOURE AND LEAFE preceded the CONFESSIO AMANTIS. In the eighth book, our author's lovers are crowned with the Flower and Leaf.

^k follow.

^l their groom.

^m a shadow ; *Σκία*, *umbra*.

ⁿ Lib. iv. f. 70. seq.

Myn eie I caste all aboutes,
 To knowe amonge hem who was who:
 I sigh where lustie YOUTH tho,
 As he which was a capitayne
 Before all others on the playne,
 Stode with his route wel begon:
 Her heades kempt, and thereupon
 Garlondes not of *one* colour,
 Some of the *lese*, some of the *floure*,
 And some of grete perles were:
 The new guise of Beme^o was there, &c.^p

I believe on the whole, that Chaucer had published most of his poems before this piece of Gower appeared. Chaucer had not however at this time written his TESTAMENT OF LOVE: for Gower, in a sort of Epilogue to the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, is addressed by Venus, who commands him to greet Chaucer as her favourite poet and disciple, as one who had employed his youth in composing songs and ditties to her honour. She adds at the close,

For thy, now in his *daies olde*,
 Thou shalt hym tell this message,
 That he upon his *later* age
 To sette *an ende* of all his werke
 As he, which is myne owne clerke,
 Do make his TESTAMENT OF LOVE,
 As thou hast done thy SHRIFTE above:
 So that my court it maie recorde^q.

Chaucer at this time was sixty-five years of age. The Court of Love, one of the pedantries of French gallantry, occurs often. In an address to Venus, "Madame, I am a man of thyne, that in thy COURTE hath served long^r." The lover observes, that for want of patience, a man ought "amonge the women alle, in LOVES COURTE, by *judgement* the name beare of paciant^s."

^o Boeme; Bohemia.

^p Lib. vii. f. 188. a. col. 1. See supr.
p. 301, 302.

^q Lib. viii. f. 190. b. col. 1.

^r Lib. i. f. 8. b. col. 1.

^s Lib. iii. f. 51. a. col. 1.

The confessor declares, that many persons are condemned for disclosing secrets, "In Loves Courte, as it is said, that lette their tonges gone untide^t." By *Thy* SHRIFTE, the author means his own poem now before us, the Lover's CONFESSION.

There are also many manifest evidences which lead us to conclude, that this poem preceded Chaucer's CANTERBURY'S TALES, undoubtedly some of that poet's latest compositions, and probably not begun till after the year 1382. The MAN OF LAWES TALE is circumstantially borrowed from Gower's CONSTANTIA^u: and Chaucer, in that TALE, apparently censures Gower, for his manner of relating the stories of Canace and Apollonius in the third and eighth books of the CONFESSIO AMANTIS^w. The WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded on Gower's Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the incantations of her step-mother^x.

^t Lib. iii. f. 52. a. col. 1. See supr. p. 295. In the same strain we have Cupid's *parlement*. Lib. viii. f. 187. b. col. 2.

^u Conf. Amant. Lib. ii. f. 30. b. col. 2. See particularly, *ibid.* f. 35. b. col. 2. a. col. 1. And compare Ch. MAN OF L. T. v. 5505. "Some men wold sayn, &c." That is, GOWER.

^w See Chaucer, *ibid.* v. 4500. And Conf. Amant. Lib. iii. f. 48. a. col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. f. 175. a. col. 2. seq. I have just discovered, that the favourite story of Apollonius, having appeared in antient Greek, Latin, Saxon, barbarous Greek, and old French, was at length translated from French into English, and printed in the black letter, by Wynkyn de Worde, A. D. 1510. 4to. "Kynge Appolyn of Thyre." [See supr. p. 184. Note ^b.] A copy is in my possession.

[A Greco-barbarous translation of the romance of APOLLONIUS OF TYRE was

made by one Gabriel Contianus¹, a Grecian, about the year 1500, as appears by a manuscript in the imperial library at Vienna²; and printed at Venice in 1503. [See supr. p. 184. Note ^b.] Salviati, in his *Avvertimenti*, mentions an Italian romance on this subject, which he supposes to have been written about the year 1330. Lib. ii. c. 12. Velser first published this romance in Latin at Ausburgh, in 1595. 4to. The story is here much more elegantly told, than in the GESTA ROMANORUM. In Godfrey of Viterbo's PANTHEON, it is in Leonine verse. There has been even a German translation of this favorite tale, viz. "Historia APOLLONII TYRIÆ et Sidoniæ regis ex Latino sermone in Germanicum translata. August. Vindel. apud Gintherum Zainer, 1471. fol." At the end is a German colophon, importing much the same.—

ADDITIONS.]

^x Lib. i. f. 15. b. col. 2.

¹ Γαβριήλ Κοντιανός. Perhaps Κωνσταντίνος.

² Lambecc. CATAL. BIBL. CÆSAR. Nesselii SUPPL. tom. i. p. 341. MSS. Græc. CCXLIV. (Vind. et Norinb. 1690. fol.) Pr. "Μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰησοῦ χρεῖσιν." Fin. "Ποίημα ἐν ἀποχρεῖσιν Γαβριήλ Κοντιάνου," &c. This is in prose. But under this class of the imperial library, Nesselius recites many manuscript poems in the Greco-barbarous metre of the fifteenth century or thereabouts, viz. *The Loves of Hemperius*; *Description of the city of Venice*; *The Romance of Florius and Platzflora*; *The Blindness and Beggary of Belisarius*; *The Trojan War*; *Of Hell*; *Of an Earthquake in the Isle of Crete*, &c. These were all written at the restoration of Learning in Italy. [See vol. i. p. 182. *passim*.]

Although the *GESTA ROMANORUM* might have furnished both poets with this narrative. Chaucer, however, among other great improvements, has judiciously departed from the fable, in converting Sicily into the more popular court of king Arthur.

Perhaps, in estimating Gower's merit, I have pushed the notion too far, that because he shews so much learning he had no great share of natural abilities. But it should be considered, that when books began to grow fashionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the highest honour, poets became ambitious of being thought scholars; and sacrificed their native powers of invention to the ostentation of displaying an extensive course of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minstrels of these times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth spontaneous rhymes in obedience to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine strokes of passion and imagination, than the professed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this observation: whose original feelings were too strong to be suppressed by books, and whose learning was overbalanced by genius.

This affectation of appearing learned, which yet was natural at the revival of literature, in our old poets, even in those who were altogether destitute of talents, has lost to posterity many a curious picture of manners, and many a romantic image. Some of our antient bards, however, aimed at no other merit, than that of being able to versify; and attempted nothing more, than to cloath in rhyme those sentiments, which would have appeared with equal propriety in prose.

In lord Gower's library, there is a thin oblong manuscript on vellum, containing some of Gower's poems in Latin, French, and English. By an entry in the first leaf, in the hand-writing, and under the signature, of Thomas lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuscripts^y, it appears that this book was presented by the poet Gower, about the year 1400, to Henry the Fourth; and

^y He gave twenty-nine antient manuscripts to the Bodleian library, one of which is a beautiful manuscript of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. When the Record-tower in St. Mary's abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the soldiers who could bring him fragments of

that it was given by lord Fairfax to his *friend and kinsman* sir Thomas Gower knight and baronet, in the year 1656. By another entry, lord Fairfax acknowledges to have received it, in the same year, as a present, from *that learned gentleman* Charles Gedde esquire, of saint Andrews in Scotland: and at the end, are five or six Latin anagrams on Gedde, written and signed by lord Fairfax, with this title, “IN NOMEN venerandi et annosi Amici sui Caroli Geddei.” By king Henry the Fourth it seems to have been placed in the royal library: it appears at least to have been in the hands of king Henry the Seventh while earl of Richmond, from the name *Rychemond*, inserted in another of the blank leaves at the beginning, and explained by this note, “Liber Henrici Septimi tunc Comitis Richmond, propria manu scripsit.” This manuscript is neatly written, with miniated and illuminated initials: and contains the following pieces. I. A Panegyric in stanzas, with a Latin prologue or rubric in seven hexameters, on king Henry the Fourth. This poem, commonly called *Carmen de pacis Commendatione in laudem Henrici Quarti*, is printed in Chaucer’s WORKS, edit. Urr. p. 540.—II. A short Latin poem in elegiacs on the same subject, beginning, “*Rex cœli deus et dominus qui tempora solus**.” [MSS. COTTON. OTHO. D. i. 4.] This is followed by ten other very short pieces, both in French and English, [Latin] of the same tendency.—III. CINKANTE BALADES, or Fifty Sonnets in French. Part of the first is illegible. They are closed with the following epilogue and colophon.

the scattered parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous original evidences lodged in this repository had been just before transcribed by Roger Dodsworth; and the transcripts, which formed the ground-work of Dugdale’s MONASTICON, consisting of forty-nine large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to the same library. Fairfax also, when Oxford was garrisoned by the parliamentary forces, exerted his utmost diligence in preserving the Bodleian library from pillage; so that it suffered much less,

than when that city was in the possession of the royalists.

* [The minute title of this [Latin poem] is at the close of the English poem, and does not exactly accord with Mr. Warton’s assertion: “Explicit carmen de pacis commendatione quod ad laudem et memoriam serenissimi principis domini Regis Henrici quarti suus humilis orator Johannes Gower composuit. *Et nunc sequitur Epistola in qua idem Johannes pro statu et salute dicti domini sui altissimi devocius exorat.*”—TODD.]

O gentile Engleterre a toi iescrits,
 Pour remembrer ta ioie qest nouvelle,
 Que te survient du noble Roy Henris,
 Par qui dieus ad redreste ta querele,
 A dieu purceo prient et cil et celle,
 Qil de sa grace, au fort Roi corone,
 Doingt peas, honour, ioie et prosperite.

Expliciunt carmina Johis Gower que Gallice composita BALADES *dicuntur.*—IV. Two short Latin poems in elegiacs. The First beginning, "*Ecce patet tensus ceci Cupidinis arcus.*" The Second, "*O Natura viri potuit quam tollere nemo.*"—V. A French poem, imperfect at the beginning, *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage*, in one book. The subject is illustrated by examples. As no part of this poem was ever printed, I transcribe one of the stories.

Qualiter Jason uxorem suam Medeam relinquens, Creusam Creontis regis filiam sibi carnaliter copulavit. Verum ipse cum duobus filiis suis postea infortunatus [decessit].

Li prus Jason qeu lisle de Colchos
 Le toison dor, pour laide de Medee
 Conquist dont il donour portoit grant loos
 Par tout le monde encourt la renomee
 La joefne dame oue soi ad amenee
 De son pays en Grece et lespousa
 Ffrenite espousaile dieus le vengera.

Quant Medea meulx qui de etre en repos
 Ove son mari et qelle avoit porte
 Deux fils de luy lors changea le purpos
 El qelle Jason permer fuist oblige
 Il ad del tout Medeam refuse
 Si prist la file au roi Creon Creusa
 Ffrenite espousaile dieux le vengera.
 Medea qot le coer de dolour cloos
 En son corous et ceo fuist grant pite

Sas joefnes fils queux et jadis en clos
 Veniz ses costees ensi com forseuee
 Devant ses oels Jason ele ad tue
 Ceo queu fuist fait pecche le fortuna
 Ffrenite espousaile dieux le vengera.

Towards the end of the piece, the poet introduces an apology for any inaccuracies, which, as an Englishman, he may have committed in the French idiom.

Al universite de tout le monde
 JOHAN GOWER ceste Balade evoie;
 Et si ieo nai de Francois la faconde,
 Pardonetz moi qe ieo de ceo forsvoie.
 Jeo suis Englois: si quier par tiele voie
 Estre excuse mais quoique mills endie
 L'amour parfait en dieu se justifie.

It is finished with a few Latin hexameters, viz. "Quis sit vel qualis sacer ordo connubialis." This poem occurs at the end of two valuable folio manuscripts, illuminated and on vellum, of the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. FAIRFAX, iii. And NE. F. 8. 9. Also in the manuscript at All Souls college Oxford, MSS. xxvi. described and cited above. And in MSS. HARL. 3869. In all these, and, I believe, in many others, it is properly connected with the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS* by the following rubric. "Puisqu'il ad dit CIDEVANT en ENGLOIS, par voie dessample, la sotie de celui qui par amours aimie par especial, dirra ore apres en FRANCOIS a tout le mond en general une traitie selonc les auctors, pour essemplar les amants mariez," &c. It begins,

Le creature du tout creature.

But the CINQUANTE BALADES, or fifty French Sonnets above mentioned, are the curious and valuable part of lord Gower's manuscript. They are not mentioned by those who have written the Life of this poet, or have catalogued his works. Nor do they appear in any other manuscript of Gower which I have examined. But if they should be discovered in any other, I will venture to pronounce, that a more authentic, unembar-

rassed, and practicable copy than this before us, will not be produced: although it is for the most part unpointed, and obscured with abbreviations, and with those misspellings which flowed from a scribe unacquainted with the French language.

To say no more, however, of the value which these little pieces may derive from being so scarce and so little known, they have much real and intrinsic merit. They are tender, pathetic, and poetical; and place our old poet Gower in a more advantageous point of view than that in which he has hitherto been usually seen. I know not if any even among the French poets themselves, of this period, have left a set of more finished sonnets: for they were probably written when Gower was a young man, about the year 1350. Nor had yet any English poet treated the passion of love with equal delicacy of sentiment, and elegance of composition. I will transcribe four of these balades as correctly and intelligibly as I am able: although I must confess, there are some lines which I do not exactly comprehend.

BALADE XXXVI.

Pour comparer ce jolif temps de Maij,
Jeole dirrai semblable a Paradis;
Car lors chantont et merle et papegai,
Les champs sont vert, les herbes sont floris;
Lors est Nature dame du paijs:
Dont Venus poingt l'amant au tiel assai,
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.

Quant tout ceo voi, et que ieo penserai,
Coment Nature ad tout le monde suspris,
Dont pour le temps se fait minote et gai,
Et ieo des autres suis souleni horspris,
Com al qui sanz amie est vrais amis,
Nest pas mervaille lors si ieo mesmai,
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.

En lieu de rose, urtie cuilleraï,
Dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis,
Que tout ioie et confort ieo lerrai,
Si celle soule eu qui iai mon coer mis,

Selonc le ponit qe iai sovent requis,
Ne deigne aleggier les griefs mals qe iai,

Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.

Pour pite querre et pourchacer intris,
Va ten balade ou ieo tenvoierai,
Qore en certain ieo lai tresbien apris
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire Nai.

BALADE XXXIV.

Saint Valentin, l'Amour, et la Nature,
Des touts oiseals ad en gouvernement,
Dont chascun deaux, semblable a sa mesure,
Un compaigne honeste a son talent
Eslist, tout dun accord et dun assent,
Pour celle soule laist a covenir;
Toutes les autres car nature aprent
V li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Ma doulce Dame, ensi ieo vous assure,
Qe ieo vous ai eslieu semblablement,
Sur toutes autres estes a dessure
De mon amour si tresentierement,
Qe riens y falt pourquoi ioiousement,
De coer et corps ieo vous voldrai servir,
Car de reson cest une experiment,
V li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Pour remembrer iadis celle aventure
De Alceone et ceix ensemment,
Com dieus muoit en oisel lour figure,
Ma volente serroit tout tielement
Qe sans envie et danger de la gent,
Nous porroions ensemble pour loisir
Voler tout francs en votre esbatement
V li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Ma bel oisel, vers qui mon pensement
Seu vole ades sanz null contretenir
Preu cest escript car ieo sai voirement
V li coers est le corps falt obeir.

BALADE XLIII.

Plus tricheraus qe Jason a Medee,
 A Deianire ou q' Ercules estoit,
 Plus q' Eneas q' avoit Dido lassee,
 Plus qe Theseus q' Adriagne^z amoit,
 Ou Demophon quant Phillis oublioit,
 Te trieus, helas, qamer iadis soloie,
 Dont chanterai desore en mon endroit

Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

Unques Ector qama Pantasilee^a,
 En tiele haste a Troie ne sarmoit,
 Qe tu tout mid nes deniz le lit couche
 Amis as toutes quelques venir doit,
 Ne poet chaloir mais qune femme y soit,
 Si es comun plus qe la halte voie,
 Helas, qe la fortune me deçoit,

Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

De Lancelot^b si fuissetz remembre,
 Et de Tristans, com il se countenoit,
 Generides^c, Fflorent^d, Par Tonope^e,
 Chascun des ceaux sa loialtie guardoit;
 Mais tu, helas, qest ieo qe te forsvoit
 De moi qa toi iamaiz mill iour falsoie,
 Tu es a large et ieo sui en destroit,

Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

^z Ariadne.

^a Penthesilea.

^b Sir Lancelot's intrigue with Geneura, king Arthur's queen, and sir Tristram with Bel Isoulde, incidents in Arthur's romance, are made the subject of one of the stories of the French poem just cited, viz.

Commes sont la cronique et listoire
 De Lancelot et Tristrans ensement, &c.

^c This name, of which I know nothing, must be corruptly written.

^d Chaucer's WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded on the story of Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the enchantments of her stepmother. His story

is also in our author's CONFESSIO AMANTIS, Lib. iii. fol. 48. a. col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. fol. 175. a. col. 2. seq. And in the GESTA ROMANORUM. [See supr. p. 334.] Percy [NUM. 2.] recites a romance called LE BONE FLORENCE DE ROME, which begins,

As ferre as men ride or gon.

I know not if this be Shakespeare's Florentius, or Florentio, TAM. SHR. i. 5. Be she as foul as was FLORENTIUS' love.

^e That is Partenope, or Parthenopeus, one of Statius's heroes, on whom there is an old French romance. See supr. vol. i. p. 142. [where this statement is corrected.]

Des toutz les mals tu qes le plus maloit,
 Ceste compleignte a ton oraille envoie
 Sante me laist, et langour me recoit,
Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

BALADE XX.

Si com la nief, quant le fort vent tempeste,
 Pur halte mier se torne aci et la,
 Ma dame, ensi mon coer manit en tempeste,
 Quant le danger de vo parole orra,
 Le nief qe votre bouche soufflera,
 Me fait sigler sur le peril de vie,

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

Rois Ulyxes, sicom nous dist la Geste,
 Vers son paiis de Troie qui sigla,
 Not tiel paour du peril et moleste,
 Quant les Sereines en la mier passa,
 Et le danger de Circes eschapa,
 Qe le paour nest plus de ma partie,

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

Danger qui tolt damour toute la feste,
 Unques un mot de confort ne sona,
 Ainz plus cruel qe nest la fiere beste
 Au point quant danger me respondera.
 La chiere porte et quant le nai dirra,
 Plusque la mort mestoie celle oie

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

Vers vous, ma bone dame, horspris cella,
 Qe danger manit en votre compainie,
 Cest balade en mon message irra

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

For the use, and indeed the knowledge, of this manuscript,
 I am obliged to the unsolicited kindness of Lord Trentham;
 a favour which his lordship was pleased to confer with the most
 polite condescension.

SECTION XX.

ONE of the reasons which rendered the classic authors of the lower empire more popular than those of a purer age, was because they were Christians. Among these, no Roman writer appears to have been more studied and esteemed, from the beginning to the close of the barbarous centuries, than Boethius. Yet it is certain, that his allegorical personifications and his visionary philosophy, founded on the abstractions of the Platonic school, greatly concurred to make him a favourite^a. His CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY was translated into the Saxon tongue by king Alfred, the father of learning and civility in the midst of a rude and intractable people; and illustrated with a commentary by Asser bishop of Saint David's, a prelate patronised by Alfred for his singular accomplishments in literature, about the year 890. Bishop Grossthead is said to have left annotations on this admired system of morality. There is a very ancient manuscript of it in the Laurentian library, with an inscription prefixed in Saxon characters^b. There are few of those distinguished ecclesiastics, whose erudition illuminated the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition with uncommon lustre, but who either have cited this performance, or honoured it with a panegyric^c. It has had many imitators. Ec-

^a It is observable, that this SPIRIT OF PERSONIFICATION tinctures the writings of some of the christian fathers, about, or rather before, this period. Most of the agents in the SHEPHERD of HERMAS are *ideal* beings. An ancient lady converses with Hermas, and tells him that she is the CHURCH OF GOD. Afterwards several virgins appear and discourse with him; and when he desires to be informed who they are, he is told by the SHEPHERD-ANGEL, that they are FAITH,

ABSTINENCE, PATIENCE, CHASTITY, CONCORD, &c. Saint Cyprian relates, that the church appeared in a vision, *in visione per noctem*, to Colerinus; and commanded him to assume the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Cyprian. Epist. xxxix. edit. Oxon. The church appearing as a woman they perhaps had from the Scripture, Rev. xii. 1. ESDRAS, &c.

^b Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

^c He is much commended as a catho-

card, a learned French Benedictine, wrote in imitation of this CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a work in verse and prose containing five books, entitled the CONSOLATION OF THE MONKS, about the year 1120^d. John Gerson also, a doctor and chancellor of the university of Paris, wrote the CONSOLATION OF THEOLOGY in four books, about the year 1420^e. It was the model of Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE. It was translated into French^f and English before the year 1350^g. Dante was an attentive reader of Boethius. In the PURGATORIO, Dante gives THEOLOGY the name of Beatrice his mistress, the daughter of Fulco Portinari, who very gravely moralises in that character. Being ambitious of following Virgil's steps in the descent of Eneas into hell, he introduces her, as a daughter of the empyreal heavens, bringing Virgil to guide him through that dark and dangerous region^h. Leland, who lived when true literature began to be restored, says that the writings of Boethius still continued to retain that high estimation, which they had acquired in the most early periods. I had almost forgot to observe, that the CONSOLATION was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes, the most learned and ingenious of the Constantinopolitan monksⁱ.

I can assign only one poet to the reign of king Henry the Fourth, and this a translator of Boethius^k. He is called Jo-

lic and philosopher by Hincmarus archbishop of Rheims, about the year 880. De Prædestinat. contr. Godeschalch. tom. i. 211. ii. 62. edit. Sirmond. And by John of Salisbury, for his eloquence and argument. Policrat. vii. 15. And by many other writers of the same class.

^d See Trithem. cap. 387. de S. E. And Illustr. Benedictin. ii. 107.

^e Opp. tom. i. p. 130. edit. Dupin. I think there is a French CONSOLATIO THEOLOGICÆ by one Cerisier.

^f See Haym, p. 199.

^g Beside John of Meun's French version of Boethius, printed at Lyons, 1483, with a translation of Virgil by Guillaume le Roy, there is one by De Cis, or Thri, an old French poet. Matt. Annal. Typogr. i. p. 171. Francisc. a Cruce, Bibl.

Gallic. p. 216. 247. It was printed in Dutch at Ghent, apud Arend de Keyser, 1485. fol. In Spanish at Valladolid, 1598, fol. See supr. p. 292. Polycarpus Leyserus, in that very scarce book DE POESI MEDII ÆVI, [printed HALÆ, 1721, 8vo.] enumerates many curious old editions of Boethius, p. 95. 105.

^h See PURGAT. Cant. xxx.

ⁱ Montfauc. Bibl. Coislin. p. 140. Of a Hebrew version, see Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. tom. i. p. 229. 1092. 243. 354. 369.

^k I am aware that Occleve's poem, called the *Letter of Cupid*, was written in this king's reign in the year 1402. "In the year of grace joyfull and joyconde, a thousand fower hundred and seconde." Urry's Chaucer, p. 537. v. 475. But there are reasons for making Oc-

hannes Capellanus, or John the *Chaplain*, and he translated into English verse the treatise *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ* in the year 1410. His name is John Walton*. He was canon of Oseney, and died subdean of York. It appears probable, that he was patronised by Thomas Chaundler, among other preferments, dean of the king's chapel and of Hereford cathedral, chancellor of Wells, and successively warden of Wykeham's two colleges at Winchester and Oxford; characterised by Antony Wood as an able critic in polite literature, and by Leland as a rare example of a doctor in theology who graced scholastic disputation with the flowers of a pure latinity¹. In the British Museum there is a correct manuscript on parchment of Walton's translation of Boethius: and the margin is filled throughout with the Latin text, written by Chaundler above mentioned^m. There is another less elegant manuscript in the same collection. But at the end is this note; *Explicit liber Boecij de Consolatione Philosophie de Latino in Anglicum translatus A.D. 1410. per Capellanium Joannem*ⁿ. This is the beginning of the prologue, "In suffisaunce of cunnyng and witte." And of the translation, "Alas I wretch that whilom was in welth." I have seen a third copy in the library of Lincoln cathedral^o, and a fourth in Baliol college^p. This is the translation of Boethius printed in the monastery of Tavistoke, in the year 1525. "The BOKE of COMFORT, called in Latin *Boecius de Consolatione Philosophie*. Empremented in the exempt monastery of Tavestock in Denshyre, by me Dan Thomas Rychard monke of the sayd monastry. To the instant desyre of the right worshipfull esquyre magister Robert

cleve, as I have done, something later. Nor is Gower's *Balade to Henry the Fourth* a sufficient reason for placing him in that reign. Ibid. p. 540. The same may be said of Chaucer.

* [A manuscript of this work noticed by Mr. Todd has the following colophon: "Explicit liber Boecii de consolacione philosophie de latino in Anglicum translatus anno dñi millesimo cccc^o. per Capellanium Johannem Tebaud alias Wa-

tyrbeche." Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer, Introd. p. xxxi.]

¹ Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. p. 134. Leland, Script. Brit. CHAUNDLERUS.

^m MSS. Harl. 43. 1. And MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 75.

ⁿ MSS. Harl. 44. chart. et pergam.

^o MSS. i. 53.

^p MSS. B. 5. He bequeathed his *Biblia*, and other books, to this library.

Langdon. *Anno Domini*, MDXXV. *Deo gracias.*" In octave rhyme^p. This translation was made at the request of Elisabeth Berkeley. I forbear to load these pages with specimens not original, and which appear to have contributed no degree of improvement to our poetry or our phraseology. Henry the Fourth died in the year 1399.

The coronation of king Henry the Fifth was celebrated in Westminster-hall with a solemnity proportioned to the lustre of those great achievements which afterwards distinguished the annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preserving order, and to add to the splendor of the spectacle, many of the nobility were ranged along the sides of the tables on large war-horses, at this stately festival; which, says my chronicle, was a second feast of Ahasuerus^q. But I mention this ceremony, to introduce a circumstance very pertinent to our purpose; which is, that the number of harpers in the hall was innumerable^r, who undoubtedly accompanied their instruments with heroic rhymes. The king, however, was no great encourager of the popular minstrelsy, which seems at this time to have flourished in the highest degree of perfection. When he entered the city of London in triumph after the battle of Agincourt, the gates and streets were hung with tapestry, representing the histories of ancient heroes; and children were placed in artificial turrets, singing verses^s. But Henry, disgusted at these secular vanities, commanded by a formal edict, that for the future no songs should be recited by the harpers, or others, in praise of the recent victory^t. This prohibition had no other effect than that of displaying Henry's humility,

^p This is among Rawlinson's Codd. impress. Bibl. Bodl. There is an English translation of Boethius by one George Colvil, or Coldewell, bred at Oxford, with the Latin, "according to the boke of the translatour, which was a very old printe." Dedicated to queen Mary, and printed by John Cawood, 1556. 4to. Reprinted 1566. 4to.

^q Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Gest. Henr. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1727.

cap. xii. p. 23. Compare Lel. Coll. APPEND. iii. 226. edit. 1770.

^r Elmham, ubi supr. p. 23.

^s Elmham, ubi supr. cap. xxxi. p. 72.

^t "CANTUS de suo triumpho fieri, seu per CITHARISTAS, vel alios quoscunque, CANTARI, penitus prohibebat." Ibid. p. 72. And Hearnii Præfat. p. xxix. seq. § viii. See also Hollingsh. Chron. iii. p. 556. col. 1. 40.

perhaps its principal and real design. Among many others, a minstrel-piece soon appeared, evidently adapted to the harp, on the SEYGE of HARFLETT and the BATTALLYE of AGYNKOURTE. It was written about the year 1417. These are some of the most spirited lines.

Sent Jorge be fore our kyng they dyd se^u,
 They trompyd up full meryly,
 The grete battell to gederes zed^v;
 Our archorys^w they schot ful hartely,
 They made the Frenche men faste to blede,
 Her arrowys they went with full good spede.
 Oure enemyes with them they gan down throwe
 Thorow breste plats, habourgenys, and basnets^x.
 Eleven thousand was slayne on a rew^y.
 Denter of dethe men myzt well deme,
 So fercelly in ffelde theye gan fythe^z.
 The heve upon here helmyts schene^a
 With axes and with swerdys bryzt.
 When oure arowys were at a flyzt^b
 Amon the Frenche men was a wel sory schere^c.
 Ther was to bring of gold bokylyd^d so bryzt
 That a man myzt holde a strong armoure.
 Owre gracyus kyng men myzt knowe
 That day fozt with hys owene hond,
 The erlys was dyscomwityd up on a rowe^e,
 That he had slayne understond.
 He there schevyd^f oure other lordys of thys lond,
 Forsothe that was a ful fayre daye.
 Therefore all England maye this syng
 LAWS^g DEO we may well saye.

^u "The French saw the standard of Saint George before our king."

^v This is Milton's "Together rush'd both battles main."

^w archers.

^x breast-plates, habergeons and helmets.

^y row.

^z fight.

^a "They struck upon their bright helmets."

^b flying.

^c much distress.

^d buckled.

^e I believe it is "The earls he had slain were all thrown together on a heap or in a row;" [discomfited?]

^f shewed.

^g laus.

The Duke of Glocetor, that nys no nay,
 That day full wordely^h he wrozt,
 On every side he made goode waye,
 The Frenche men faste to grond they browzt.
 The erle of Hontynton sparyd nozt,
 The erle of Oxynfortheⁱ layd on all soo^k,
 The young erle of Devynschyre he ne rouzt,
 The Frenche men fast to grunde gan goo.
 Our Englismen thei were ffoul sekcs do
 And ferce to fyzt as any lyone.
 Basnets bryzt they crasyd a to^l,
 And bet the French banerys adoune;
 As thonder-strokys ther was a scownde^m,
 Of axys and sperys ther they gan glyd.
 The lordys of Franyseⁿ lost her renowne
 With gresoly^o wondys they gan abyde.
 The Frensche men, for all here pryde,
 They fell downe all at a flyzt:
Ie me rende they cryde, on every syde,
 Our Englys men they understod nozt arizt^p.
 Their pollaxis owt of her hondys they twizt,
 And layde ham along stryte^q upon the grasse.
 They sparyd nother deuke, erlle, ne knyght.^r

These verses are much less intelligible than some of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces, which were written fifty years before. In the mean time we must not mistake provincial for national barbarisms. Every piece now written is by no means a proof of the actual state of style. The improved dialect, which yet is the estimate of a language, was confined only to a few wri-

^h worthily.

ⁱ Oxford.

^k also.

^l "They broke the bright helmets in two."

^m sound.

ⁿ France.

^o griesly.

^p "they did not rightly."

^q strait.

^r Printed [from MSS. Cotton. VITELL. D. XII. 11. fol. 214.] by Hearne, Elm-

ham, ut supr. APPEND. p. 359. Num. vi. See p. 371. seq. There is *The BATTAYLE of EGYNOURTE*, Libr. impress. Bibl. Bodl. C. 39. 4to. Art. Selden. See OBSERVAT. on Spens. ii. 41. Doctor Percy has printed an ancient ballad on this subject. ANC. BALL. vol. ii. p. 24. edit. 1767. See Hearne's PRÆFAT. ut supr. p. xxx.

ters, who lived more in the world and in polite life: and it was long, before a general change in the public phraseology was effected. Nor must we expect among the minstrels, who were equally careless and illiterate, those refinements of diction, which mark the compositions of men who professedly studied to embellish the English idiom.

Thomas Occleve is the first poet that occurs in the reign of Henry the Fifth. I place him about the year 1420. Occleve is a feeble writer, considered as a poet: and his chief merit seems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. He was educated in the municipal law^s, as were both Chaucer and Gower; and it reflects no small degree of honour on that very liberal profession, that its students were some of the first who attempted to polish and adorn the English tongue.

The titles of Occleve's pieces, very few of which have been ever printed, indicate a coldness of genius; and on the whole promise no gratification to those who seek for invention and fancy. Such as, *The tale of Jonathas and of a wicked woman*^c. *Fable of a certain emperess*^u. *A prologue of the nine lessons that is read over Allhalow-day*^w. *The most profitable and hol-somest craft that is to cunne*^x, *to lerne to dye*^y. *Consolation offered by an old man*^z. *Pentasticcon to the king*. *Mercy as defined by Saint Austin*. *Dialogue to a friend*^a. *Dialogue between Occleef and a beggar*^b. *The letter of Cupid*^c. *Verses to*

^s He studied in *Chestres-inn* where Somerset-house now stands. See Buck, *De tertia Angliæ Accademia*, cap. xxv.

^t Ubi infr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. From the *GESTA ROMANORUM*.

^u Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Seld. supr. 53. Digb. 185. Laud. K. 78. MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 2. This story seems to be also taken from the *GESTA ROMANORUM*. Pr. "In the ROMAN ACTYS writyn."

^w Ubi supr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS.

^x know.

^y MSS. Bodl. ut supr. And MSS.

Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. S. 4. The best manuscript of Occleve.

^z MSS. Digb. 185. More [Cant.] 427.

^a MSS. Seld. ut supr.

^b MSS. Harl. 4826. 6.

^c MSS. Digb. 181. MSS. Arch. Bodl. Seld. B. 24. It is printed in Chaucer's Works, Urr. p. 534. Bale [MS. Glynne] mentions one or two more pieces, particularly *De Theseo Atheniensi*, lib. i. Pr. "Tum esset, ut veteres historiæ tradunt." This is the beginning of Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE. And there are other pieces in the libraries.

an empty purse^d. But Occleve's most considerable poem is a piece called a translation of Egidius DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM.

This is a sort of paraphrase of the first part of Aristotle's epistle to Alexander above mentioned, entitled SECRETUM SECRETORUM, of Egidius, and of Jacobus de Casulis, whom he calls *Jacob de Cassolis*. Egidius, a native of Rome, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, eminent among the schoolmen by the name of *Doctor Fundatissimus*, and an archbishop, flourished about the year 1280. He wrote a Latin tract in three books, DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, or the ART OF GOVERNMENT, for the use of Philip le Hardi, son of Louis king of France, a work highly esteemed in the middle ages, and translated early into Hebrew, French^e, and Italian. In those days ecclesiastics and schoolmen presumed to dictate to kings, and to give rules for administering states, drawn from the narrow circle of speculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloister. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice, by having been translated into English by John Trevisa, a celebrated translator about the year 1390^f. The original was printed at Rome in 1482, and at Venice 1498, and, I think, again at the same place in 1598^h. The Italian * translation was printed at Seville, in folio, 1494, "Transladó de Latin en Romance Don Bernardo Obispo de Osma: impresso por Meynardo Ungut Alemano et Stanislao Polono companeros." The printed copies of the Latin are very rare, but the manuscripts innumerable. A third part of the third book, which treats *De Re Militari Veterum*, was printed by Hahnus in 1722ⁱ. One of Egidius's

^d This, and the *Pentastichon ad Regem*, are in MSS. Fairf. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. And in the editions of Chaucer. But the former appears to be Chaucer's, from the twenty additional stanzas not printed in Urry's Chaucer, page 549. MSS. Harl. 2251. 133. fol. 298.

^e Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 1206. It was translated into French by Henry de Gand, at the command of Philip king of France. Mem. de Lit. tom. xvii. p. 733. 4to.

^f Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 233. Prin-

cip. "To his special, [etc.] politik sentence that is." In this manuscript there is an elegant picture of a monk, or ecclesiastic, presenting a book to a king. See supr. vol. i. p. 178. Note ^g.

^h All in folio. Those of 1482, and 1598, are in the Bodleian library. In All-Souls college library at Oxford, there is a manuscript TABULA IN ÆGIDIUM DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, by one Thomas Abyndon. MSS. G. i. 5.

* [Spanish?—EDIT.]

ⁱ In the first tome of *Collectio Monu-*

books, a commentary on Aristotle DE ANIMA, is dedicated to our Edward the First^k.

Jacobus de Casulis, or of Casali in Italy, another of the writers copied in this performance by our poet Occleve, a French Dominican friar, about the year 1290, wrote in four parts a Latin treatise on chess, or, as it is entitled in some manuscripts, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super LUDO LATRUNCULORUM sive SCACCORUM*. In a parchment manuscript of the Harleian library, neatly illuminated, it is thus entitled, *LIBER MORALIS DE LUDO SCACCORUM, ad honorem et solacium Nobilium et maxime ludencium, per fratrem JACOBUM DE CASSULIS ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*. At the conclusion, this work appears to be a translation^l. Pits carelessly gives it to Robert Holcot, a celebrated English theologist, perhaps for no other reason than because Holcot was likewise a Dominican. It was printed at Milan in 1479. I believe it was as great a favourite as Egidius on GOVERNMENT, for it was translated into French by John Ferron, and John Du Vignay, a monk hospitaler of Saint James du Haut-pag^m, under the patronage of Jeanne dutchess of Bourgogne, Caxton's patroness, about the year 1360, with the title of *LE JEU DES ECHECS moralise*, or *Le traite des Nobles et de Gens du Peuple selon le JEU DES ECHECS*. This was afterwards translated by Caxton, in 1474, who did not know that the French was a translation from the Latin, and called the *GAME OF THE CHESS*. It was also translated into German, both prose and verse, by Conrade von Almenhusenⁿ. Bale absurdly supposes that Occleve made a separate and regular translation of this work^o.

mentorū veter. et recent. ineditorum. E. Cod. MS. in Biblioth. Obrechtina. The curious reader may see a full account of Ægidius de REGIMINE PRINCIPUM in Morlier, *Essais de Littérature*, tom. i. p. 198. seq. And of the Venetian edition in 1498, in Theophilus Sincerus *De Libris Rariorib.* tom. i. p. 82. seq.

^k Cave, p. 755. edit. 1688.

^l MSS. Harl. 1275. 1. 4to. membran.

^m Who also translated the *GOLDEN LEGEND* of James de Voragine, and the

SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincent of Beauvais. Viede Petr. tom. iii. p. 548. And Mem. Lit. xvii. 742. 746. 747. edit. 4to.

ⁿ See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 471. ii. p. 818. Lambecc. tom. ii. Bibl. Vindob. p. 848. One Simeon Ailward, an Englishman, about the year 1456, wrote a Latin poem *De Ludo Scaccorum*. Pits. APPEND. p. 909. Princip. "Ludus scaccorum datur hic correctio morum."

^o Bale in OCCLEVE.

Occleve's poem was never printed. This is a part of the Prologue.*

Aristotle, most famous philosofre^p,
 His epistles to Alisaunder sent^q;
 Whos sentence is wel bet than golde in cofre,
 And more holsum, grounded in trewe entent.
 Fore all that ever [tho Epistles¹] ment,
 To sette [was²] this worthi conqueroure,
 In rewle howe to susteyne his honoure,
 The tender love, and the fervent [chiertie³],
 That [this⁴] worthi clerke aye to this king bere,
 [Trustyng⁵] sore his welth durable to be,
 Unto his hert [stak⁶] and sate so nere,
 That bi writing his counsel gaf he clere
 Unto his lord to [kepe⁷] him from mischaunce,
 As witnesseth his Boke of Governauce^r,

* [The present text has received some emendations from the Harleian and King's MSS. The new readings are printed within brackets, and those rejected are given below.—EDIT.]

^p The learned doctor Gerard Langbaine, speaking of the REGIMINE PRINCIPUM by Occleve, says that it is "collect-ed out of Aristotle, Alexander, and Ægidius on the same, and Jacobus de Cas-solis (a fryar preacher) his book of chess, viz. that part where he speaks of the king's draught," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Langb. Cod. xv. page 102.

[The author of the ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH DRAMATIC POETS, was Gerard the son of doctor Langbaine, provost of Queen's college, Oxford. This book was first published under the title of MOMUS TRIUMPHANS, Lond. 1687. 4to. Five hundred copies were quickly sold; but the remainder of the impression appeared the next year with a new title, *A new Catalogue of English Plays, containing comedies, &c.* Lond. 1688. 4to. The author at length digested his work anew with great accessions and improve-

ments, which he entitled as above, *AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH DRAMATICK POETS, &c.* Oxon. 1691. 8vo. This book, a good ground-work for a new publication on the same subject and plan, and which has merit as being the first attempt of the kind, was reprinted by Curl, with flimsy additions, under the conduct of Giles Jacob, a hero of the Dunciad, Lond. 1719. 8vo. Our author, after a classical education, was first placed with a bookseller in London; but at sixteen years of age, in 1672, he became a gentleman commoner of University college in Oxford. His literature chiefly consisted in a knowledge of the novels and plays of various languages; and he was a constant and critical attendant of the play-houses for many years. Retiring to Oxford in the year 1690, he died the next year; having amassed a collection of more than a thousand printed plays, masques, and interludes.—ADDITIONS.]

^q See supr. p. 313, et infra.

^r Aristotle's SECRETUM SECRETORUM.

¹ the Epistle.

² us.

³ good chere.

⁴ the.

⁵ thrusting.

⁶ slah.

⁷ hope.

Of which, and of Giles [of^s] REGIMENT^s
 Of prince's plotmele, think I to translete, &c.
 My dere mayster, god his soul quite^t,
 And fader Chaucer fayne would have me taught,
 But I was dule^u, and learned lyte or naught.

Alas my worthie maister honorable,
 This londis verray tresour and richesse,
 Deth by thy deth hath harme irreparable
 Unto us done: [hir⁹] vengeable duresse^x
 Dispoiled hath this lond of the sweetnesse
 Of rhetoryke, for unto Tullius
 Was never man so like amongst us.

[Also¹⁰] who was [heir¹¹] in phylosophy
 To Aristotle in owre tonge but thow?
 The steppis of Virgile in poesie
 Thou suedest^y eke: men knowe well inowe
 That combre-world^a that [the¹²] my mayster, slowe^b:
 Wold I slaine were! Deth was too hastife
 To renne on thee, and reve thee of thy life:

She might have tarried her vengeaunce awhile
 To that some man had egal to thee be:
 Nay, let that be: she knew well that this isle
 May never man forth bryng like unto thee,
 And her offis nedis do mote she;
 God bade her so, I trust for all the best,
 O mayster, mayster, god thy soule rest!

^s Ægidius de REGIMINE PRINCIPUM.

^t acquitt; save.

^u dull.

^x cruelty.

^y followedst.

^a He calls death the *encumbrance* of the world. The expression seems to be taken from Chaucer, where Troilus says of himself, "I combre-world, that maie of nothing serve." Tr. Cress. p. 307. v. 279. Urr. edit. ["Ridiculous!" exclaims Mr. Ritson. It is the MEN who encumber the world: fruges consumere

nati. But even the faulty reading of the Oxford MS.

Men knowe well inowe
 That combre-world that thou [death] my
 mayster slowe,

could not justify such an interpretation. Combre-world in either version must be taken substantively, and as such can only be applied to death.—EDIT.]
^b slew.

⁹ his.

⁹ his.

¹⁰ Alas!

¹¹ here.

¹² thou.

In another part of the Prologue we have these pathetic lines, which seem to flow warm from the heart, to the memory of the immortal Chaucer, who I believe was rather Occleve's model than his master, or perhaps the patron and encourager of his studies.

But weleawaye, so is myne hertè wo
That the honour of English tonge is dede,
Of which I wont was han counsel and rede !
O mayster dere, and fadir reverent,
My mayster Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
Mirroure of fructuous entendement,
O universal fadir in science,
Alas that thou thine excellent prudence
In thy bed mortel mighest not bequethe,
What eyled^c Deth ? Alas why would he sle' the !
O Deth that didist nought harm singulere
In slaughtre of him, but all the lond it smertith :
But nathelesse yit hastowe^d no powere
His name to sle. His hie vertue astertith
Unslayn from thee, which aye us lifely hertith
With boke[s] of his ornatè enditing,
That is to all this lond enlumyning.^e

Occleve seems to have written some of these verses immediately on Chaucer's death, and to have introduced them long afterwards into this Prologue.

It is in one of the royal manuscripts of this poem in the British Museum that Occleve has left a drawing of Chaucer^f: ac-

^c ailed.

^d hast thou.

^e MSS. Rawlins. 647. fol. This poem has at the end "Explicit Ægidius de Regimine Principum" in MSS. Laud. K. 78. Bibl. Bodl. See also *ibid.* MSS. Selden. Supr. 53. Digb. 185. MSS. Ashmol. 40. MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1. 17 D. xviii. MSS. Harl. 4826. 7. and 4866. In some of these a sort of dialogue is prefixed between a father and a son. Occleve, in the Prologue cited in the text, mentions *Jacobus de Cassolis* [Casulis] as one of his authors. [This pas-

sage forms a part of the "Dialogus inter Occlif et mendicum," and which in the Museum MSS. precedes the translation of Ægidius.—Mr. Ritson in his *Bibl. Poet.* enumerates seventeen pieces of Occleve contained in a MS. once belonging to Dr. Askew, but which afterwards became the property of Mr. Mason. From this MS. he adds: "Six of peculiar stupidity were selected and published by its late owner, in 1796. 4to." —EDIT.]

^f MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1.

ording to which, Chaucer's portraiture was made on his monument, in the chapel of Saint Blase in Westminster-abbey, by the benefaction of Nicholas Brigham, in the year 1556^g. And from this drawing, in 1598, John Speed procured the print of Chaucer prefixed to Speght's edition of his Works; which has been since copied in a most finished engraving by Vertue^h. Yet it must be remembered, that the same drawing occurs in an Harleian manuscript written about Occleve's ageⁱ, and in another of the Cottonian department^k. Occleve himself mentions this drawing in his *CONSOLATIO SERVILIS*. It exactly resembles the curious picture on board of our venerable bard, preserved in the Bodleian gallery at Oxford. I have a very old picture of Chaucer on board, much like Occleve's, formerly kept in Chaucer's house, a quadrangular stone-mansion, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire; which commanded a prospect of the ancient magnificent royal palace, and of many beautiful scenes in the adjacent park: and whose last remains, chiefly consisting of what was called Chaucer's bed-chamber, with an old carved oaken roof, evidently original, were demolished about fifteen years ago. Among the ruins they found an ancient gold coin of the city of Florence^l. Before the grand rebellion, there was in the windows of the church of Woodstock, an escutcheon in painted glass of the arms of Sir Payne Rouet, a knight of Henault, whose daughter Chaucer married.

Occleve, in this poem, and in others, often celebrates Humphrey duke of Gloucester^m; who at the dawn of science was a singular promoter of literature, and, however unqualified for political intrigues, the common patron of the scholars of the times. A sketch of his character in that view, is therefore too

^g He was of Caversham in Oxfordshire. Educated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, and studied the law. He died at Westminster, 1559.

^h In Urry's edit. 1721. fol.

ⁱ MSS. Harl. 4866. The drawing is at fol. 91.

^k MSS. Cotton. OTH. A. 18.

^l I think a FLOREIN, antiently com-

mon in England. Chaucer, *PARDON. TALE*, v. 2290. p. 135. col. 2. "For that the FLORAINS ben so faire and bright." Edward the Third, in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6s. and 8d. The particular piece I have mentioned seems about that value.

^m As he does John of Gaunt.

closely connected with our subject to be censured as an unnecessary digression. About the year 1440, he gave to the university of Oxford a library containing six hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thousand pounds. These books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university-registerⁿ, and said to be *admirandi apparatus*^o. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations. Among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*^p. Only a single specimen of these valuable volumes was suffered to remain: it is a beautiful manuscript in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books, which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the university in the reign of Edward the Sixth, whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of classics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as antichristian^q. In the library of Oriel college at Oxford, we find a manuscript *Commentary on Genesis*, written by John Capgrave, a monk of saint Austin's monastery at Canterbury, a learned theologist of the fourteenth century. It is the author's autograph, and the work is dedicated to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. In the superb initial letter of the dedicatory epistle is a curious illumination of the author Capgrave, humbly presenting his book to his patron the duke, who is seated, and covered with a sort of hat. At the end is this entry, in the hand-writing of duke Humphrey. "*Cest livre est a moy Humfrey duc de Gloucestre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fist presenter a mon manoyr de Pensherst le*

ⁿ Reg. F. fol. 52. 53. b. Epist. 142.

^o Ibid. fol. 57. b. 60. a. Epist. 148.

^p Leland, Coll. iii. p. 58. edit. 1770.

^q Some however had been before stolen or mutilated. Leland, Coll. iii. p. 58.

edit. 1770.

jour... de l'an. MCCCXXXVIII^r." This is one of the books which Humphrey gave to his new library at Oxford, destroyed or dispersed by the active reformers of the young Edward^s. John Whethamstede, a learned abbot of Saint Alban's, and a lover of scholars, but accused by his monks for neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in studious employments and in procuring transcripts of useful books^t, notwithstanding his unwearied assiduity in beautifying and enriching their monastery^u, was in high favour with this munificent prince^x. The duke was fond of visiting this monastery, and employed abbot Whethamstede to collect valuable books for him^y. Some of Whethamstede's tracts, manuscript copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the duke^z: who presented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whet-

^r Cod. MSS. 32.

^s He gave also Capgrave *SUPER EXODUM ET REGUM LIBROS*. Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 67. b.

^t Supra, vol. i. See DISSERTAT. i. We are told in this abbot's *GESTA*, that soon after his installment he built a library for his abbey, a design which had long employed his contemplation. He covered it with lead; and expended on the bare walls, besides desks, glasing, and embattelling, or, to use the expressions of my chronologer, *deducta vitriacione, crestacione, positione descorum*, upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds. Apud Hearne's *OTTERBOURNE*, vol. i. Præfat. Append. p. cxxiii. ed. Oxon. 1732. [Hearne in the place quoted has: "ultra summā centū q^l. q^aginta librar." RITSON.] He founded also a library for all the students of his monastery at Oxford. Ibid. p. cxiii. And to each of these students he allowed an annual pension, at his own expence, of thirteen shillings and four-pence. Ibid. p. cxviii. See also p. cxxix. A grand transcript of the *Postilla* of Nicholas de Lyra on the bible was begun during his abbacy, and at his command, with the most splendid ornaments and hand-writing. The monk who records this important anecdote, lived soon after him, and speaks of this great undertaking, then unfinished, as

if it was some magnificent public edifice. "God grant," says he, "that this work in our days may receive a happy consummation!" Ibid. p. cxvi.

^u Among other things, he expended forty pounds in adorning the roof and walls of the virgin Mary's chapel with pictures. *Gest. ut supr.* p. cx. He gave to the choir of the church an organ; than which, says my chronicler, there was not one to be found in any monastery in England, more beautiful in appearance, more pleasing for its harmony, or more curious in its construction. It cost upwards of fifty pounds. Ibid. p. cxxviii. His new buildings were innumerable: and the MASTER OF THE WORKS was of his institution; with an ample salary. Ibid. p. cxiii.

^x Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 437.

^y Leland, *ibid.* 442. 432. See also *Hollinsh. Chron.* f. 488. b. And f. 1234. 1235. 1080. 868. 662. Weever *FUN. MON.* p. 562. 574. Whethamstede erected in his life-time the beautiful tabernacle or shrine of stone, now remaining, over the tomb of duke Humphrey in saint Alban's abbey church. Hearne's *OTTERB.* ut *supr.* p. cxxi. seq. See also *ibid.* p. cxix. cxvi.

^z See Whethamstede, *De viris illustribus*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. TIBER. D. vi. i. OTH. B. iv. And Hearne, *Pref. Pet. Langtoft.* p. xix. seq.

hamstede's GRANARIUM^a, an immense work, which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library^b. The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamstede^c. Many other abbots paid their court to the duke by sending him presents of books, whose margins were adorned with the most exquisite paintings^d. Gilbert Kymer, physician to king Henry the Sixth, among other ecclesiastic promotions, dean of Salisbury, and chancellor of the university of Oxford^e, inscribed to duke Humphrey his famous medical system *Diaetarium de sanitatis custodia*, in the year 1424^f. I do not mean to anticipate when I remark, that Lydgate, a poet mentioned hereafter, translated Boccacio's book *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM* at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and superintendence, of duke Humphrey: whose condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics, and diligence in study, the translator displays at large, and in the strongest expressions of panegyric. He compares the duke to Julius Cesar, who amidst the weightiest cares of state, was not ashamed to enter the rhetorical school of Cicero at Rome^g. Nor was his patronage confined only to English scholars. His favour was solicited by the most celebrated writers of France and Italy, many of whom he boun-

^a Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. f. 68.

^b Leland, ubi modo infr.

^c MSS. Bodl. NE. vii. ii.

^d "Multos codices, *pulcherrime pictos*, ab abbatibus dono accepit." The Duke wrote in the frontispieces of his books, MOUN BIEN MONDAIN. Leland, Coll. iii. p. 58. edit. ut supr.

^e By the recommendatory letters of duke Humphrey. Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 75. Epist. 180.

^f See Hearne's Append. ad Libr. Nigr. Scaccar. p. 550. And Præfat. p. 34.

^g PROL. Sign. A. ii. A. iii. edit. Wayland, ut supr. He adds,

And hath joye with clarkes to commune,
And no man is more expert in langage,
Stable in study.—

His courage never dothe appall
To study in bokes of antiquitie.—

He studieth ever to have intelligence,
Readyng of bokes.—

And with support of his magnificence,
Under the wings of his protection.—
I shall proceed in this translation —
Lowly submittyng, every houre and
space,

My rude langage to my lordes grace.

See also fol. xxxviii. b. col. 2. Lydgate has an epitaph on the duke, MSS. Ashmol. 59. 2. MSS. Harl. 2251. 6. fol. 7. There is a curious letter of Lydgate, in which he sends for a supply of money to the duke, while he was translating BOCHAS. "Littera dom. Joh. Lydgate missa ad ducem Glocestrie in *tempore translationis Bochasii*, pro *oportunitate pecunie*." MSS. ibid. 5. fol. 6. See also ibid. 131. fol. 279. b. of the duke's marriage.

tifully rewarded^h. Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue in Italy, which he learned of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and of polite literature in general, dedicates to this universal patron his elegant Latin translation of Aristotle's *POLITICS*. The copy presented to the duke by the translator, most elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian library at Oxfordⁱ. To the same noble encourager of learning, Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and secretary to the great Cosmo duke of Milan, inscribed by the advice of the archbishop of Milan, a Latin version of Plato's *REPUBLIC*^k. An illuminated manuscript of this translation is in the British Museum, perhaps the copy presented, with two epistles prefixed, from the duke to Petrus Candidus^l. Petrus de Monte, another learned Italian, of Venice, in the dedication of his treatise *DE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM DIFFERENTIA* to the duke of Gloucester, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the singular avidity with which he pursued every species of literature^m. A tract, entitled *COMPARATIO STUDIORUM ET REI MILITARIS*, written by Lopus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator into Latin of the Greek classics, is also inscribed to the duke, at the desire of Zeno archbishop of Bayeux. I must not forget, that our illustrious duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Foro-Juli, whom he naturalised, and constituted his poet and oratorⁿ. Humphrey also retained learned foreigners in his service, for the purpose of transcribing, and of translating from Greek into Latin. One of these was Antonio de

^h Leland, Script. p. 442.

ⁱ See MSS. Bodl. D. i. 8. 10. And Leland, Script. p. 443.

^k Leland, Script. p. 442. And Mus. Ashmol. 789. f. 54. 56. Where are also two of the duke's epistles to Petrus Candidus.

^l P. Candidi Decembris, Duci Mediolani a secretis, Translatio *POLITICÆ* Platonis,—ad Humfredum Gloucestrie Ducem, &c. Cui præfiguntur duæ Epistolæ Ducis Gloucestris ad P. Candi-

dum. Most elegantly written. Membran. ad fin. "Cest livre est a moy Humfrey Duc de Glocestre du don P. Candidus secretaire du duc de Milan." Catal. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. p. 212. Num. 6858. [See MSS. Harl. 1705. fol.]

^m MSS. Nowic. MORE. 257. Bibl. publ. Cantabrig.

ⁿ Author of the *Vita Henrici quinti*, printed by Hearne, Oxon. 1716. And of other pieces. See Hollinsh. iii. 585.

Beccaria, a Veronese, a translator into Latin prose of the Greek poem of Dionysius Afer *DE SITU ORBIS*^o: whom the duke employed to translate into Latin six tracts of Athanasius. This translation, inscribed to the duke, is now among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following insertion: "Cest livre est a moi Homphrey Duc le Gloucestre: le quel je fis translater de Grec en Latin par un de mes secretares Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone^p."

An astronomical tract, entitled by Leland *TABULÆ DIRECTIONUM*, is falsely supposed to have been written by duke Humphrey^q. But it was compiled at the duke's instance, and according to tables which himself had constructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illustrissimi principis et nobilissimi domini mei Humfredi, &c.*^r In the library of Gresham college, however, there is a scheme of calculations in astronomy, which bear his name^s. Astronomy was then a favourite science: nor is it to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire estimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to restore.

I close this section with an apology for Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve; who are supposed, by the severer etymologists, to have corrupted the purity of the English language, by affecting to introduce so many foreign words and phrases. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we shall find these poets, as also some of their successors, much less blameable in this respect, than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward the Third, were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period,

^o Printed at Venice 1477. Ibid. 1498. Paris. 1501. Basil. 1534. 4to.

^p MSS. Reg. 5 F. 4to. ii. In the same library is a fine folio manuscript of "Chronique des Roys de France jusques a la mort de S. Loys, l'an. 1270." At the end is written with the duke of Gloucester's hand, "Cest livre est a moy

Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don des executeurs le Sr de Faunhore." 16 G. vi.

^q See Hollinsh. Chron. sub. ann. 1461. f. 662. col. 2.

^r MSS. More, 820.

^s MSS. Gresh. 66. See MSS. Ashmol. 856.

resided in France, with their families, for many years. John king of France kept his court in England: to which, exclusive of these French lords who were his fellow-prisoners, or necessary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom must have occasionally resorted. Edward the black prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, and his brother the duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro king of Castile. All these circumstances must have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable to suppose, that instead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and fashionable modes of speech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of those courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of these poets never complained of their obscurity. But whether defensible on these principles or not, they much improved the vernacular style by the use of this exotic phraseology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The English language owes its copiousness, elegance, and harmony, to these innovations.

SECTION XXI.

I CONSIDER Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre: the sudden appearance of cloudless skies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer: and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condense more formidably than before; and those tender buds, and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sun-shine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer: and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and he seems to have arrived at his highest point of eminence about the year 1430^t. Many of his poems, however, appeared

^t In a copy of Lydgate's *Chronicle of English Kings*, there is a stanza of Edward the Fourth. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. In his poem *Ab inimicis nostris*, &c. Ed-

before. He was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy^u; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particularly Dante, Boccacio, and Alain Chartier; and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in his monastery, for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of versification, and the elegancies of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an astronomer, a theologian, and a disputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the first of our writers whose style is cloathed with that perspicuity, in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns, and his ballads, have the same degree of merit: and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of saint Austin or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a history or an allegory, he writes with facility. His transitions were rapid from works of the most serious and laborious kind to sallies of

ward the Fourth, his *Quene* and *Modir* are remembered. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 9. fol. 10. But these pieces could not well be written by Lydgate. For he was ordained a subdeacon, 1389. Deacon, 1393. And priest, 1397. Registr. Gul. Cratfield, abbatis de Bury, MSS. Cott. *Triber.* B. ix. fol. 1. 35. 52. Edward came

to the crown, 1461. Pitts says, that our author died, 1482. Lydgate, in his *PHILOMELA*, mentions the death of Henry lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 120. fol. 255.

^u See one of his *DITTIES*, MSS. Harl. 2255. 41. fol. 148.

I have been offte in dyvers londys, &c.

levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muse was of universal access; and he was not only the poet of his monastery, but of the world in general. If a disguising was intended by the company of goldsmiths, a mask before his majesty at Eltham, a may-game for the sheriffs and aldermen of London, a mumming before the lord mayor, a procession of pageants from the creation for the festival of Corpus Christi, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was consulted and gave the poetry^x.

About the year 1430, Whethamstede the learned and liberal abbot of saint Albans, being desirous of familiarising the history of his patron saint to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it should seem, then a monk of Bury, to translate the Latin legend of his life in English rhymes. The chronicler who records a part of this anecdote seems to consider Lydgate's translation, as a matter of mere manual mechanism; for he adds, that Whethamstede paid for the translation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred shillings. It was placed before the altar of the saint, which Whethamstede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey church^y.

Our author's stanzas, called the DANCE OF DEATH, which he translated from the French, at the request of the chapter of saint Paul's, to be inscribed under the representation of DEATH leading all ranks of men about the cloister of their church in a curious series of paintings, are well known. But their history has not,

^x See a variety of his pieces of this kind, MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. Stowe says, that at the reception of Margaret queen of Henry Sixth, several pageants, the verses by Lydgate, were shewn at Paul's gate, in 1445. Hist. p. 385. See also MSS. Harl. 2251. 118. fol. 250. b. The COVENTRY PLAY for Corpus Christi day, in the Cotton library, was very probably written by our author. VESPAS. D. viii. fol. [Mr. Ritson, in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, has furnished a list of 251 pieces written by Lydgate. Many of them, however, are attributed to him upon authority of no very early date, and he is doubtlessly made responsible for a

large portion of the anonymous rhymes of his age.—The Coventry Plays bear no internal marks of Lydgate's hand.—EDIT.]

^y GEST. Joh. Whethamst. ut supra, p. cxvi. cxxvii. cxxiv. It is added, that Whethamstede expended on the binding, and other exterior ornaments of the manuscript, upwards of three pounds. Bale and Pitts say, that Whethamstede himself made the translation. p. 584. 630. It is in Trinity college at Oxford, MSS. 10. And in Lincoln cathedral, MSS. I. 57. Among Lydgate's works is recited, *Vita S. Albani Martyris ad JOH. FRUMENTARIUM* [Whethamstede] *abbatem*.

I believe, yet appeared. These verses, founded on a sort of spiritual masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches^z, were originally written by one Macaber in German rhymes, and were translated into Latin about the year 1460, by one who calls himself Petrus Desrey Orator. This Latin translation was published by Goldastus, at the end of the SPECULUM OMNIUM STATUUM TOTIUS ORBIS TERRARUM compiled by Rodericus Zamorensis, and printed at Hanau in the year 1613^b. But a French translation was made much earlier than the Latin, and written about the walls of saint Innocents cloister at Paris; from which Lydgate formed his English version^c.

^z See supra, p. 43. Note ^h.

A DANCE OF DEATH seems to be alluded to so early as in Pierce Plowman's VISIONS, written about 1350.

DEATH came driving after and al to dust
pashed
KYNGS, and KAISARS, KNIGHTS, and
POPES.

^b In 4to.

^c See the DAUNCE OF MACABRE, MSS. Harl. 116. 9. fol. 129. And OBSERVATIONS on the FAIRY QUEEN, vol. ii. p. 116. seq. The DANCE OF DEATH, falsely supposed to have been invented by Holbein, is different from this, though founded in the same idea. It was painted by Holbein in the Augustine monastery at Basil, 1543. But it appeared much earlier. In the chronicle of Hartmannus Schedelius, Norimb. 1493. fol. In the Quotidian Offices of the church, Paris, 1515. 8vo. And, in public buildings, at Minden, in Westphalia, so early as 1383. At Lubec, in the portico of saint Mary's church, 1463. At Dresden, in the castle or palace, 1534. At Anna-berg, 1525. At Leipsic, &c. Paul Christian Hilscher has written a very learned and entertaining German book on this subject, printed at Dresden, 1705. 8vo. Engravings of Holbein's pictures at Basil were published, curante Matthæo Meriano, at Francfort 1649, and 1725, 4to. The German verses there ascribed, appeared in Latin elegiacs, in Caspar Laudisman's DECENNALIA HUMANÆ PEREGRINATIONIS, A. D. 1584. I have not mentioned in my observations on

Spenser, that Georgius Æmylius published this DANCE at Lyons, 1542; one year before Holbein's painting at Basil appeared. Next, at the same place, 1547. 8vo.

[The most antient complete French copy of LA DANSE MACABRE was printed in folio at Lyons, in 1499, together with some other short spiritual pieces, under the title *La Grand DANSE MACABRE des hommes et des femmes historiée, avec de beaux dits en Latin et huitains en François*, &c. To this work Erasmus alludes in the third book of his *RATIO CONCIONANDI*, where he says, "Quin et vulgares rhetoristæ censuerunt hoc decus, qui interdum versibus certo numero comprehensis, pro clausula, accinunt brevem et argutam sententiam, velut in Rhythmis quos Gallus quispiam edidit in *CHOREAM MORTIS*." tom. v. Opp. pag. 1007. Naude calls this allegory, "*Chorea ab eximio Macabro edita*." *MASCUR.* p. 224. I believe the first Latin edition, that of Pierre Desrey which I have mentioned, was printed at Troyes in 1490, not 1460. The French have an old poem, partly on the same idea, *LA DANSE DES AVEUGLES*, under the conduct of Love, Fortune, and Death, written by Pierre Michault, about the year 1466. See *MEM. ACAD. INSCRIPT. et BEL. LET.* ii. 742. And Goujet, *BIBL. FR.* ix. 358. In De Bure's *BIBLIOGRAPHIE INSTRUCTIVE*, an older but less perfect edition of *Le Danse Macabre* is recited, printed at Paris in 1486, for Guyot Marchant. fol. In this edition the French rhymes are said to

In the British Museum is a most splendid and elegant manuscript on vellum, undoubtedly a present to king Henry the Sixth^d. It contains a set of Lydgate's poems, in honour of saint Edmund the patron of his monastery at Bury. Besides the decoration of illuminated initials, and one hundred and twenty pictures of various sizes, representing the incidents related in the poetry, executed with the most delicate pencil, and exhibiting the habits, weapons, architecture, utensils, and many other curious particulars, belonging to the age of the ingenious illuminator, there are two exquisite portraits of the king, one of William Curteis abbot of Bury, and one of the poet Lydgate kneeling at saint Edmund's shrine^e. In one of the king's pictures, he is represented on his throne, crowned, and receiving this volume from the abbot kneeling: in another he appears as a child prostrate on a carpet at saint Edmund's shrine, which is richly delineated, yet without any idea of perspective or proportion. The figures of a great number of monks and attendants are introduced. Among the rest, two noblemen, perhaps the king's uncles, with bonnets, or caps, of an uncommon shape. It appears that our pious monarch kept his Christmas at this magnificent monastery, and that he remained here, in a state of seclusion from the world, and of an exemption from public cares, till the following Easter: and that at his departure he was created a brother of the chapter^f. It is highly probable, that this sumptuous book, the poetry of which was undertaken by Lydgate at the command of abbot Curteis^g, was previously prepared, and presented to his majesty during the royal visit, or very soon afterwards. The substance of the whole work is

be by Michel Marot. tom. i. p. 512. num. 3109. BELL. LETTR. He has catalogued all the antient editions of this piece in French, which are many. Pierre Desrey above mentioned wrote a French romance called LA GENEALOGIE, on Godfrey of Bouloign. Paris, 1511. fol. —ADDITIONS.]

^d MSS. Harl. 2278. 4to.

^e There is an antient drawing, probably coeval, of Lydgate presenting his poem called the PILGRIM to the earl of

Salisbury, MSS. Harl. 4826. 1. It was written 1426. Another of these drawings will be mentioned below.

^f Fol. 6.

^g Curteis was abbot of Bury between the years 1429 and 1445. It appears that Lydgate was also commanded, "Late charchyd in myn oold days," to make an English metrical translation of *De Profundis*, &c. To be hung against the walls of the abbey church. MSS. Harl. 2255. 11. fol. 40. See the last stanza.

the life or history of saint Edmund, whom the poet calls the "precious charboncle of martirs alle^h." In some of the prefatory pictures, there is a description and a delineation of two banners, pretended to belong to saint Edmundⁱ. One of these is most brilliantly displayed, and charged with Adam and Eve, the serpent with a human shape to the middle, the tree of life, the holy lamb, and a variety of symbolical ornaments. This banner our bard feigns to have been borne by his saint, who was a king of the East Angles, against the Danes: and he prophesies, that king Henry, with this ensign, would always return victorious^k. The other banner, given also to saint Edmund, appears to be painted with the arms of our poet's monastery, and its blazoning is thus described.

The' other standard, ffield sable, off colour ynde^l,
 In which of gold been notable crownys thre,
 The first toknè: in cronycle men may fynde,
 Grauntyd to hym for royal dignyte:
 And the second for his virgynyte:
 For martyrdom the thridde, in his suffring.

To these annexyd feyth, hope, and charyte,
 In toknè he was martyr, mayd, and kyng.
 These three crownys^m kynge Edmund bar certeyn,
 Whan he was sent by grace of goddis hand,
 At Geynesburihe for to sleyn kyng Sweyn.

A sort of office, or service to saint Edmund, consisting of an antiphone, versicle, response, and collect, is introduced with these verses.

^h The poet's *Prayer to saint Edmund for his assistance in compiling his LIFE*, fol. 9. The history begins thus, fol. 10. b.

In Saxonie whilom ther was a kyng
 Callid Alkmond of excellent noblesse.

It seems to be taken from John of Tinmouth's *SANCTILOGIUM*, who flourished about the year 1360. At the end, connected with saint Edmund's legend, and a part of the work, is the life of saint

Fremund. fol. 69. b. But Lydgate has made many additions. It begins thus,

Who han remembre the myracles mer-
 ueilous
 Which Crist Jhesu list for his seyntes
 shewe.

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 1. 2. fol. 1. 25. 43. b.

ⁱ Fol. 2. 4.

^k Fol. 2.

^l blue.

^m See fol. 103. b. f. 104.

To all men present, or in absence,
 Whiche to seynt Edmund have devocion
 With hool herte and dewe reverence,
 Seynⁿ this antephnè and this orison;
 Two hundred days is grauntid of pardoun,
 Writ and registred afforn his holy shryne,
 Which for our feyth suffrede passioun,
 Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and virgyne.

This is our poet's *l'envoye*.

Go littel book, be ferfull, quaak for drede,
 For to appere in so hyhe presence^o.

Lydgate's poem called the *LYFE OF OUR LADY*, printed by Caxton^p, is opened with these harmonious and elegant lines, which do not seem to be destitute of that eloquence which the author wishes to share with Tully, Petrarch, and Chaucer^q. He compares the holy Virgin to a star.

O thoughtfull hertè, plunged in distresse
 With slombre of slouth, this long wynter's night!
 Out of the slepe of mortal hevinesse
 Awake anon, and loke upon the light
 Of thilkè sterre, that with her bemys bright,
 And with the shynyng of her stremes meryè,
 Is wont to glad all our hemisperie^r!—

This sterre in beautie passith Pleiades,
 Bothe of shynyng, and eke of stremes clere,
 Bootes, and Arctur, and also Iades,
 And Esperus, whan that it doth appere:
 For this is Spica, with her brightè spere^s,
 That towarde evyn, at midnyght, and at morowe,
 Downe from hevyn adawith^t al our sorowe.—

ⁿ sing; [say.]

^o Fol. 118. b.

^p "This book was compyled by Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye, at the excitation and styrrynge of the noble and victorious prynce, Harry the Fyfthe, in the honowre, glory and reverance of the

byrthe of our most blessed Lady," &c. Without date. fol. Afterwards by Robert Redman, 1531. 4to. See MSS. Harl. 629. fol. membran.

^q Cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.

^r hemisphere. ^s sphere.

^t affright, remove, [awakens.]

And dryeth up the bytter terys wete
 Of Aurora, after the morowe graye,
 That she in wepying dothe on floures flete^u,
 In lusty Aprill, and in fresshè Maye:
 And causeth Phebus, the bryght somers daye,
 Wyth his wayne gold-yborned^w, bryght and fayre,
 To' enchase the mystès of our cloudy ayre.

Now fayrè sterre, O sterre of sterrys all!
 Whose lyght to se the angels do delyte,
 So let the gold-dewe of thy grace yfall
 Into my breste, lyke scalys fayre and whyte,
 Me to enspire^x! — — — —

Lydgate's manner is naturally verbose and diffuse. This circumstance contributed in no small degree to give a clearness and a fluency to his phraseology. For the same reason he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in description, especially where the subject admits a flowery diction. He is seldom pathetic, or animated.

In another part of this poem, where he collects arguments to convince unbelievers that Christ might be born of a pure virgin, he thus speaks of God's omnipotence.

And he that made the high and cristal heven,
 The firmament, and also every sphere,
 The golden ax-tre^y, and the sterres seven,
 Citherea, so lusty for to' appere,
 And reddè Marsè^z, with his sternè here;
 Myght he not eke onèly for our sake
 Wythyn a mayde of man his^a kyndè take?

For he that doth the tender braunches sprynge,
 And the fresshe flouris in the gretè mede,
 That were in wynter dede and eke droupynge,

^u float; drop.
^w Burnished with gold. So in Lydgate's Legend on Dan Joos a monk, taken from Vincentius Bellovacensis's *Speculum HISTORIALE*, the name Maria

is *ful fayre igraven* on a red rose, in *lettris of BOURNID gold*. MSS. Harl. 2251. 39. fol. 71. b.

^x prologue.

^y of the sun.

^z Mars.

^a nature.

Of bawmè all yvoyd and lestyhede;

Myght he not make his grayne to growe and sede,

Within her brest, that was both mayd and wyfe,

Whereof is made the sothfast^b breade of lyfe?^c

We are surprised to find verses of so modern a cast as the following at such an early period; which in this sagacious age we should judge to be a forgery, was not their genuineness authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton, and a multitude of unquestionable manuscripts.

Like as the dewe discendeth on the rose

With sylver drops.^d — — —

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expressed by this remarkable metaphor.

Whan he of purple did his baner sprede

On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,

To save mankynde.^e — — —

Our author, in the course of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms, that she exceeded Hester in meekness, and Judith in wisdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathsheba, and Rachel^f. It is amazing, that in an age of the most superstitious devotion so little discrimination should have been made between sacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common sense of mankind had not yet attained a just estimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has versified the rubrics of the missal, which he applies to the god Cupid: and declares, with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of those constant martyrs, who were not

^b true.

^c Cap. xx.

^d Cap. xix.

^e Cap. ix.

^f Cap. iv. In a LIFE of the Virgin in the British Museum, I find these easy lyrics introduced, MSS. Harl. 2382. 2. 3. fol. 75. fol. 86. b. Though I am not certain that they properly belong to this work:

A mery tale I telle yow may

Of seynt Marie that swete may:

Alle the tale of this lessone

Is of her Assumptione. —

Mary moder, welle thee be!

Mary mayden, thenk on me!

Mayden and moder was never none,

Togader, lady, save thee allone.

But these lines will be considered again.

afraid to suffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity^g. There are instances, in which religion was even made the instrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous despair, promises to found a multitude of annual masses, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the shrines of saints, for the important purpose of obtaining the affections of an obdurate mistress.

^g MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl.

SECTION XXII.

BUT Lydgate's principal poems are the FALL OF PRINCES, the SIEGE OF THEBES, and the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. Of all these I shall speak distinctly.

About the year 1360, Boccacio wrote a Latin history in ten books, entitled *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ET FEMINARUM ILLUSTRUM*. Like other chronicles of the times, it commences with Adam, and is brought down to the author's age. Its last grand event is John king of France taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1359^a. This book of Boccacio was soon afterwards translated into French, by one of whom little more seems to be known, than that he was named Laurence; yet so paraphrastically, and with so many considerable additions, as almost to be rendered a new work^b. Lau-

^a Printed at Ausbourg. And at Paris, 1544. fol. It is amazing, that Vossius should not know the number of books of which this work consisted, and that it was ever printed. *De Hist. Lat. lib. iii. cap. ii.* It was translated into Italian by Betussi, in Firenze, 1566. 8vo. 2 volum.

^b In Lydgate's PROLOGUE, B. i. fol. i. a. col. 1. edit. ut infr.

He that sumtime did his diligence
The boke of Bochas in French to translate

Out of Latin, he called was LAURENCE.

He says that Laurence (in his Prologue) declares, that he avails himself of the privilege of skilful artificers; who may *chaunge and turne*, by good discretion, *shapes and forms*, and newly them devise, *make and unmake*, &c. And that old authors may be rendered more agreeable, by being cloathed in new ornaments of language, and improved with new inventions. *Ibid. a. col. 1.* He adds, that it was Laurence's design, in his transla-

tion into French, to *amende, correct*, and declare, and *not to spare thinges touched shortly*. *Ibid. col. 2.* Afterwards he calls him this *noble translatour*. *Ibid. b. col. 1.* In another place, where a panegyric on France is introduced, he says that this passage is not Boccacio's, but added,

By one LAURENCE, which was *translatour*

Of this processe, to *commende* France;
To prayse that lande was all his *pleasaunce*.

B. ix. ch. 28. fol. 31. a. col. 1. edit. ut infr. Our author, in the Prologue above cited, seems to speak as if there had been a previous translation of Boccacio's book into French. *Ut supr. a. col. 1.*

Thus LAURENCE from him envy excluded

Though *toforne* him translated was this book.

But I suspect he only means, that Boccacio's original work was nothing more than a collection or compilation from more ancient authors.

rence's French translation, of which there is a copy in the British Museum^c, and which was printed at Lyons in the year 1483^d, is the original of Lydgate's poem. This Laurence or Laurent, sometimes called Laurent de Premierfait, a village in the diocese of Troies, was an ecclesiastic, and a famous translator. He also translated into French Boccacio's DECAMERON, at the request of Jane queen of Navarre: Cicero DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE; and Aristotle's Oeconomics, dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, the king's uncle. These versions appeared in the year 1414 and 1416^e. Caxton's TULLIUS OF OLD AGE, or DE SENECTUTE, printed in 1481, is translated from Laurence's French version. Caxton, in the postscript, calls him *Laurence de primo facto*.

Lydgate's poem consists of nine books, and is thus entitled in the earliest edition. "The TRAGEDIES gathered by John BOCHAS of all such princes as fell from theyr estates throughe the mutability of fortune since the CREACION of ADAM until his time, &c. Translated into English by John Lidgate monke of Burye^f." The best and most authentic manuscript of this piece is in the British Museum; probably written under the inspection of the author, and perhaps intended as a present to Humphrey duke of Glocester, at whose gracious command the poem, as I have before hinted, was undertaken. It contains among numerous miniatures illustrating the several histories, portraits of Lydgate, and of another monk habited in black, perhaps an abbot of Bury, kneeling before a prince, who seems

^c MSS. Harl. See also *ibid.* MSS. Reg. 18 D. vii. And 16 G. v. And MSS. Bodl. F. 10. 2. [2465.] He is said to have translated this work in 1409. MSS. Reg. ut *supr.* 20 C. iv.

^d In folio. Bayle says, that a French translation appeared at Paris, by Claudius Vitart, in 1578. 8vo. Diction. Boccace. Note ^g.

^e He died in 1418. See Martene, *Ampl. Collect.* tom. ii. p. 1405. And *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. 759. 4to. Compare du Verdier, *Biblioth. Fr.* p. 72. And *Bibl. Rom.* ii. 291. It is extraordinary that the piece before us should not be

mentioned by the French antiquaries as one of Laurence's translations. Lydgate, in the Prologue above cited, observes, that Laurence, who in *cunying* *did excel*, undertook this translation at the request of some eminent personages in France, who had the interest of *rhetorike* at heart. Ut *supr.* a. col. 2.

^f Imprinted at London by John Wayland, without date, fol. He printed in the reign of Henry the Eighth. There is a small piece by Lydgate, not connected with this, entitled *The Tragedy of princes that were LECHEROUS*. MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii.

to be saint Edmund, seated on a throne under a canopy, and grasping an arrow^g.

The work is not improperly styled a set of tragedies. It is not merely a narrative of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes. The plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly suggested by the pageants of the times. Every personage is supposed to appear before the poet, and to relate his respective sufferings: and the figures of these spectres are sometimes finely drawn. Hence a source is opened for moving compassion, and for a display of imagination. In some of the lives the author replies to the speaker, and a sort of dialogue is introduced for conducting the story. Brunchild, a queen of France, who murdered all her children, and was afterwards hewn in pieces, appears thus.

She came, arayed nothing like a quene,
Her hair untressed, Bochas toke good hede;
In al his booke he had afore not sene
A more wofull creature indede,
With weping eyne, to torne was al her wede:
Rebuking Bochas cause he' had left behynde
Her wretchednes for to put in mynde.^h

Yet in some of these interesting interviews, our poet excites pity of another kind. When Adam appears, he familiarly accosts the author with the salutation of *Cosyn Bochas*.ⁱ

Nor does our dramatist deal only in real characters and historical personages. Boccacio standing pensive in his library, is alarmed at the sudden entrance of the gigantic and monstrous image of FORTUNE, whose agency has so powerful and universal an influence in human affairs, and especially in effecting those vicissitudes which are the subject of this work. There is a Gothic greatness in her figure, with some touches of the grotesque. An attribute of the early poetry of all nations, before ideas of selection have taken place. I must add, that it

^g MSS. Harl. 1766. fol. 5.

^h Lib. vii. f. xxi. a. col. 1.

ⁱ B. i. fol. i. a. col. 2. In the same

style he calls Ixion Juno's *secretary*.
B. i. ch. xii. fol. xxi. b. col. 2.

was Boethius's admired allegory on the CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, which introduced personification into the poetry of the middle ages.

Whyle Bochas pensyfe stode in his lybrarye,
Wyth chere oppressed, pale in hys vysage,
Somedeaie abashed, alone and solitarie;
To hym appeared a monstruous ymage,
Parted in twayne of color and corage,
Her ryght syde ful of sommer floures,
The tother oppressed with winter stormy showres.

Bochas astonied, full fearfull to abrayde,
When he beheld the wonderfull fygure
Of FORTUNE, thus to hymself he sayde.

“What may this meane? Is this a crëature,
Or a monstre transfourmed agayne nature,
Whose brenning eyen spercle of their lyght,
As do the sterres the frosty wynter nyght?”

And of her cherè ful god hede he toke;
Her face semyng cruel and terrible,
Añd by disdaynè menacing of loke;
Her heare untrussd, harde, sharpe, and horyble,
Frowarde of shape, lothsome, and odible:
An hundred handes she had, of eche part^k,
In sondrye wise her gyftes to departe^l.

Some of her handès lyft up men alofte,
To hye estate of worldye dignitè;
Another handè griped ful unsofte,
Which cast another in grete adversite,
Gave one riches, another povertè, &c.—

Her habyte was of manyfolde colours,
Watchet blewè of fayned stedfastnesse,
Her gold allayd like sun in watry showres,
Meynt^m with grene, for chaunge and doublenesse.—

^k on either side.

^l distribute.

^m mingled.

Her hundred hands, her burning eyes, and disheveled tresses, are sublimely conceived. After a long silence, with a stern countenance she addresses Bochas, who is greatly terrified at her horrible appearance; and having made a long harangue on the revolutions and changes which it is her business to produce among men of the most prosperous condition and the most elevated station, she calls up Caius Marius, and presents him to the poet.

Blacke was his wede, and his habyte also,
His heed unkempt, his lockès hore and gray,
His loke downe-cast in token of sorowe and wo;
On his chekès the saltè teares lay,
Which bare recorde of his deadly affray.—

His robè stayned was with Romaine blode,
His sworde aye redy whet to do vengeaunce;
Lyke a tyraunt most furyouse and wodeⁿ,
In slaughter and murdre set at his plesaunce.^o

She then teaches Bochas how to describe his life, and disappears.

These wordès saydè, Fortune made an ende,
She bete her wynges, and toke her to flyght,
I can not sè what waye she did wende;
Save Bochas telleth, lyke an angell bryght,
At her departing she shewed a great lyght.^p

In another place, Dante, “of Florence the laureate poete, demure of loke fullfilled with patience,” appears to Bochas; and commands him to write the tale of Gualter duke of Florence, whose days *for his tiranny, lechery, and covetyse, ended in mischefe*. Dante then vanishes, and only duke Gualter is left alone with the poet^q. Petrarch is also introduced for the same purpose^r.

ⁿ mad. ^o Ibid. f. cxxxviii. b. col. 2.

^p Ibid. fol. cxxxix. a. col. 2.

^q B. ix. fol. xxxiv. b. col. 1. 2. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are parti-

cularly commended. B. iv. Prol. fol. xciii. a. col. 1.

^r B. viii. fol. 1. Prol. a. b. He mentions all Petrarch's works, Prol. B. iv, fol. 93. a. col. 1.

The following golden couplet, concerning the prodigies which preceded the civil wars between Cesar and Pompey, indicates dawnings of that poetical colouring of expression, and of that facility of versification, which mark the poetry of the present times.

Serpents and adders, scaled sylver-bryght,
Were over Rome sene flying al the nyght.^s

These verses, in which the poet describes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, strength, and dignity.

Fortitude then stode stedfast in his might,
Defended wydowes, cherishd chastity;
Knyghtehood in prowes gave so clere a light,
Girte with his sworde of truthe and equity.^t

Apollo, Diana, and Minerva, joining the Roman army, when Rome was besieged by Brennus, are poetically touched.

Appollo first yshewed his presence,
Fresshe, yonge, and lusty, as any sunnè shene,
Armd all with golde; and with great vyolence
Entred the feldè, as it was wel sene:
And Dianà came with her arowes kene:
And Mynervà in a bryght haberjoun;
Which in ther coming made a terrible soun.^u

And the following lines are remarkable.

God hath a thousand handès to chastyse,
A thousand dartès of punicion,
A thousand bowès made in divers wyse,
A thousand arlblasts bent in his dongeon.^w

Lydgate, in this poem, quotes Seneca's tragedies^x for the story of Oedipus, Tully, Virgil and his commentator Servius, Ovid, Livy, Lucan, Lactantius, Justin^y or "prudent Justinus

^s B. vi. fol. 147. a. col. 1.

^t B. vii. fol. 161. b. col. 1.

^u B. iv. ch. 22. fol. cxiii. a. col. 1.

^w tower; castle. B. 1. ch. 3. fol. vi. a. col. 1.

^x B. i. ch. 9. fol. xviii. a. col. 1.

^y B. i. ch. 11. fol. xxi. b. col. 2. B. ii.

ch. 6. fol. xlv. a. col. 1. B. iii. ch. 14.

fol. lxxxi. b. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 25. fol.

lxxxix. a. col. 2. B. iv. ch. 11. fol. iii. b.

col. 1. See PROL. B. i.

an old croniclere," Josephus, Valerius Maximus, saint Jerom's chronicle, Boethius^z, Plato on the immortality of the soul^a, and Fulgentius the mythologist^b. He mentions "noble Persius," Prosper's epigrams, Vegetius's book on Tactics, which was highly esteemed, as its subject coincided with the chivalry of the times, and which had been just translated into French by John of Meun and Christina of Pisa, and into English by John Trevisa^c, "the grene chaplet of Esop and Juvenal^d," Euripides "in his tyme a great tragician, because he wrote many tragedies," and another called *Clarke* Demosthenes^e. For a catalogue of Tully's works, he refers to the SPECULUM HISTORIALE^f, or *Myrrour Hystoriall*, of Vyncentius Bellocensis; and says, that he wrote twelve books of Orations, and several *morall ditties*^g. Aristotle is introduced as teaching Alexander and Callisthenes philosophy^h. With regard to Homer, he observes, that "Grete Omerus, in Isidore ye may see, founde amonge Grekes the crafte of eloquenceⁱ." By Isidore he means the ORIGINES, or ETYMOLOGIES of Isidore His-

^z B. ii. ch. 15. fol. li. a. col. 1. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 16. fol. lii. a. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 2. fol. xlii. a. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 30. fol. lxii. b. col. 1. B. viii. ch. 24. fol. xliii. a. col. 2.

^a B. iii. ch. 5. fol. lxxi. a. col. 1.

^b B. ix. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1. From whom Boccaccio largely transcribes in his GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM, hereafter mentioned.

^c MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 233. *Princip.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." Finished at the command of his patron Thomas lord Berkeley. See *supra*, p. 178.

^d Prol. B. iv. fol. 92. a. col. 2. 93. a. col. 1.

^e B. ii. ch. 22. fol. 54. b. col. 2.

^f See *supra*, vol. i. p. 137.

^g B. vi. ch. 15. fol. 151. b. col. 1.

^h B. iv. ch. 9. fol. xcix. seq. This is from Aristotle's SECRETUM SECRETORUM, which Lydgate, as I have mentioned above, translated. But he did not finish the translation: for about the middle of it we have this note. "Here dyed this translator and notable poet John Lyd-

gate, monk of Bury, and FOWLER bygan his prolog in this wyse. *Where floure of knighthood the bataile doth refuse.*" fol. 336. MSS. Laud. K. 53. The Prologue consists of ten stanzas: in which he compares himself to a dwarf entering the lists when the knight is foiled. But it is the *yong* FOWLER, in MSS. Laud. B. xxiv. In the Harleian copy of this piece I find the following note, at fol. 236. "Here deyde the translatour a noble poete Dan Johne Lydgate, and his *folowere* began his prologe in this wise. Per Benedictum Burghe. *Where floure of,*" &c. MSS. Harl. 2251. 117. Where *Folowere* may be a corruption of *Folwer*, or *Fowler*. But it must be observed, that there was a Benedict Burghe, coeval with Lydgate, and preferred to many dignities in the church, who translated into English verse, for the use of lord Bouchier son of the earl of Essex, CAXTON'S *moralia carmina*, altered and printed by Caxton, 1483. fol. More will be said of Burgh's work in its proper place.

ⁱ B. ii. ch. 15. fol. 51. a. col. 2.

palensis, in twenty books; a system of universal information, the encyclopede of the dark ages, and printed in Italy before the year 1472^k. In another place, he censures the singular partiality of the book called *Omere*, which places Achilles above Hector^l. Again, speaking of the Greek writers, he tells us, that Bochas mentions a *scribeyn*, or scribe, who in a small scroll of paper wrote the destruction of Troy, following Homer: a history much esteemed among the Greeks, on account of its brevity^m. This was Dictys Cretensis, or Dares Phrygius. But for perpetuating the atchievements of the knights of the round table, he supposes that a clerk was appointed, and that he compiled a register from the poursuivants and heralds who attended their tournaments; and that thence the histories of those invincible champions were framed, which, whether read or sung, have afforded so much delightⁿ. For the stories of Constantine and Arthur he brings as his vouchers, the chronicle or romance called *BRUT* or *BRUTUS*, and Geoffrey of Monmouth^o. He concludes the legend of Constantine by telling us, that an equestrian statue in brass is still to be seen at Constantinople of that emperor; in which he appears armed with a prodigious sword, menacing the Turks^p. In describing the Pantheon at Rome, he gives us some circumstances highly romantic. He relates that this magnificent fane was full of gigantic idols, placed on lofty stages: these images were the gods of all the nations conquered by the Romans, and each turned his countenance to that province over which he presided. Every image held in his hand a bell framed by magic; and when any kingdom belonging to the Roman jurisdiction was meditating rebellion against the imperial city, the idol of that country gave, by some secret principle, a solemn warning of the distant treason by striking his bell, which never sounded on any other oc-

^k See Gesner. Bibl. p. 468. And Matt. Annal. Typ. i. p. 100.

^l B. iv. Prol. fol. 93. a. col. 1.

^m B. ii. cap. 15. fol. 51. b. col. 1.

ⁿ B. viii. ch. 25. fol. xv. a. col. 1. See supra, col. 1. p. 331. seq.

^o B. viii. ch. 13. fol. 7. a. col. 2.

fol. 14. b. col. 1. fol. 16. a. col. 2. See supra, vol. i. p. 66.

^p B. viii. ch. 13. fol. viii. b. col. 2. Boccacio wrote the original Latin of this work long before the Turks took and sacked Constantinople, in 1453.

casion^q. Our author, following Boccacio who wrote the *THESEID*, supposes that Theseus founded the order of knighthood at Athens^r. He introduces, much in the manner of Boethius, a disputation between Fortune and Poverty; supposed to have been written by *ANDALUS the blake*, a doctor of astronomy at Naples, who was one of Bochas's preceptors.

At Naples whylom, as he dothe specifye,
In his youth when he^s to schole went,
There was a doctour of astronomye.—
And he was called *Andalus the blake*.^t

Lydgate appears to have been far advanced in years when he finished this poem: for at the beginning of the eighth book he complains of his trembling joints, and declares that age, having benumbed his faculties, has deprived him "of all the subtilte of curious making in Englysshe to endyte^u." Our author, in the structure and modulation of his style, seems to have been ambitious of rivalling Chaucer^w: whose capital compositions he enumerates, and on whose poetry he bestows repeated encomiums.

I cannot quit this work without adding an observation relating to Boccacio, its original author, which perhaps may deserve attention. It is highly probable that Boccacio learned many anecdotes of Grecian history and Grecian fable, not to be found in any Greek writer now extant, from his preceptors Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who had lived at Constantinople while the Greek literature was yet flourishing. Some of these are perhaps scattered up and down in the composition before us, which contains a considerable part of the Grecian story; and especially in his treatise of the genealogies of the

^q B. viii. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1.

^r B. i. c. 12. fol. xxii. a. col. 2.

^s Boccacio.

^t B. iii. ch. 1. fol. lxxv. a. col. 1. "He rede in scholes the moving of the heavens," &c. Boccacio mentions with much regard *ANDALUS DE NIGRO* as one of his masters, in his *GENEAL. DEOR.* lib. xv. cap. vi. And says, that Andalus

has extant many *Opuscula astrorum cælique motus ostendentia*. I think Leander, in his *ITALIA*, calls this Andalus, *Andalotius niger, curiosus astrologus*. See Papyrius Mass. *Elog.* tom. ii. p. 195.

^u B. vii. Prol. fol. i. b. col. 2. ad calc. He calls himself older than sixty years.

^w Prol. B. i. f. ii. a. col. 2. seq.

gods^x. Boccacio himself calls his master Leontius an inexhaustible archive of Grecian tales and fables, although not equally conversant with those of the Latins^y. He confesses that he took many things in his book of the genealogies of the gods from a vast work entitled COLLECTIVUM, now lost, written by his cotemporary Paulus Perusinus, the materials of which had in great measure been furnished by Barlaam^z. We are informed also, that Perusinus made use of some of these fugitive Greek scholars, especially Barlaam, for collecting rare books in that language. Perusinus was librarian, about the year 1340, to Robert king of Jerusalem and Sicily: and was the most curious and inquisitive man of his age for searching after unknown or uncommon manuscripts, especially histories, and poetical compositions, and particularly such as were written in Greek. I will beg leave to cite the words of Boccacio, who records this anecdote. “Et, si usquam CURIOSISSIMUS fuit homo in perquirendis, jussu etiam principis, PEREGRINIS undecunque libris, HISTORIIS et POETICIS operibus, iste fuit. Et ob id, singulari amicitiae Barlae conjunctus, quæ a Latinis habere non poterat EO MEDIO INNUMERA exhausit a GRÆCIS^a.” By these HISTORIÆ and POETICA OPERA, brought from Constantinople by Barlaam, undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious species, I do not understand the classics. It is natural to suppose that Boccacio, both from his connections and his curiosity, was no stranger to these treasures: and that many of these pieces, thus imported into Italy by the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles, are only known at present through the medium of his writings. It is certain that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

Lydgate's STORIE OF THEBES was first printed by William Thinne, at the end of his edition of Chaucer's works, in 1561.

^x In fifteen books. First printed in 1481. fol. And in Italian by Betussi, Venet. 1553. In French at Paris, 1531. fol. In the interpretation of the fables he is very prolix and jejune.

^y GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

^z “Quicquid apud Græcos inveniri potest, ADJUTORIO BARLAÆ arbitror collegisse.” GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

^a GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

The author introduces it as an additional Canterbury tale. After a severe sickness, having a design to visit the shrine of Thomas a Becket at Canterbury, he arrives in that city while Chaucer's pilgrims were assembled there for the same purpose; and by mere accident, not suspecting to find so numerous and respectable a company, goes to their inn. There is some humour in our monk's travelling figure.^b

In a cope of black, and not of grene,
On a palfray, slender, long, and lene,
With rusty bridle, made not for the sale,
My man toforne with a void male^c.

He sees, standing in the hall of the inn, the convivial host of the tabard, full of his own importance; who without the least introduction or hesitation thus addresses our author, quite unprepared for such an abrupt salutation.

— — — Dan Pers,
Dan Dominike, Dan Godfray, or Clement,
Ye be welcome newly into Kent;
Though your bridle have neither boss, ne bell^d,
Beseching you that you will tell,
First of your name, &c. — —
That looke so pale, all devoid of blood,
Upon your head a wonder thredbare hood.^e—

Our host then invites him to supper, and promises that he shall have, made according to his own directions, a large pudding, a round *hagis*, a French *moile*, or a *phrase* of eggs: adding, that he looked extremely lean for a monk, and must certainly have been sick, or else belong to a poor monastery: that some nut-brown ale after supper will be of service, and that a quantity of the seed of annis, cummin, or coriander, taken be-

^b Edit. 1687. fol. ad calc. CHAUCER'S Works. pag. 623. col. i. Prol.

^c portmanteau.

^d See supra, vol. i. p. 176. Note ^y.

^e Ibid.

fore going to bed, will remove flatulencies. But above all, says the host, chearful company will be your best physician. You shall not only sup with me and my companions this evening, but return with us to-morrow to London; yet on condition, that you will submit to one of the indispensable rules of our society, which is to tell an entertaining story while we are travelling.

What, looke up, Monke! For by cockes^f blood,
 Thou shall be mery, whoso that say nay;
 For to-morrowe, anone as it is day,
 And that it ginne in the east to dawē^g,
 Thou shall be bound to a newe lawe,
 At going out of Canterbury toun,
 And lien aside thy professioun;
 Thou shall not chese^h, nor thyself withdrawe,
 If any mirth be found in thy mawe,
 Like the custom of this company;
 For none so proude that dare me deny,
 Knight, nor knave, chanon, priest, ne nonne,
 To telle a tale plainly as they conneⁱ,
 When I assigne, and see time oportune;
 And, for that we our purpose woll contune^k,
 We will homeward the same custome use^l.

Our monk, unable to withstand this profusion of kindness and festivity, accepts the host's invitation, and sups with the pilgrims. The next morning, as they are all riding from Canterbury to Ospringe, the host reminds his friend DAN JOHN of what he had mentioned in the evening, and without farther ceremony calls for a story. Lydgate obeys his commands, and recites the tragical destruction of the city of Thebes^m. As the story is very long, a pause is made in descending a very steep

^f God's.^g dawn.^k continue.^h chuse.^l Pag. 622. col. 2. seq.ⁱ can, or know.^m Ibid.

hill near the *Thrope*^a of Broughton on the Blee; when our author, who was not furnished with that accommodation for knowing the time of the day, which modern improvements in science have given to the traveller, discovers by an accurate examination of his calendar, I suppose some sort of graduated scale, in which the sun's horary progress along the equator was marked, that it is nine in the morning^o.

It has been said, but without any authority or probability, that Chaucer first wrote this story in a Latin narrative, which Lydgate afterwards translated into English verse. Our author's originals are Guido Colonna, Statius, and Seneca the tragedian^p. Nicholas Trevet, an Englishman, a Dominican friar of London, who flourished about the year 1330, has left a commentary on Seneca's tragedies^q: and he was so favorite a poet as to have been illustrated by Thomas Aquinas^r. He was printed at Venice so early as the year 1482. Lydgate in this poem often refers to *myne auctor*, who, I suppose, is either Statius, or Colonna^s. He sometimes cites Boccacio's Latin tracts: particularly the *GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM*, a work which at the restoration of learning greatly contributed to familiarise the classical stories, *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM*, the ground-work of the *FALL OF PRINCES* just mentioned, and *DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS*, in which pope Joan is one of the heroines^t. From the first, he has taken the story of Amphion building the walls of Thebes by the help of Mercury's harp, and the interpretation of that fable, together with the fictions^u

^a Or *Thorpe*. Properly a lodge in a forest. A hamlet. It occurs again pag. 651. col. 1.

Bren townes, *thropes*, and villages.

And in the *TROYE-BOKE*, he mentions "provinces, borowes, vyllages, and *thropes*." B. ii. c. x. ^q Pag. 630. col. 2.

^p See pag. 630. col. 1.

^q MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 6. Leland saw this Commentary in the library of the Cistercian abbey of Buckfast-Lees in Devonshire. Coll. iii. p. 257.

^r Some say, Thomas Anglicus.

^s Pag. 623. col. 2. 630. col. 1. 632.

col. 2. 635. col. 2. 647. col. 2. 654. col. 1. 659. col. 1. See supra, vol. i. p. 129.

^t First printed, Ulm. 1473. fol.

^u Lydgate says, that this was the same Lycurgus who came as an ally with Palamon to Athens against his brother Arcite, drawn by four white bulls, and crowned with a wreath of gold. Pag. 650. col. 2. See *KN. TALE*, Urry's Ch. p. 17. v. 2131. seq. col. 1. Our author expressly refers to Chaucer's *KNIGHT'S TALE* about Theseus, and with some address, "As ye have before heard it related in passing through Deptford," &c. pag. 568. col. 1.

about Lycurgus king of Thrace^w. From the second, as I recollect, the accoutrements of Polymites^x: and from the third, part of the tale of Isophile^y. He also characterises Boccacio for a talent, by which he is not now so generally known, for his poetry; and styles him, “among poetes in Itaile stalled^z.” But Boccacio’s THESEID was yet in vogue. He says, that when Oedipus was married, none of the Muses were present, as they were at the wedding of SAPIENCE with ELOQUENCE, described by that poet *whilom so sage, Matrician inamed de Capella*. This is Marcianus Mineus Felix de Capella, who lived about the year 470, and whose Latin prosaico-metrical work, *de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*, in two books, an introduction to his seven books, or system, of the SEVEN SCIENCES, I have mentioned before^a: a writer highly extolled by Scotus Erigena^b, Peter of Blois^c, John of Salisbury, and other early authors in corrupt Latinity^d; and of such eminent estimation in the dark centuries, as to be taught in the seminaries of philological education as a classic^e. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, a manuscript occurs written about the eleventh century, which is a commentary on these nine books of Capella, compiled by Duncant an Irish bishop^f, and given to his scholars in the monastery of saint Remigius^g. They were early translated into Latin leonine rhymes, and are often imitated by Saxo Grammaticus^h. Gregory of Tours has the vanity to hope, that no readers will think his Latinity barba-

^w Pag. 623. col. 2. 624. col. 1. 651. col. 1.

^x Pag. 634. col. 2.

^y Pag. 648. col. 1. seq.

^z Pag. 651. col. 1.

^a See supra, p. 227.

^b De Divis. Natur. lib. iii. p. 147. 148.

^c Epist. 101.

^d See Alcuin. De Sept. Artib. p. 1256. Honorius Augustodunus, de Philosophia Mundi, lib. ii. cap. 5. And the book of Thomas Cantipratanus attributed to Boethius, De Disciplina Scholarium. Compare Barth. ad Claudian. p. 32.

^e Barth. ad Briton. p. 110. “Medii ævi scholas tenuit, adolescentibus præ-

lectus,” &c. See Wilibaldus, Epist. 147. tom. ii. Vet. Monum. Marten. p. 334.

^f Leland says he saw this work in the library of Worcester abbey. Coll. iii. p. 268.

^g MSS. Reg. 15. A. xxxiii. *Liber olim S. Remig. Studio Gifardi scriptus*. Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manusc. p. 66. In imitation of the first part of this work, a Frenchman, Jo. Boræus, wrote NUPTIÆ JURISCONSULTI ET PHILOLOGIÆ, Paris. 1651. 4to.

^h Stephan. in Prolegomen. c. xix. And in the Notes, passim. He is adduced by Fulgentius.

rous: not even those, who have refined their taste, and enriched their understanding with a complete knowledge of every species of literature, by studying attentively this treatise of Marcianusⁱ. Alexander Necham, a learned abbot of Cirencester, and a voluminous Latin writer about the year 1210, wrote annotations on Marcianus, which are yet preserved^k. He was first printed in the year 1499, and other editions appeared soon afterwards. This piece of Marcianus, dictated by the ideal philosophy of Plato, is supposed to have led the way to Boethius's celebrated CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY^m.

The marriage of SAPIENCE and ELOQUENCE, or Mercury and Philology, as described by Marcianus, at which Clio and Calliope with all their sisters assisted, and from which DISCORD and SEDITION, the great enemies of literature, were excluded, is artfully introduced, and beautifully contrasted with that of Oedipus and Jocasta, which was celebrated by an assemblage of the most hideous beings.

Ne was there none of the Muses nine,—

By one accorde to maken melody:

For there sung not by heavenly harmony,

Neyther Clio nor Caliope,

None of the sistren in number thrise thre,

As they did, when PHILOLAIEⁿ

Ascended up highe above the skie,

To be wedded, this lady virtuous,

Unto her lord the god Mercurius.—

But at this weddinge, plainly for to telle,

Was CERBERUS, chiefe porter of hell;

And HEREBUS, fader to Hatred,

Was there present with his holle kindred,

ⁱ Hist. Fr. lib. x. ad calc. A manuscript of Marcianus, more than seven hundred years old, is mentioned by Bernard a Pez. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iii. p. 620. But by some writers of the early ages he is censured as obscure. Galfredus Canonicus, who flourished about 1170, declares, "Non petimus nos, aut lascivire cum Sidonio, aut vernare cum

Hortensio, aut involvere cum Marciano." Apud Marten. ubi supra, tom. i. p. 506. He will occur again.

^k Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 221. And in other places. As did Scotus Erigena, Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manusc. p. 45. And others of that period.

^m See Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

ⁿ PHILOGIA.

His WIFE also^o with her browes blacke,
 And her daughters, sorow for to make,
 Hideously chered, and uglie for to see,
 MEGERA, and THESIPHONEE,
 ALECTO eke: with LABOUR, and ENVIE,
 DREDE, FRAUDE, and false TRETCHERIE,
 TRESON, POVERT, INDIGENCE, and NEDE,
 And cruell DEATH in his rent wede^p:
 WRETCHEDNESSE, COMPLAINT, and eke RAGE,
 FEAR full pale, DRONKENESSE, croked AGE:
 Cruell MARS, and many a tigre wood^q,
 Brenning^r IRE, and UNKINDE BLOOD,
 FRATERNALL HATE depe sett in the roote,
 Sauf only death that there was no boote^s:
 ASSURED OTHES at fine untrew^t,
 All these folkes were at weddyng new;
 To make the town desolate and bare,
 As the story after shall declare.^u

The bare conception of the attendance of this allegorical groupe on these incestuous espousals, is highly poetical: and although some of the personifications are not presented with the addition of any picturesque attributes, yet others are marked with the powerful pencil of Chaucer.

This poem is the THEBAID of a troubadour. The old classical tale of Thebes is here cloathed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic species, and furnished with the descriptions, circumstances, and machineries, appropriated to a romance of chivalry. The Sphinx is a terrible dragon, placed by a necromancer to guard a mountain, and to murther all travellers passing by^w. Tydeus being wounded sees a castle on a rock, whose high towers and *crested* pinnacles of polished stone glitter by the light of the moon: he gains admittance, is laid in a sumptuous bed of cloth of gold, and healed of his wounds by a king's daughter^x. Tydeus and Polymite

^o NIGHT.
^q the attendants on Mars. ^r burning.
^s "Death was the only refuge, or remedy."

^p garment.

^t "Oaths which proved false in the end."

^u Pag. 629. col. 1.

^w Pag. 627. col. 2.

^x Pag. 640. col. 2. seq.

tilt at midnight for a lodging, before the gate of the palace of king Adrastus; who is awakened with the din of the strokes of their weapons, which shake all the palace, and descends into the court with a long train by torch-light: he orders the two combatants to be disarmed, and cloathed in rich mantles studded with pearls; and they are conducted to repose by *many a stair* to a stately tower, after being served with a refection of hypocras from golden goblets. The next day they are both espoused to the king's two daughters, and entertained with tournaments, feasting, revels, and masques^y. Afterwards Tydeus having a message to deliver to Eteocles king of Thebes, enters the hall of the royal palace, completely armed and on horseback, in the midst of a magnificent festival^z. This palace, like a Norman fortress, or feudal castle, is guarded with barbicans, portcullisses, chains, and fosses^a. Adrastus wishes to close his old age in the repose of rural diversions, of hawking and hunting^b.

The situation of Polymite, benighted in a solitary wilderness, is thus forcibly described.

Holding his way, of hertè nothing light,
Mate^c and weary, till it draweth to night:
And al the day beholding envirown,
He neither sawe ne castle, towre, ne town;
The which thing greveth him full sore,
And sodenly the see began to rore,
Winde and tempèst hidiously to arise,
The rain down beten in ful grisly wise;
That many à beast thereof was adrad,
And nigh for ferè gan to waxè mad,
As it seemed by the full wofull sownes
Of tigres, beres, of bores, and of liounes;
Which to refute, and himself for to save,
Evrich in haste draweth to his cave.

^y Pag. 633. col. 1. seq. Concerning the dresses, perhaps in the masques, we have this line, pag. 635, col. 2.

And the DEVISE of many a SOLEIN WEDE.

^z Pag. 637. col. 2.

^a Pag. 644. col. 2.

^b Pag. 635. col. 1.

^c afraid; fatigued.

But Polymitè in this tempest huge
 Alas the while findeth no refuge.
 Ne, him to shrowde, saw no where no succour,
 Till it was passed almost midnight hour.^d

When Oedipus consults concerning his kindred the oracle of Apollo, whose image stood on a golden chariot with four wheels *burned bright and sheen*, animated with a fiend, the manner in which he receives his answer is touched with spirit and imagination.

And when Edipus by great devotion
 Finished had fully his orison,
 The fiend anon, within invisible,
 With a voice dredefull and horrible,
 Bade him in haste take his voyage
 Towrds Thebes, &c.^e — — —

In this poem, exclusive of that general one already mentioned, there are some curious mixtures of manners, and of classics and scripture. The nativity of Oedipus at his birth is calculated by the most learned astronomers and physicians^f. Eteocles defends the walls of Thebes with great guns^g. And the priest^h Amphiorax, or Amphiaraus, is styled a bishopⁱ, whose wife is also mentioned. At a council held at Thebes, concerning the right of succession to the throne, Esdras and Solomon are cited: and the history of Nehemiah rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem is introduced^k. The moral intended by this calamitous tale consists in shewing the pernicious effects of war: the diabolical nature of which our author still further illustrates by observing, that discord received its origin in hell, and that the first battle ever fought was that of Lucifer and his legion of rebel angels^l. But that the argument may have the fullest confirmation, Saint Luke is then quoted to

^d Pag. 631. col. 2. ^e Pag. 626. col. 2.

^f Pag. 625. col. 1.

^g Pag. 644. col. 2. Great and small,
 and some as large as *tonnes*.

^h As in Chaucer.

ⁱ Pag. 645. col. 1.

^k Pag. 636. col. 1.

^l Pag. 660. col. 1.

prove, that avarice, ambition, and envy, are the primary sources of contention; and that Christ came into the world to destroy these malignant principles, and to propagate universal charity.

At the close of the poem, the mediation of the holy virgin is invoked, to procure peace in this life, and salvation in the next. Yet it should be remembered, that this piece is written by a monk, and addressed to pilgrims.^m

^m Lydgate was near fifty when this poem was written. pag. 622. col. 2.

SECTION XXIII.

THE third of Lydgate's poems which I proposed to consider, is the TROY BOKE, or the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. It was first printed at the command of king Henry the Eighth, in the year 1513, by Richard Pinson, with this title, "THE HYSTORY SEGE AND DESTRUCCION OF TROYE. *The table or rubricke of the content of the chapitres, &c. Here after foloweth the TROYE BOKE, otherwise called the SEGE OF TROYE. Translated by JOHN LYDGATE monke of Bury, and empynted at the commaundement of oure souveraygne lorde the kynge Henry the Eighth, by Richarde Pinson, &c. the yere of our lorde god a m.cccccc. and XIII.*"ⁿ Another, and a much more correct edition followed, by Thomas Marshe, under the care of one John Braham, in the year 1555^o. It was begun in the year 1414, the last year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth. It was written at that

ⁿ Among other curious decorations in the title page, there are soldiers firing great guns at the city of Troy. Caxton, in his RECUYLE OF THE HYSTORYES OF TROYE, did not translate the account of the final destruction of the city from his French author Rauol le Feure, "for as muche as that worshipfull and religious man Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye did *translate it but late*, after whose worke I feare to take upon me," &c. At the end of B. ii.

^o With this title. "The auncient historie, and only true and syncere cronicle, of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans, and subsequently of the fyrst evercyon of the auncient and famouse cyte of Troye under Laomedon the king, and of the last and fynall destructyon of the same under Pryam: wrytten by Daretus a Troyan and Dictus a Grecian, both souldiours and present

at and in all the sayd warres, and digested in Latyn by the learned Guydo de Columpnis, and sythes translated into Englyshe verse by John Lydgate monke of Burye and newly imprinted." The colophon, "Imprinted at London in Flete-strete at the sygne of the Princes Armes by Thomas Marshe. Anno do. m.d.l.v." This book was modernised, and printed in five-lined stanzas, under the title, "The LIFE AND DEATH OF HECTOR, &c. written by John Lydgate monk of Berry, &c. At London, printed by Thomas Purfoot. Anno Dom. 1614." fol. But I suspect this to be a second edition. *Princip.* "In Thessalie king Peleus once did raigne." See Farmer's ESSAY, p. 39. 40. edit. 1767. This spurious TROYE-BOKE is cited by Fuller, Winstanley, and others, as Lydgate's genuine work.

prince's command, and is dedicated to his successor. It was finished in the year 1420. In the Bodleian library there is a manuscript of this poem elegantly illuminated, with the picture of a monk presenting a book to a king^p. From the splendour of the decorations, it appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry the Fifth.

This poem is professedly a translation or paraphrase of Guido de Colonna's romance, entitled *HISTORIA TROJANA*^q. But whether from Colonna's original Latin, or from a French version^r mentioned in Lydgate's Prologue, and which existed soon after the year 1300, I cannot ascertain^s. I have before observed^t, that Colonna formed his Trojan History from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis^u; who perpetually occur as authorities in Lydgate's translation. Homer is however referred to in this work; particularly in the catalogue, or enumeration, of the ships which brought the several Grecian leaders with their forces to the Trojan coast. It begins thus, on the testimony of Colonna^w.

^p MSS. Digb. 232.

^q *Princip.* "Licet cotidie vetera recentioribus obruantur."

^r Of a Spanish version, by Petro Nunez Degaldo, see Nic. Anton. Bibl. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 179.

^s See supra, vol. i. p. 131. Notes. Yet he says, having finished his version, B. v. Signat. EE. i.

I have no more of *Latin* to translate, After Dytes, Dares, and Guydo.

Again, he despairs of translating Guido's *Latin* elegantly. B. ii. c. x. See also B. iii. Sign. R. iii. There was a French translation of Dares printed, Cadom. 1573. See *WORKS OF THE LEARNED*. A. 1703. p. 222.

^t Supra, vol. i. p. 130, Note c.

^u As Colonna's book is extremely scarce, and the subject interesting, I will translate a few lines from Colonna's Prologue and Postscript. From the Prologue. "These things, originally written by the Grecian Dictys and the Phrygian Dares, (who were present in the Trojan war, and faithful relators of what they saw,) are transferred into this book by

Guido, of Colonna, a judge.—And although a certain Roman, Cornelius by name, the nephew of the great Sallustius, translated Dares and Dictys into Latin, yet, attempting to be concise, he has very improperly omitted those particulars of the history, which would have proved most agreeable to the reader. In my own book therefore every article belonging to the Trojan story will be comprehended."—And in his Postscript. "And I Guido de Colonna have followed the said Dictys in every particular; for this reason, because Dictys made his work perfect and complete in every thing.—And I should have decorated this history with more metaphors and ornaments of style, and by incidental digressions, which are the *pictures* of composition. But deterred by the difficulty of the work," &c. Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the groundwork of his story. All this is translated in Lydgate's Prologue.

^w From Dict. Cretens. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 17. seq. edit. Dacer. Amstel. 1702. 4to. And Dar. Phryg. cap. xiv. p. 158. *ibid.* There is a very ancient edition of

Myne auctor telleth how Agamamnon,
The worthi kyng, an hundred shippis brought.
And is closed with these lines.

Full many shippès was in this navye,
More than GUIDO maketh rehersayle,
Towards Troyè with Grekès for to sayle:
For as HOMER in his discrypcion
Of Grekès shippès maketh mencion,
Shortly affyrminge the man was never borne
That such a nombre of shippes sawe to forne.^x

In another place Homer, notwithstanding *all his rhetoryke and sugred eloquence*, his *lusty songes* and *dytees swete*, is blamed as a prejudiced writer, who favours the Greeks^y: a censure, which flowed from the favorite and prevailing notion held by the western nations of their descent from the Trojans. Homer is also said to paint with colours of gold and azure^z. A metaphor borrowed from the fashionable art of illumining. I do not however suppose, that Colonna, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, had ever seen Homer's poems: he might have known these and many other particulars, contained in the Iliad, from those factitious historians whom he professes to follow. Yet it is not, in the mean time, impossible, that Lydgate might have seen the Iliad, at least in a Latin translation. Leontius Pilatus, already mentioned, one of the learned Constantinopolitan exiles, had translated the Iliad into Latin prose, with part of the Odyssey, at the desire of Boc-

Dares in quarto, without name or place. Of Dictys at Milan, 1477. 4to. Dares is in German, with cuts, by Marcus Tattius, August. Vindel. 1536. fol. Dictys, by John Herold, at Basil, 1554. Both in Russian, at Moscow, 1712. 8vo.

^x B. ii. c. xvi.

^y B. iv. c. xxxi. And in the PROLOGUE, Virgil is censured for following the traces of HOMERIS style, in other respects a true writer. We have the same complaint in our author's FALL OF

PRINCEIS. See supr. And in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME, Colonna is introduced, among other authors of the Trojan story, making this objection to Homer's veracity. B. iii. p. 468. col. 1. v. 389. Urr. edit.

One saied that OMERE made lies,
And feinyng in his poetries:
And was to the Grekès favorable,
And therefore held he it but fable.

^z B. iv. c. xxxi. Signat. X. ii.

cacio^a, about the year 1360. This appears from Petrarch's Epistles to his friend Boccacio^b: in which, among other curious circumstances, the former requests Boccacio to send him to Venice that part of Leontius's new Latin version of the Odyssey, in which Ulysses's descent into hell, and the vestibule of Erebus, are described. He wishes also to see, how Homer, blind and an Asiatic, had described the lake of Averno and the mountain of Circe. In another part of these letters, he acknowledges the receipt of the Latin Homer; and mentions with how much satisfaction and joy the report of its arrival in the public library at Venice was received, by all the Greek and Latin scholars of that city^c. The Iliad was also translated into French verse, by Jacques Milet, a licentiate of laws, about the year 1430^d. Yet I cannot believe that Lydgate had ever consulted these translations, although he had travelled in France and Italy. One may venture to pronounce peremptorily, that he did not understand, as he probably never had seen, the original. After the migration of the Roman emperors to Greece, Boccacio was the first European that could read Homer; nor was there perhaps a copy of either of Homer's poems existing in Europe, till about the time the Greeks were driven by the Turks from Constantinople^e. Long after Boccacio's time, the knowledge of the Greek tongue, and consequently of Homer, was confined only to a few scholars. Yet some ingenious French critics have insinuated, that Homer

^a It is a slight error in Vigneul Marville, that this translation was procured by Petrarch. Mel. Litt. tom. i. p. 21. The very ingenious and accurate author of MEMOIRES POUR LA VIE DE PETRARQUE, is mistaken in saying that Hody supposes this version to have been made by Petrarch himself. lib. vi. tom. iii. p. 633. On the contrary, Hody has adjusted this matter with great perspicuity, and from the best authorities. DE GRÆC. ILLUSTR. lib. i. c. 1. p. 2. seq.

^b SENIL. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^c Hody, ubi supra, p. 5. 6. 7. 9. The Latin Iliad in prose was published under the name of Laurentius

Valla, with some slight alterations, in 1497.

^d Mem. de Litt. xvii. p. 761. ed. 4to.

^e See Boccac. GENEAL. DEOR. xv. 6. 7. Theodorus archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century brought from Rome into England a manuscript of Homer; which is now said to be in Bennet library at Cambridge. See the SECOND DISSERTATION. In it is written with a modern hand, *Hic liber quondam THEODORI archiepiscopi Cant.* But probably this *Theodore* is THEODORE GAZA, whose book, or whose transcript, it might have been. Hody, ubi supra, Lib. i. c. 8. p. 59. 60.

was familiar in France very early; and that Christina of Pisa, in a poem never printed, written in the year 1398, and entitled *L'EPITRE D'OTHEA A HECTOR*^f, borrowed the word *Othea*, or *WISDOM*, from *ωδεια* in Homer, a formal appellation by which that poet often invokes *Minerva*^g.

This poem is replete with descriptions of rural beauty, formed by a selection of very poetical and picturesque circumstances, and cloathed in the most perspicuous and musical numbers. The colouring of our poet's^h mornings is often remarkably rich and splendid.

When that the rowes^h and the rayes redde
Eastward to us full early ginnen spreadde,
Even at the twylyght in the dawneyng,
Whan that the larke of custom ginneth synge,
For to salüeⁱ in her heavenly laye,
The lusty goddessse of the morowe graye,
I meane Aurora, which afore the sunne
Is wont t' enchase^k the blackè skyès dunne,
And al the darknesse of the dimmy night:
And freshe Phebùs, with comforte of his light,
And with the brightnes of his bemès shene,
Hath overgylt the hugè hyllès grene;
And flourès eke, agayn the morowe-tide,
Upon their stalkes gan playn^l their leavès wide.^m

Again, among more pictures of the same subject.

When Aurorà the sylver droppès shene,
Her teares, had shed upon the freshè grene;
Complaynyng aye, in weping and in sorowe,
Her chyldren's death on every sommer-morowe:

^f In the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, this piece is entitled *LA CHEVALERIE SPIRITUELLE de ce monde*. 17 E. iv. 2.

^g Mons. L'Abbè Sallier, *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 518.

^h streaks of light. A very common

word in Lydgate. Chaucer, *Kn. T.* v. 597. col. 2. Urr. p. 455.

And while the twilight and the rowis red
Of Phebus light.—

ⁱ salute.

^k chase.

^l open.

^m B. i. c. vi.

That is to sayè, when the dewe so soote,
 Embawmed hath the floure and eke roote
 With lustie lycoùr in Aprill and in Maye:
 When that the larke, the messenger of daye,
 Of custom aye Aurora doth salúe,
 With sundry notes her sorowe to ⁿtransmuè.^o

The spring is thus described, renewing the buds or blossoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows.

And them whom winter's blastes have shaken bare
 With sotè blosomes freshly to repare;
 And the meadòws of many a sundry hewe,
 Tapitid ben with divers flourès newe
 Of sundry motless^p, lusty for to sene;
 And holsome balm is shed among the grene.

Frequently in these florid landscapes we find the same idea differently expressed. Yet this circumstance, while it weakened the description, taught a copiousness of diction, and a variety of poetical phraseology. There is great softness and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat.

Tyll at the last, amonge the bowès glade,
 Of adventure, I caught a plesaunt shade;
 Ful smothe, and playn, and lusty for to sene,
 And softe as velvette was the yongè grene:
 Where from my hors I did alight as fast,
 And on a bowe aloft his reynè cast.
 So faynte and mate of werynesse I was,
 That I me layd adowne upon the gras,
 Upon a brinckè, shortly for to telle,
 Besyde the river of a cristall wellle;
 And the watèr, as I rehersè can,
 Like quickè-sylver in his streames yran,
 Of which the gravell and the bryghtè stone,
 As any golde, agaynst the sun yshone.^q

ⁿ change.

^o B. iii. c. xxiii.

^p colours.

^q B. ii. cap. xii.

The circumstance of the pebbles and gravel of a transparent stream glittering against the sun, which is uncommon, has much of the brilliancy of the Italian poetry. It recalls to my memory a passage in Theocritus, which has been lately restored to its pristine beauty.

Εὖρον αεανναον κραναν ὑπο λισσαδι πετρη,
 ὕδατι πεπληθυιαν ακηρατω· αἱ δ' ὑπενερθεν
 λαλλαι κρυσταλλω ηδ' αργυρω ινδαλλοντο
 Εκ βυθου. — —

*They found a perpetual spring, under a high rock,
 Filled with pure water : but underneath
 The pebbles sparkled as with crystal and silver
 From the bottom.* — —

There is much elegance of sentiment and expression in the portrait of Creseide weeping when she parts with Troilus.

And from her eyn the teare's round drops tryll,
 That al fordewed have her blackè wede ;
 And eke untrussd her haire abroad gan sprede,
 Lyke golden wyre, forrent and alto torn.—
 And over this, her freshe and rosey hewe,
 Whylom ymeynt^s with whitè lylyes newe,
 Wyth wofull wepyng pyteously disteynd ;
 And lyke the herbes in April all bereynd,
 Or floures freshè with the dewes swete,
 Ryght so her chekès moystè were and wete.^t

The following verses are worthy of attention in another style of writing, and have great strength and spirit. A knight brings a steed to Hector in the midst of the battle.

And brought to Hector. Sothly there he stoode
 Among the Grekes, al bathed in their bloode :

^r Διοσκουρ. Idyll. xxii. v. 37.

^s mingled.

^t B. iii. c. xxv. So again of Polyxena,
 B. iv. c. xxx.

And aye she rentè with her fingers
 smale

Her golden heyre upon her blackè
 wede.

The which in haste ful knightly he bestrode,
And them amonge like Mars himselfe he rode.^u

The strokes on the helmets are thus expressed, striking fire amid the plumes.

But strokys felle, that men might herden rynge,
On bassenetts, the fieldès rounde aboute,
So cruelly, that the fyre sprange oute
Amonge the tuftès brodè, bright and shene,
Of foyle of golde, of fethers white and grene.^w

The touches of feudal manners, which our author affords, are innumerable: for the Trojan story, and with no great difficulty, is here entirely accommodated to the ideas of romance. Hardly any adventure of the champions of the round table was more chimerical and unmeaning than this of our Grecian chiefs: and the cause of their expedition to Troy was quite in the spirit of chivalry, as it was occasioned by a lady. When Jason arrives at Colchos, he is entertained by king Oetes in a Gothic castle. Amadis or Lancelot were never conducted to their fairy chambers with more ceremony and solemnity. He is led through many a hall and many a tower, by many a stair, to a sumptuous apartment, whose walls, richly painted with the histories of antient heroes, glittered with gold and azure.

Through many a halle, and many a riche toure,
By many a tourne, and many divers waye,
By many a gree^x ymade of marbyll graye.—
And in his chambre', englosed^y bright and cleare,
That shone ful shene with gold and with asùre,
Of many image that ther was in pictùre,
He hath commaunded to his offycers,
Only' in honou'r of them that were straungers,
Spyces and wyne.^z — —

^u B. iii. c. xxii.

^w B. ii. c. xviii.

^x Greece, degree, step, stair, gradus.

^y Painted; or r. Englased. Skelton's
CROWNE OF LAWRELL, p. 24. edit. 1736.

Wher the postis wer embulioned with
saphir's indy blewe
Englased glitteringe, &c.

^z B. i. c. v. See Colonna, Signat. b.

The siege of Troy, the grand object of the poem, is not conducted according to the classical art of war. All the military machines, invented and used in the Crusades, are assembled to demolish the bulwarks of that city, with the addition of great guns. Among other implements of destruction borrowed from the holy war, the Greek fire, first discovered at Constantinople, with which the Saracens so greatly annoyed the Christian armies, is thrown from the walls of the besieged.^a

Nor are we only presented in this piece with the habits of feudal life, and the practices of chivalry. The poem is enriched with a multitude of oriental fictions, and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jason, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece asleep, a marvellous ring; in which was a gem whose virtue could destroy the efficacy of poison, and render the wearer invisible. It was the same sort of precious stone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus sent her son Eneas that he might enter Carthage unseen. Another of Medea's presents to Jason, to assist him in this perilous achievement, is a silver image, or talisman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to principles of astronomy^b. The hall of king Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among sapphires, rubies, and pearls, on the crown of a golden statue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high^c. In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whose trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overshadowed distant plains, were alternately of solid gold and silver, blossomed with gems of various hues, which were renewed every day^d. Most of these extravagancies, and a thousand more, are in Guido de Colonna, who lived when this mode of fabling was at its height. But in the fourth book, Dares Phrygius is particularly cited for a description of Priam's palace, which seemed to be founded by FAYRIE,

^a B. ii. c. xviii. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 169. In Caxton's *TROY-BOOK*, Hercules is said to make the *fire artificiall* as well as Cacus, &c. ii. 24.

^b B. ii. c. xviii.

^c B. ii. c. xi.

^d *Ibid.*

or enchantment; and was paved with crystal, built of diamonds, sapphires, and emeralds, and supported by ivory pillars, surmounted with golden images^f. This is not, however, in Dares. The warriors who came to the assistance of the Trojans, afford an ample field for invention. One of them belongs to a region of forests; amid the gloom of which wander many monstrous beasts, not real, but appearances or illusive images, formed by the deceptions of necromancy, to terrify the traveller^g. King Epistrophus brings from the land beyond the Amazons, a thousand knights; among which is a terrible archer, half man and half beast, who neighs like a horse, whose eyes sparkle like a furnace, and strike dead like lightning^h. This is Shakespeare's DREADFUL SAGITTARYⁱ. The Trojan horse, in the genuine spirit of Arabian philosophy, is formed of brass^j; of such immense size, as to contain a thousand soldiers.

Colonna, I believe, gave the Trojan story its romantic additions. It had long before been falsified by Dictys and Dares; but those writers, misrepresenting or enlarging Homer, only invented plain and credible facts. They were the basis of Colonna: who first filled the faint outlines of their fabulous history with the colourings of eastern fancy, and adorned their scanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivalry. Or, as our author expresses himself in his Prologue, speaking of Colonna's improvements on his originals.

For he ENLUMINETH, by crafte and cadence,
This noble story with many a FRESHE COLOURE
Of rhetorike, and many a RYCHE FLOURE
Of eloquence, to make it sound the bett.^k

^f Cap. xxvi.

^g B. ii. c. xviii.

^h So described by Colonna, Signat. n 4. seq.

ⁱ Ibid. And B. iii. c. xxiv. The Sagittary is not in Dictys or Dares. In whom also, these warriors are but barely named, and are much fewer in number. See Dar. cap. xviii. p. 161. Dict. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. p. 51. The description of the persons of Helen, and of the Trojan and

Grecian heroes [B. ii. c. xv.] is from Dares through Colonna, Daret. Hist. c. xii. p. 156. seq.

^j In Dictys "tabulatis extruitur ligneis." lib. v. c. x. p. 113. In Gower he is also a *hors of brasse*. Conf. Amant. lib. i. fol. xiiii. a. col. 1. From Colonna, Signat. t 4. Here also are Shakespeare's fabulous names of the gates of Troy. Signat. d 4. seq. ^k better.

Cloathed with these new inventions, this favourite tale descended to later times. Yet it appears, not only with these, but with an infinite variety of other embellishments, not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances on other subjects, in the French RECUYEL OF TROY, written by a French ecclesiastic, Rauol le Feure, about the year 1464, and translated by Caxton.¹

The description of the city of Troy, as newly built by king Priam, is extremely curious; not for the capricious incredibilities and absurd inconsistencies which it exhibits^m, but because it conveys anecdotes of antient architecture, and especially of that florid and improved species, which began to grow fashionable in Lydgate's age. Although much of this is in Colonna. He avoids to describe it geometrically, having never read Euclid. He says that Priam procured,

——— Eche carver, and curious joyner,
To make knottes with many a queint floure
To sette on crestes within and eke without.—

That he sent for such as could “grave, groupe, or carve, were sotyll in their fantasye, good devysours, marveyulous of castinge, who could raise a wall with batayling and crestes marciall, every imageour in entayleⁿ, and every portreyour who could paynt the work with fresh hewes, who could pullish alabaster, and make an ymage.”

¹ As for instance, Hercules having killed the eleven giants of Cremona, builds over them a vast tower, on which he placed eleven images of metal, of the size and figure of the giants. B. ii. c. 24. Something like this, I think, is in Amadis de Gaul. Robert Braham, in the EPISTLE TO THE READER, prefixed to the edition of Lydgate's TROY-BOOK of 1555, is of opinion, that the fables in the French RECUYEL ought to be ranked with the *trifeling tales* and *barrayne leurdries* of ROBYN HODE and BEVYS OF HAMPTON, and are not to be compared with the *faythful* and *trewe* reports of this history

given by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis.

^m It is three days journey in length and breadth. The walls are two hundred cubits high, of marble and alabaster, and machicolated. At every angle was a crown of gold, set with the richest gems. There were great guns in the towers. On each turret were figures of savage and monstrous beasts in brass. The gates were of brass, and each has a portcullis. The houses were all uniform, and of marble, sixty cubits high.

ⁿ Intaglia.

And yf I shulde rehersen by and by,
 The corvè knottes by craft of masonry;
 The fresh embowing^o with verges right as lynes,
 And the housyng full of bachewines,
 The ryche coynyng, the lusty tablemènts,
 Vinettes^p running in casemènts.—
 Nor how they put, instedè of mortère,
 In the joyntoures, coper gilt ful clere;
 To make them joyne by levell and by lyne,
 Among the marbell freshly for to shyne
 Agaynst the sunne, whan that his shenè light
 Smote on the goldè that was burned bright.

The sides of every street were covered with *freshe alures*^q of marble, or cloisters, crowned with rich and lofty pinnacles, and fronted with tabernacular or open work^r, vaulted like the dormitory of a monastery, and called *deambulatories*, for the accommodation of the citizens in all weathers.

And every house ycovered was with lead;
 And many a gargoyle, and many a hideous head,
 With spoutès thorough, &c.—

And again, of Priam's palace.

And the walles, within and eke without,
 Endilong were with knottes graven clere,
 Depeynt with asure, golde, cinople', and grene.—
 And al the wyndowes and eche fenestrall
 Wrought were with beryll^s and of clere crystall.

With regard to the reality of the last circumstance, we are

^o arching.

^p vignettes.

^q Allies, or covert-ways. Lat. *Alura*. viz. "ALURA quæ ducit a coquina conventus, usque ad cameram prioris." Hearne's OTTERB. Præf. Append. p. cxi. Where Hearne derives it from ALA, a wing, or side. Rather from *Aller*, whence Allée, Fr. *Alley*. Robert of Gloucester

mentions the ladies standing "upe [upon] the *alurs* of the castle," to see a tournament. See supr. vol. 1. p. 54. The word *Alura* is not in Du Cange.

^r Like the latticed stone-work, or *cancelli*, of a Gothic shrine.

^s Said to have been invented by Marchion of Arezzo. Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. p. 111.

told, that in Studley castle in Shropshire, the windows, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, were of beryl.

The account of the Trojan theatre must not be omitted, as it displays the imperfect ideas of the stage, at least of dramatic exhibition, which now prevailed; or rather, the absolute inexistence of this sort of spectacle. Our author supposes, that comedies and tragedies were first represented at Troy^t. He defines a comedy to begin with complaint and to end with *gladnesse*: expressing the actions of those only who live in the lowest condition. But tragedy, he informs us, begins in prosperity, and ends in adversity: shewing the wonderful vicissitudes of fortune which have happened in the lives of kings and mighty conquerours. In the theatre of Troy, he adds, was a pulpit, in which stood a poet, who rehearsed the *noble dedes that were historial of kynges, prynces, and worthy emperours*; and, above all, related those fatal and sudden catastrophes, which they sometimes suffered by murther, poison, conspiracy, or other secret and unforeseen machinations.

And this was tolde and redde by the poete.
 And while that he in the pulpet stode
 With deadlye face all devoyd of blode,
 Syngynge his dities with tresses al to rent;
 Amydde the theatre, shrowded in a tent,
 There came out men, gastfull of their cheres,
 Disfigured their faces with vyseres,
 Playing by signès in the people's syght
 That the poete songe hathe on height^u:
 So that there was no maner discourdaunce,
 Atween his dities and their countenaunce.

^t Harrison's DESCRIPT. BRIT. Cap. xii. p. 188. The occupations of the citizens of Troy are mentioned. There were goldsmiths, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers of woollen and linen, of cloth, of gold, damask, sattin, velvet, *sendel*, or a thin silk like cypress, and double *samyte*, or satin. Smiths, who forged poll-axes, spears, and *quarrel-heads*, or cross-bow darts shaped square. Armourers,

bowyers, fletchers, makers of trappings, banners, standards, penons, and *for the fiede freshe and gaye* GETOURS. I do not precisely understand the last word. Perhaps it is a sort of ornamented armour for the legs.

All that follows on this subject, is not in Colonna.

^u "That which the poet sung, standing in the pulpit."

For lyke as he aloftè dyd expresse
 Wordes of joyè or of hevinesse,—
 So craftely they^v could them^w transfigure.^x

It is added, that these plays, or *rytes of tragedyes old*, were acted at Troy, and *in the theatre halowed and yholde*, when the months of April and May returned.

In this detail of the dramatic exhibition which prevailed in the ideal theatre of Troy, a poet, placed on the stage in a pulpit, and characteristically habited, is said to have recited a series of tragical adventures; whose pathetic narrative was afterwards expressed, by the dumb gesticulations of a set of masqued actors. Some perhaps may be inclined to think, that this imperfect species of theatric representation, was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But surely Lydgate would not have described at all, much less in a long and laboured digression, a public shew, which from its nature was familiar and notorious. On the contrary, he describes it as a thing obsolete, and existing only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate stage now subsisted, he would not have deviated from his subject, to communicate unnecessary information, and to deliver such minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. On the whole, this formal history of a theatre, conveys nothing more than an affected display of Lydgate's learning; and is collected, yet with apparent inaccuracy and confusion of circumstances, from what the antient grammarians have left concerning the origin of the Greek tragedy. Or perhaps it might be borrowed by our author from some French paraphrastic version of Colonna's Latin romance^y.

Among the antient authors, beside those already mentioned, cited in this poem, are Lollius for the history of Troy, Ovid for the tale of Medea and Jason, Ulysses and Polyphemus, the Myrmidons and other stories, Statius for Polynices and Eteocles, the venerable Bede, Fulgentius the mythologist, Justinian

^v the actors.

^w themselves.

^y Colonna calls him, *ille FABULARIUS*

^x Lib. ii. cap. x. See also, B. iii. c. xxviii.

Sulmonensis,—fabulose commentans, &c.
 Signat. b. 2.

with whose institutes Colonna as a civilian must have been well acquainted, Pliny, and Jacobus de Vitriaco. The last is produced to prove, that Philometer, a famous philosopher, invented the game of chess, to divert a tyrant from his cruel purposes, in Chaldea; and that from thence it was imported into Greece. But Colonna, or rather Lydgate, is of a different opinion; and contends, in opposition to his authority, that this game, *so sotyll and so marvaylous*, was discovered by *prudent clerkes* during the siege of Troy, and first practised in that city. Jacobus de Vitriaco was a canon regular at Paris, and, among other dignities in the church, bishop of Ptolemais in Palestine, about the year 1230. This tradition of the invention of chess is mentioned by Jacobus de Vitriaco in his *ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL HISTORY*². The anecdote of Philometer is, I think, in Egidius Romanus on this subject, above mentioned. Chaucer calls Athalus, that is Attalus Philometer, the same person, and who is often mentioned in Pliny, the inventor of chess³.

I must not pass over an instance of Lydgate's gallantry, as it is the gallantry of a monk. Colonna takes all opportunities of satirising the fair sex; and Lydgate with great politeness declares himself absolutely unwilling to translate those passages of this severe moralist, which contain such unjust and illiberal misrepresentations of the female character. Instead of which, to obviate these injurious reflections, our translator enters upon a formal vindication of the ladies; not by a panegyric on their beauty, nor encomiums on those amiable accomplishments, by which they refine our sensibilities, and give elegance to life; but by a display of that religious fortitude with which some women have suffered martyrdom; or of that inflexible chastity, by means of which others have been snatched up alive into heaven, in a state of genuine virginity. Among other striking examples which the calendar affords, he mentions the transcendent grace of the eleven thousand virgins who were martyred at Cologne in Germany. In the mean time, female saints, as

² in three books.

³ DREME, p. 408. col. 2. edit Urr.

I suspect, in the barbarous ages were regarded with a greater degree of respect, on account of those exaggerated ideas of gallantry which chivalry inspired: and it is not improbable that the distinguished honours paid to the virgin Mary might have partly proceeded from this principle.

Among the anachronistic improprieties which this poem contains, some of which have been pointed out, the most conspicuous is the fiction of Hector's sepulchre, or tomb: which also merits our attention for another reason, as it affords us an opportunity of adding some other notices of the modes of antient architecture to those already mentioned. The poet from Colonna supposes, that Hector was buried in the principal church of Troy, near the high altar, within a magnificent oratory, erected for that purpose, exactly resembling the Gothic shrines of our cathedrals, yet charged with many romantic decorations.

With crafty archys raysyd wonder clene,
Embowed over all the work to cure,
So marveyulous was the celature:
That al the rofe, and closure envyrowne,
Was of^b fyne goldè plated up and downe,
With knottès gravè wonder curyous
Fret ful of stonys rich and precious, &c.

The structure is supported by angels of gold. The steps are of crystall. Within, is not only an image of Hector in solid gold; but his body embalmed, and exhibited to view with the resemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially disposed, and operating on the principles of vegetation. This is from the chemistry of the times. Before the body were four extinguishable lamps in golden sockets. To complete the work, Priam founds a regular chantry of priests, whom he accommodates with mansions near the church, and endows with revenues, to sing in this oratory for the soul of his son Hector^c.

^b with.

^c B. iii. c. xxviii. Joseph of Exeter in his Latin poem entitled *ANTIOCHEIS*, or the *CRUSADE*, has borrowed from this

tomb of Hector, in his brilliant description of the mausoleum of Teuthras. lib. iv. 451. I have quoted the passage in the *SECOND DISSERTATION*.

In the Bodleian library, there is a prodigious folio manuscript on vellum, a translation of Colonna's *TROJAN HISTORY* into verse^d; which has been confounded with Lydgate's *TROYE-BOKE* now before us. But it is an entirely different work, and is written in the short minstrel-metre. I have given a specimen of the Prologue above^e. It appears to me to be Lydgate's *TROYE-BOKE* divested of the octave stanza, and reduced into a measure which might more commodiously be sung to the harp^f. It is not likely that Lydgate is its author: that he should either thus transform his own composition, or write a

^d MSS. Laud. K. 76. fol.

^e Supr. vol. i. p. 123.

^f It may, however, be thought, that this poem is rather a translation or imitation of some French original, as the writer often refers to *The Romance*. If this be the case, it is not immediately formed from the *TROYE-BOKE* of Lydgate, as I have suggested in the text. I believe it to be about Lydgate's age; but there is no other authority for supposing it to be written by Lydgate, than that, in the beginning of the Bodleian manuscript now before us, a hand-writing, of about the reign of James the First, assigns it to that poet. I will give a few lines from the poem itself: which begins with Jason's expedition to Colchos, the constant prelude to the Trojan story in all the writers of this school.

In Colkos ile a cite was,
That men called hanne Jaconitas;
Ffair, and mekel¹, large, and long,
With walles huge and wondir strong,
Fful of toures, and heye paleis,
Off rich knyghtes, and burgeis:
A kyng that tyme hete² Eetes
Gouerned than that lond in pes³,
With his baronage, and his meynè,
Dwelleden thanne in that citè:
Ffor al aboute that riche toun
Stode wodes, and parkis, enviroon,
That were replenysched wonderful
Of herte, and hynd, bore, and bul,
And othir many savage bestis,
Betwixt that wode and that forestis.
Ther was large contray and playn,
Ffaire wodes, and champayn

Fful of semely-rennyng welles,
As the ROMAUNCE the sothe⁴ telles,
Withoute the cite that ther sprong.
Ther was of briddes michel song,
Thorow al the zer⁵ and michel cry,
Of al joyes gret melody.
To that citè [of] Eetes
Zode⁶ Jason and Hercules,
And al the ffelawes that he hadde
In clothe of golde as kynges he cladde,
&c.

Afterwards, the sorceress Medea, the king's daughter, is thus characterised.
Sche couthe the science of clergy,
And mochel of nigramancy.—
Sche coude with conjurisouns,
With here schleyght⁷, and oresouns,
The day, that was most fair and lyght,
Make as darke as any nyght:
Sche couthe also, in selcouthe wise,
Make the wynde both blowe and rise,
And make him so loude blowe,
As it schold howses overthrowe.
Sche couth turne, verament,
All weders⁸, and the firmament, &c.

The reader, in some of these lines, observes the appeal to *The romance* for authority. This is common throughout the poem, as I have hinted. But at the close, the poet wishes eternal salvation to the soul of the author of the *Romaunce*. And he that this *romaunce* wrought and made,
Lord in heven thow him glade.

If this piece is translated from a French romance, it is not from the antient metrical one of Benoit, to whom, I believe,

¹ great.
⁵ year.

² hight, named.
⁶ came.

³ peace.
⁷ sleight, art.

⁴ truth.
⁸ weathers.

new piece on the subject. That it was a poem in some considerable estimation, appears from the size and splendour of the manuscript: and this circumstance induces me to believe, that it was at a very early period ascribed to Lydgate. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that the name of the writer of so prolix and laborious a work, respectable and conspicuous at least on account of its length, should have never transpired. The language accords with Lydgate's age, and is of the reign of Henry the Sixth: and to the same age I refer the hand-writing, which is executed with remarkable elegance and beauty.

Colonna is much indebted; but perhaps from some later French romance, which copied, or translated, Colonna's book. This, among other circumstances, we may collect from these lines.

Dares the heraud of Troye says,
And Dites that was of the Gregeis, &c.
And after him cometh *maister Gy*,
That was of Rome a notary.

This *maister Gy*, or *Guy*, that is Guido of Colonna, he adds, wrote this history,

In the *manere* I schall telle.

That is "my author, or romance, follows Colonna." See *supr.* vol. i. p. 129.

Dares the heraud is Dares Phrygius, and *Dites Dictys Cretensis*.

This poem, in the Bodleian manuscript aforesaid, is finished, as I have partly observed, with an invocation to God, to save the author, and the readers, or hearers; and ends with this line,

Seythe alle Amen for charite.

But this rubric immediately follows, at the beginning of a page: "*Hic bellum de Troye ffinit et Greci transierunt versus patriam suam.*" Then follow several lineated pages of vellum, without writing. I have never seen any other manuscript of this piece.

SECTION XXIV.

TWO more poets remain to be mentioned under the reign of Henry the Sixth, if mere translation merit that appellation. These are Hugh Campeden and Thomas Chester.

The first was a great traveller, and translated into English verse the French romance of *SIDRAC*^g. This translation, a book of uncommon rarity, was printed with the following title, at the expence of Robert Saltwood, a monk of saint Austin's convent at Canterbury, in the year 1510. "The Historie of king *BocCUS* and *SYDRACKE* how he confoundyd his lerned men, and in the sight of them dronke stronge venyme in the name of the trinite and dyd him no hurt. Also his divynite that he lerned of the boke of Noe. Also his profesyes that he had by revelation of the angel. Also his aunsweris to the questyons of wysdom both morall and naturall with mucche wysdom contayned in [the] noumber ccclxv. Translated by Hugo of Caumpeden out of French into Englisshe," &c.^h There is no sort of elegance in the diction, nor harmony in the versification. It is in the minstrel-metre.ⁱ

^g See supr. vol. i. p. 147.

^h With a wooden cut of Bocchus, and Sidracke. There is a fine manuscript of this translation, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. G. 57. pergam.

ⁱ MS. Laud. G. 57. Princip.
Men may fynde in olde bookes
Who soo yat in them lookes
That men may mooche here
And yefore yff yat yee wolde lere
I shall teche yoowe a lytill jeste
That befell oonys in the este
There was a kyng that Boctus hyght
And was a man of mooche myght
His londe lay be grete Inde
Bectorye hight hit as we fynde
After the tyme of Noee even
VIIJ^{te} hundred yere fourty and seven

The kyng Bochus hym be thought
That he would have a citee wrought
The rede Jewes fro hym spere
And for to mayntene his were
A yent a kyng that was hys foo
And hath moste of Inde longyng hym too
His name was Garaab the kyng
Bocchus tho proved all this thing
And smartly a towre begenne he
There he wolde make his citee
And it was right at the incomyng
Of Garabys londe the kyng
The masons with grete laboure
Beganne to worke uppon the toure
And all that they wroghten on day
On night was hit done away
On morn when Bochus hit herde
Hee was wroth that hit so ferde

Thomas Chestre appears also to have been a writer for the minstrels. No anecdote of his life is preserved. He has left a poem entitled Sir LAUNFAL, one of Arthur's knights: who is celebrated with other champions in a set of French metrical tales or romances, written by some Armorican bard, under the name of LANVAL^k. They are in the British Museum.¹

And dyd hyt all new begynne
At even whan they shuld blynne
Off worke when they went to reste
In the night was all downe heste
Well vii monthes this thei wrought
And in the night awaylid yt nought
Boccus was wroth wonderly
And callid his folke that was hym by
Councellith me lordinges seyde hee
Howe I may beste make this citee
They sayde sir sendith a noon
Aftir your philosophers everychon
And the astronomers of your londe
Of hem shall yee counseill fonde.
Afterwards king Tractabare is requested
to send

—— the booke of astronomye
That whilom Noe had in baylye,
together with his astronomer Sidracke.
At the end.

And that Hugh of Campedene
That this boke hath thorough soght
And untoo Englyssh ryme hit brought.

Sidrake, who is a Christian, at length
builds the tower in *Nomine S. Trinitatis*,
and he teaches Bocchus, who is an ido-
later, many articles of true religion.
The only manuscript I have seen of this
translation is among MSS. Laud. G. 57.
fol. ut supr.

^k It begins thus.

LAUNFAL MILES.

Be doughty Artours dawes
That held Engelond yn good lawes,
Ther fell a wondyr cas,
Of a ley¹ that was ysette,
That hyght LAUNVAL and hatte yette.

Now herkeneth how hyt was;
Doughty Artour som whyle
Sojournede yn Kardevyle²,
Wyth joye and greet solas,

And knyghtes that wer profitable,
With Artour of the rounde table,
Never noon better ther was.
Sere Persevall, and syr Gawayn,
Syr Gyheryes, and syr Agrafrayn,
And Launcelot du Lake,
Syr Kay, and syr Ewayn,
That well couthe fyghte yn plain,
Bateles for to take.
Kyng Ban Booght, and kyng Bos,
Of ham ther was a greet los,
Men sawe tho no wher³ her make⁴,
Syr Galafre, and syr LAUNFALE,
Whereof a noble tale
Among us schall a-wake.

With Artour ther was a bachelere
And hadde y-be well many a yer,
LAUNFAL for soht⁵ he hyght,
He gaf gyftys largelyche
Gold and sylver and clodes ryche,
To squyer and to knyght.
For hys largesse and hys bounte
The kynges stward made was he
Ten yer y you plyght,
Of alle the knyghtes of the table rounde
So large ther was noyn y-founde,
Be dayes ne be nyght.

So hyt befall yn the tenthe yer
Marlyn was Artours counsalere,
He radde hym for to wende
To kyng Ryon of Irlond ryght,
And fette him ther a lady bryght
Gwennere hys doughtyr hende, &c.

In the conclusion.

THOMAS CHESTRE made thys tale
Of the noble knyght syr Launfale
Good of chyvalrye:
Jhesus that ys hevene kyng
Yeve us alle hys blessing
And hys modyr Marye.

EXPLICIT LAUNFALE.

Never printed. MSS. Cotton. CALIG.
A. 2. f. 33. I am obliged to doctor

¹ liege, [lay.] ² or, Kerdevyle. f. Caerlisle. ³ ther. ⁴ match. ⁵ soth.

I think I have seen some evidence to prove, that Chestre was also the author of the metrical romance called the *ERLE OF THOLOUSE*^m. This is one of the romances called *LAIS* by the poets of Britany, or Armorica: as appears from these lines,

In romance this gest

A *LEY*ⁿ of *BRITAYN* callyd I wys, &c.

And that it is a translation, appears from the reference to an original, "*The Romans telleth so.*" I will however give the outlines of the story, which is not uninteresting, nor inartificially constructed.

Dioclesian, a powerful emperor in Germany, has a rupture with Barnard earl of Tholouse, concerning boundaries of territory. Contrary to the repeated persuasions of the empress, who is extremely beautiful, and famous for her conjugal fidelity, he meets the earl, with a numerous army, in a pitched battle, to decide the quarrel. The earl is victorious, and carries home a great multitude of prisoners, the most respectable of which is sir Tralabas of Turkey, whom he treats as his companion. In the midst of their festivities they talk of the beauties of the empress; the earl's curiosity is inflamed to see so matchless a lady, and he promises liberty to sir Tralabas, if he can be conducted unknown to the emperor's court, and obtain a sight of her without discovery. They both set forward, the earl disguised like a hermit. When they arrive at the emperor's court, sir Tralabas proves false: treacherously imparts the secret

Percy for this transcript. It was afterwards altered into the romance of sir *LAMBWELL*. [This Romance forms a part of Mr. Ritson's collection, from whose transcript the text has been corrected. Under the title of Sir Lambwell it occurs in bishop Percy's folio MS.—*EDIT.*]

¹ MSS. Harl. 978. 112. fol. i. 154.

"En Bretains l'apelent *LAUNVAL*."

See a note at the beginning of *Diss.* i.

^m Never printed. MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 45. 4to. [6926.] And MSS. More. Camb. 27. *Princip.*

Jesu Crist in trinite,

Only god in persons thre, &c.

Lefe frendys I shall you telle
Of a tale that sometyne befell
Far in unkouth lande,
Howe a lady had grete myschefe, &c.

[A copy from the Camb. MS. has since been published by Mr. Ritson. In orthography it varies considerably from the Ashmole MS., and is evidently of an earlier date.—*EDIT.*]

ⁿ Perhaps *ley* in the fourth line of sir *LAUNFAL* may mean Lay in this sense. See note at the beginning of the *FIRST DISSERTATION*. [See Note A. at the end of the Section.]

to the empress that he has brought with him the earl of Tholouse in disguise, who is enamoured of her celebrated beauty; and proposes to take advantage of so fair an opportunity of killing the emperour's great and avowed enemy. She rejects the proposal with indignation, enjoins the knight not to communicate the secret any farther, and desires to see the earl next day in the chapel at mass. The next day the earl in his hermit's weeds is conveniently placed at mass. At leaving the chapel, he asks an alms of the empress; and she gives him forty florins and a ring. He receives the present of the ring with the highest satisfaction, and although obliged to return home, in point of prudence, and to avoid detection, comforts himself with this reflection.

Well is me, I have thy grace,
Of the to have thys thyng!
If ever I have grace of the,
That *any love betweene us be,*
This may be a TOKENYNG.

He then returns home. The emperour is called into some distant country; and leaves his consort in the custody of two knights, who attempting to gain her love without success, contrive a stratagem to defame her chastity. She is thrown into prison, and the emperour returns unexpectedly^o, in consequence of a vision. The tale of the two treacherous knights is believed, and she is sentenced to the flames: yet under the restriction, that if a champion can be found who shall foil the two knights in battle, her honour shall be cleared, and her life saved. A challenge is published in all parts of the world; and the earl of Tholouse, notwithstanding the animosities which still subsist between him and the emperour, privately undertakes her quarrel. He appears at the emperour's court in the habit of

^o The emperour's disappointment is thus described.

Anon to the chamber went he,
He longyd sore his wyf to se,
That was so swete a wyght:
He callyd theym that shulde her kepe,
Where is my wif is she on slepe?

How farys that byrd so bryght?

The traytors answeyrd anon,
And ye wist how she had done, &c.—
The yonge knyght sir Artour,
That was her hervour, &c.
For bale his armys abroad he sprede,
And fell in swoone on his bed.

a monk, and obtains permission to act as confessor to the empress, in her present critical situation. In the course of the confession, she protests that she was always true to the emperor; yet owns that once *she gave a ring to the earl of Tholouse*. The supposed confessor pronounces her innocent of the charge brought against her; on which one of the traitorous knights affirms, that the monk was suborned to publish this confession, and that he deserved to be consumed in the same fire which was prepared for the lady. The monk pretending that the honour of his religion and character was affected by this insinuation, challenges both the knights to combat: they are conquered; and the empress, after this trial, is declared innocent. He then openly discovers himself to be the earl of Tholouse, the emperor's antient enemy. A solemn reconciliation ensues. The earl is appointed seneschal of the emperor's domain. The emperor lives only three years, and the earl is married to the empress.

In the execution of this performance, our author was obliged to be concise, as the poem was intended to be sung to the harp. Yet, when he breaks through this restraint, instead of dwelling on some of the beautiful situations which the story affords, he is diffuse in displaying trivial and unimportant circumstances. These popular poets are never so happy, as when they are describing a battle or a feast.

It will not perhaps be deemed impertinent to observe that about this period the minstrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In this age, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleased than instructed. During many of the years of the reign of Henry the Sixth, particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feast of the fraternity of the HOLIE CROSSE at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests each received four pence for singing a dirge: and the same number of minstrels were rewarded each with two shillings and four pence, beside diet and horse-meat. Some of these minstrels came only from Maydenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county^p. In the year 1441, eight

^p Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. APPEND. p. 598.

priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly obit in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke; as were six minstrels, called MIMI, belonging to the family of lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the monks on that anniversary. Two shillings were given to the priests, and four to the minstrels^a: and the latter are said to have supped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the subprior^r, on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax^s. That the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their labours, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, may be collected from other expences of this priory^t. In the same year, the prior gives only sixpence^u for a sermon, to a DOCTOR PRÆDICANS, or an itinerant doctor in theology of one of the mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses.

We are now arrived at the reign of king Edward the Fourth, who acceded to the throne in the year 1461^w. But before I proceed in my series, I will employ the remainder of this section in fixing the reader's attention on an important circumstance, now operating in its full extent, and therefore purposely reserved for this period, which greatly contributed to the improvement of our literature, and consequently of our poetry: I mean the many translations of Latin books, especially classics, which the French had been making for about the two last centuries, and were still continuing to make, into their own language. In

^a Ex Computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtock. penes me. [See supr. vol. i. p. 93-94.] "Dat. sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, citharisantibus, et ludentibus, in aula in dicta Pietantia, iiii. s."

^r "Mimis cenantibus in camera picta cum supprior eodem tempore," [the sum obliterated.]

^s Ex comp. Camerarii, ut supr.

^t Ex comp. prædict.

^u Worth about five shillings of our present money.

^w I know not whether it is worth men-

tioning, that a metrical *Dialogue between God and the penitent Soul*, belonging to the preceding reign, is preserved at Caius college, Cambridge. Pr. "Our gracious lord prince of pite." MSS. E. 147. 6. With other pieces of the kind. The writer, William Lichfield, a doctor in theology, shone most in prose; and is said to have written, with his own hand, 3083 English sermons. See T. Gascoign, (MS.) Diction. V. PRÆDICATOR. He died 1447. See Stowe, Lond. 251. 386. Newcourt, i. 819.

order to do this more effectually, I will collect into one view the most distinguished of these versions: not solicitous about those notices on this subject which have before occurred incidentally; nor scrupulous about the charge of anticipation, which, to prepare the reader, I shall perhaps incur by lengthening this inquiry, for the sake of comprehension, beyond the limits of the period just assigned. In the mean time it may be pertinent to premise, that from the close communication which formerly subsisted between England and France, manuscript copies of many of these translations, elegantly written, and often embellished with the most splendid illuminations and curious miniatures, were presented by the translators or their patrons to the kings of England; and that they accordingly appear at present among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Some of these, however, were transcribed, if not translated, by command of our kings; and others brought into England, and placed in the royal library, by John duke of Bedford, regent of France.

It is not consistent with my design, to enumerate the Latin legends, rituals, monastic rules, chronicles, and historical parts of the Bible, such as the *BOOK OF KINGS* and the *MACCABEES*, which were looked upon as stories of chivalry^x, translated by the French before the year 1200. These soon became obsolete: and are, besides, too deeply tinctured with the deplorable superstition and barbarity of their age, to bear a recital^y. I will therefore begin with the thirteenth century. In the year 1210, Peter Comestor's^z *HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA*, a sort of breviary of the old and new testament, accompanied with elaborate expositions from Josephus and many pagan writers, a work compiled at Paris about the year 1175, and so popular, as not only to be taught in schools, but even to be publicly read in the churches

^x As "Plusieurs Battailes des Roys d'Israel en contre les Philistiens et Assyriens," &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 D. 1. 7.

^y I must however except their *LAPIDAIRES*, a poem on precious stones, from the Latin of Marbodeus; and the *BES-*

TIAIRE, a set of metrical fables, from the Latin Esop. These, however, ought to be looked upon as efforts of their early poetry, rather than translations.

^z Or *Le Mangeur*, because he devoured the Scriptures.

with its glosses, was translated into French by Guiart des Moulins, a canon of Aire^a. About the same time, some of the old translations into French made in the eleventh century by Thibaud de Vernon, canon of Rouen, were retouched: and the Latin legends of many lives of saints, particularly of saint George, of Thomas a Beckett, and the martyrdom of saint Hugh, a child murdered in 1206 by a Jew at Lincoln^b, were reduced into French verse. These pieces, to which I must add a metrical version of the bible from Genesis to Hezekiah, by being written in rhyme, and easy to be sung, soon became popular, and produced the desired impression on the minds of the people^c. They were soon followed by the version of *ÆGIDIUS DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM*^d, by Henri de Gauchi. Dares Phrygius, *THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME* by Herbers^e, Eutropius^f, and Aristotle's *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*^g, appeared about the same time in French. To say nothing of voluminous versions of *PANDECTS* and feudal *COUTUMES*^h, Michael de Harnes translated Turpin's *CHARLEMAGNE* in the year 1207ⁱ. It was into prose, in opposition to the practice which had long prevailed of turning Latin prose into French rhymes. This piece, in compliance with an age addicted to romantic fiction, our translator undoubtedly preferred to the more rational and sober Latin historians of Charlemagne and of France, such as Gregory of Tours, Fredegair, and Eginhart. In the year 1245, the

^a The French was first published, without date or place, in two tomes. With old wood-cuts. Vossius says that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunte, an English Carmelite, about the year 1460. Hist. Lat. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 197. edit. Amst. 1689. fol. It was translated into German rhymes about 1271. Sander. Bibl. Belg. pag. 285. There are numerous and very sumptuous manuscripts of this work in the British Museum. One of them, with exquisite paintings, was ordered to be written by Edward the Fourth at Bruges, 1470. MSS. Reg. 15 D. i. Another is written in 1382. Ibid. 19 B. xvii.

^b See Chaucer, *PRIORES*. T. p. 144. col. 2. v. 3193.

^c It is rather beside my purpose to speak particularly of some of the divine Offices now made French, and of the church-hymns.

^d See modo supr. p. 349. And MSS. Reg. 15 E. vi. 11. And ibid. 19 B. i. And ibid. 19 A. xx. "Stephanus Fortis clericus scripsit. An. 1395."

^e See supra, p. 298.

^f He was early translated into Greek at Constantinople.

^g Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. iv. 3.

^h See a French *JUSTINIAN*, &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 D. ix. 2. 3. A manuscript before 1300.

ⁱ Caxton printed a life of *CHARLES THE GREAT*, 1485.

SPECULUM MUNDI, a system of theology, the seven sciences, geography, and natural philosophy^k, was translated at the instance of the duke of Berry and Auvergne^l. Among the royal manuscripts, is a sort of system of pious tracts, partly of ritual offices, compiled in Latin by the confessors of Philip in 1279, translated into French^m; which translation queen Isabel ordered to be placed in the church of saint Innocents at Paris, for the use of the people.

The fourteenth century was much more fertile in French translation. The spirit of devotion, and indeed of this species of curiosity, raised by saint Louis, after a short intermission, rekindled under king John and Charles the Fifth. I pass over the prose and metrical translations of the Latin bible in the years 1343, and 1380, by Macè, and Raoul de Presles. Under those reigns, saint Austin, Cassianus, and Gregory the Greatⁿ, were translated into French; and they are the first of the fathers that appeared in a modern tongue. Saint Gregory's *HOMELIES* are by an anonymous translator^o. His *DIALOGUES* were probably translated by an English ecclesiastic^p. Saint Austin's *DE CIVITATE DEI* was translated by Raoul de Presles, who acted professedly both as confessor and translator to Charles the Fifth^q, about the year 1374. During the work he received a yearly pension of six hundred livres from that liberal monarch, the first founder of a royal library in France,

^k One of the most eminent astronomers in this work is the poet Virgil.

I know not when "*LE LIVRE ROYALL*," a sort of manual, was made French. The Latin original was compiled at the command of Philip le Bell, king of France, in 1279. Pref. to Caxton's *Engl. Translat.* 1484. fol.

^l See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. ix. This version was translated into English, and printed by Caxton, 1480.

^m Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. ii.

ⁿ See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 2.

^o Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 20 D. v.

^p It is supposed that they were rendered by an Englishman, or one living

in England, as the translator's name is marked by an A. And as there is a prayer in the manuscript to saint Frideswide, an Oxford saint. *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 735. 4to. It is very rare that we find the French translating from us. Yet Fauchet mentions a French poetess, named Marie de France, who translated the fables of *ESOP MORALISED*, from English into French, about the year 1310. But this was to gratify a *comte Guillaume*, with whom she was in love, and who did not perhaps understand English. See Fauchet, *RECUEIL*, lxxxiv. p. 163. edit. 1581. I know nothing of the fables. [See Dissertation i.]

^q Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. iii. With pictures. And 14 D. i.

at whose command it was undertaken. It is accompanied with a prolix commentary, valuable only at present as preserving anecdotes of the opinions, manners, and literature, of the writer's age; and from which I am tempted to give the following specimen, as it strongly illustrates the antient state of the French stage, and demonstrably proves that comedy and tragedy were now known only by name in France^r. He observes, that Comedies are so denominated from a room of entertainment, or from those places, in which banquets were accustomed to be closed with singing, called in Greek CONIAS: that they were like those *jeux* or plays, which the minstrel, *le Chanteur*, exhibits in halls or other public places, at a feast: and that they were properly styled INTERLUDIA, as being presented between the two courses. Tragedies, he adds, were spectacles, resembling those personages which at this day we see acting in the LIFE and PASSION of a martyr^s. This shews that only the religious drama now subsisted in France. But to proceed: Cassianus's COLLATIONES PATRUM, or the CONFERENCES, was translated by John Goulain, a Carmelite monk, about 1363. Two translations of that theological romance Boethius's CONSOLATION, one by the celebrated Jean de Meun, author of the ROMANCE OF THE ROSE, existed before the year 1340. Others of the early Latin Christian writers were ordered to be turned into French by queen Jane, about 1332. But finding that the archbishop of Rouen, who was commissioned to execute this arduous task, did not understand Latin, she employed a Mendicant friar. About the same period, and under the same patronage, the LEGENDA AUREA, written by James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1260, that inexhaustible repository of religious fable^t, was translated by Jehan de Vignay, a monk hospitaler^u. The same translator gave also a

^r See supra, vol. ii. p. 67.

^s Ch. viii. liv. ii.

^t In the year 1555, the learned Claud. Espence was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it LEGENDA FERREA. Thuan. sub ann. Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. p. 704. 297.

^u Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 B. xvii. The copy was written 1382. This version seems to be the same which Caxton translated, and printed, 1483. While it was printing, William lord Arundel gave Caxton annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter.

version of a famous ritual entitled SPECULUM ECCLESIAE, or the MIRROR OF THE CHURCH, of CHESH MORALISED, written by Jacobus de Casulis^w: and of Odoricus's VOYAGE INTO THE EAST^x. Thomas Benoit, a prior of saint Genevieve, gratified the religious with a translation into a more intelligible language of some Latin liturgic pieces about the year 1330. But his chief performance was a translation into French verse of the RULE OF SAINT AUSTIN. This he undertook merely on a principle of affection and charity, for the edification of his pious brethren who did not understand Latin.

Pour l'amour de vous, très chers freres,
En François ai traduit ce Latin.

And in the preface he says, "Or sçai-je que *plusieurs* de vous n'entendent pas bien LATIN auquel il fut chose necessaire de la rieule [regle] entendre." Benoit's successor in the priorate of saint Genevieve was not equally attentive to the discipline and piety of his monks. Instead of translating monkish Latin, and enforcing the salutary regulations of saint Austin, he wrote a system of rules for BALLAD-WRITING, L'ART DE DICTIER BALLADE ET RONDELS, the first Art of poetry that ever appeared in France.

Among the moral books now translated, I must not omit the SPIRITUELLE AMITIE of John of Meun, from the Latin of Aldred an English monk^y. In the same style of mystic piety was the treatise of CONSOLATION, written in Latin, by Vincent de Beauvais, and sent to saint Louis, translated in the year 1374. In the year 1340, Henri de Suson, a German dominican and a mystic doctor, wrote a most comprehensive treatise called HOROLOGIUM SAPIENTIAE. This was translated into French by a monk of saint François^z. Even the officers of the court of Charles the Fifth were seized with the ardour of

^w Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. xi. 1. This version was translated in English, and printed, by Caxton, 1474.

^x Ibid. 19 D. i. 4. 5.

^y It is mentioned in the catalogue of

his *traductions*, at the beginning of his *Consolation philosophique*. I am not acquainted with the English monk.

^z Englished, and printed, by Caxton,

very early.

translating religious pieces, no less than the ecclesiastics. The most elegant tract of moral Latinity translated into French, was the celebrated book of our countryman John of Salisbury, *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*. This version was made by Denis Soulechart, a learned Cordelier, about the year 1360. Notwithstanding the *EPISTLES* of Abelard and Eloisa, not only from the celebrity of Abelard as a Parisian theologian, but on account of the interesting history of that unfortunate pair, must have been as commonly known, and as likely to be read in the original, as any Latin book in France, they were translated into French in this century, by John of Meun; who prostituted his abilities when he relinquished his own noble inventions, to interpret the pedantries of monks, schoolmen, and proscribed classics. I think he also translated Vegetius, who will occur again^a. In the library of saint Genevieve, there is, in a sort of system of religion, a piece called *JERARCHIE*, translated from Latin into French, at the command of our queen Elinor, in the year 1297, by a French friar^b. I must not however forget, that amidst this profusion of treatises of religion and instruction, civil history found a place. That immense chaos of events real and fictitious, the *HISTORICAL MIRROR* of Vincent de Beauvais, was translated by Jehan de Vignay above mentioned^c. One is not surprised that the translator of the *GOLDEN LEGEND* should make no better choice.

The desolation produced in France^d by the victorious armies of the English, was instantly succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. King John, having indulged his devotion, and

^a There is a copy written in 1284, [1384,] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. xv. Often, *ibid.* John of Meun is also said to have translated *MIRABILIA HIBERNIÆ*.

^b "Cette *JERARCHIE* translata frere Jehan de Pentham de Latin en François, à la requeste la reine d'Engleterre Alienore femme le roy Edward." There is also this note in the manuscript. "Cest livre resigna frere Jordan de Kyngestone à la commune des freres Menurs de Southampton, par la volonte du graunt

frere Willame Notington [f. Northington in Hampshire,] ministre d'Engleterre...l'an. de grace m.ccc.xvii."

^c Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E. i.

^d A curious picture of the distracted state of France is recorded by Petrarch. The king, with the Dauphin, returning from his captivity in England, in passing through Picardy, was obliged to make a pecuniary bargain with the numerous robbers that infested that country, to travel unmolested. *VIE PETR.* iii. 543.

satisfied his conscience, by procuring numerous versions of books written on sacred subjects, at length turned his attention to the classics. His ignorance of Latin was a fortunate circumstance, as it produced a curiosity to know the treasures of Latin literature. He employed Peter Bercheur, prior of saint Eloi at Paris, an eminent theologian, to translate Livy into French^e; notwithstanding that author had been anathematised by pope Gregory. But so judicious a choice was undoubtedly dictated by Petrarch, who regarded Livy with a degree of enthusiasm, who was now resident at the court of France, and who perhaps condescended to direct and superintend the translation. The translator in his Latin work called *REPERTORIUM*, a sort of general dictionary, in which all things are proved to be allegorical, and reduced to a moral meaning, under the word *ROMA*, records this great attempt in the following manner. "TITUM LIVIUM, ad requisitionem domini Johannis inclyti Francorum regis, *non sine labore et sudoribus*, in linguam Gallicam transtuli^f." To this translation we must join those of Sallust, Lucan, and Cesar: all which seem to have been finished before the year 1365. This revival of a taste for Roman history, most probably introduced and propagated by Petrarch during his short stay in the French court, immediately produced a Latin historical compilation called *ROMULEON*, by an anonymous gentleman of France; who soon found it necessary to translate his work into the vernacular language. Valerius Maximus could not remain long untranslated. A version of that favourite author, begun by Simon de Hesdin, a monk, in 1364, was finished by Nicolas de Gonesse, a master in theology,

^e See Henault, *NOUVEL. ABREG. HIST. FR.* p. 229. edit. 1752. 4to. And *VIE DE PETRARQUE*, iii. 547.

^f This was the translation of Livy, which, with other books, the duke of Bedford, regent of France, about 1425, sent into England to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. The copy had been a present to the king of France. *Mem. Litt.* ii. 747. 4to. See the *SECOND DISSERTATION*. In the Sorbonne library at Paris,

there is a most valuable manuscript of this version in two folio volumes. In the front of each book are various miniatures and pictures, most beautifully finished. *Dan. Maichel de Bibliothec. Paris.* pag. 79. There is a copy, transcribed about the time the translation was finished. *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. vi. DES FAIS DE ROMAINS.* With pictures.

1401^g. Under the last-mentioned reign, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* MORALISED^h were translated by Guillaume de Nangis: and the same poem was translated into French verse, at the request of Jane de Bourbonne, afterwards the consort of Charles the Fifth, by Philip de Vitri, bishop of Meaux, Petrarch's friend, who was living in 1361ⁱ. A bishop would not have undertaken this work, had he not perceived much moral doctrine couched under the pagan stories. Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles the Fifth, translated the poem *DE VETULA*, falsely ascribed to Ovid^k. Cicero's *RHETORICA* appeared in French by master John de Antioche, at the request of one friar William, in the year 1383. About the same time, some of Aristotle's pieces were translated from Latin; his *PROBLEMS* by Evrard de Conti, physician to Charles the Fifth; and his *ETHICS* and *POLITICS* by Nicholas d'Oresme, while canon of Rouen. This was the most learned man in France, and tutor to Charles the Fifth; who, in consequence of his instructions, obtained a competent skill in Latin, and in the rules of the grammar^l. Other Greek classics, which now began to be known by being translated into Latin, became still more familiarised, especially to general readers, by being turned into French. Thus Poggius Florentinus's recent Latin version of Xenophon's *CYROPÆDIA* was translated into French by Vasque de Lucerie, 1370^m. The *TACTICS* of Vegetius, an author who frequently confounds the military practices of his own age with those of antiquity, ap-

^g Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18 E. iii. iv. With elegant delineations, and often in the same library.

^h Perhaps written in Latin by Joannes Grammaticus, about 1070. See the SECOND DISSERTATION.

ⁱ There was a French Ovid in duke Humphrey's library at Oxford. See *supra*, p. 355. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iv. 1. This version, as I apprehend, is the same that Caxton translated into English prose, and printed, 1480. A manuscript is in Bibl. Pepys. Magd. Coll. Cant. Cat. MSS. Angl. &c. tom. ii, N. 6791.

^k Polycarpus Leyserus supposes this

piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protonotarius, an officer in the court at Constantinople, who writes the preface. Hist. Poes. Med. Æv. p. 2089. He proves the work supposititious, from its several Arabicisms and scriptural expressions, &c. Bradwardine cites many lines from it, *Advers. Pelag.* p. 33. As does Bacon, in his astrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical. In *Boeth. de Trinit.* Selden intended a DISSERTATION on this forgery, *De Synedr.* iii. 16. It is in hexameters, in three books.

^l Christin. *VIE CHARLES V.*

^m Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. v. 1. And 16 G. ix. With pictures.

peared under the title of *LIVRES DES FAIS D'ARMES ET DE CHEVALLERIE*, by Christina of Pisaⁿ. Petrarch's *DE REMEDIIS UTRIUSQUE FORTUNÆ*, a set of Latin dialogues, was translated, not only by Nicholas d'Oresme, but by two of the officers of the royal household^o, in compliment to Petrarch at his leaving France^p. Many philosophical pieces, particularly in astrology, of which Charles the Fifth was remarkably fond, were translated before the end of the fourteenth century. Among these, I must not pass over the *QUADRIPARTITUM* of Ptolemy, by Nicholas d'Oresme; the *AGRICULTURE*^q, or *LIBRI RURALIUM COMMODORUM*, of Peter de Crescentiis, a physician of Bononia, about the year 1285, by a nameless friar preacher^r; and the book *DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM* of Bartholomew Anglicus, the Pliny of the monks, by John Corbichon, an Augustine monk^s. I have seen a French manuscript of Guido de Colonna's Trojan romance, the hand-writing of which belongs to this century^t.

ⁿ MSS. Reg. 19 B. xviii. &c. Vegetius was early translated into all the modern languages. There is an English one, probably by John Trevisa, as it is addressed to his patron lord Berkeley, A. D. 1408. MSS. Digb. 233. *Princ.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." There is a translation of Vegetius, *written* at Rhodes, "die 25 Octobris, 1459, per Johannem Newton." ad calc. Bibl. Bodl. K. 53. Laud. MSS. Christina's version was translated, and printed, by Caxton, 1489. See *supra*, p. 377.

^o See Nicéron, tom. 28. p. 384.

^p Mons. l'Ab. Lebeuf says *Seneca* instead of *Petrarch*. Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 752.

I must not forget to observe, that several whole books in Brunetto's *TRESOR* consist of translations from Aristotle, Tully, and Pliny, into French. Brunetto was a Florentine, and the master of Dante. He died in 1295. The *TRESOR* was a sort of Encyclopede, exhibiting a course of practical and theoretic philosophy, of divinity, cosmography, geography, history sacred and profane, physics, ethics, rhetoric, and politics. It was written in French by Brunetto during his residence in France: but he after-

wards translated it into Italian, and it has been translated by others into Latin. It was the model and foundation of Bartholomeus of the *PROPERTIES OF THINGS*, of Bercheur's *REPERTORIUM*, and of many other works of the same species, which soon followed. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. i. It will occur again.

^q *DES PROUFFITZ CHAMPESTRES ET RURAUX*. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E.

^r In twelve books. See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 666.

^s Leland says, that this translation is elegant; and that he saw it in duke Humfrey's library at Oxford. Script. Brit. cap. ccclxviii. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iii. With pictures. Ibid. 15 E. ii. Where the translation is assigned to the year 1362. The writing of the manuscript, to 1482. With pictures.

^t Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 F. ix. A new translation seems to have been made by Rauol le Feure, in 1464. Englished by Caxton, and printed, 1471. Caxton's *GODEFROY OF BOLOGNE*, translated from the French, and printed 1481, had a Latin original. The French, a fine copy, is in Brit. Mus. 17 F. v. MSS. Reg. Sæpius *ibid.* [See *supra*, p. 407.]

In the fifteenth century it became fashionable among the French, to polish and reform their old rude translations made two hundred years before: and to reduce many of their metrical versions into prose. At the same time, the rage of translating ecclesiastical tracts began to decrease. The latter circumstance was partly owing to the introduction of better books, and partly to the invention of printing. Instead of procuring laborious and expensive translations of the antient fathers, the printers, who multiplied greatly towards the close of this century, found their advantage in publishing new translations of more agreeable books, or in giving antient versions in a modern dress^u. Yet in this century some of the more recent doctors of the church were translated. Not to mention the Epistles of saint Jerom, which Antoine Dufour, a Dominican friar, presented in French to Anne de Bretagne, consort to king Charles the Eighth, we find saint Anselm's *CUR DEUS HOMO*^w, The LAMENTATIONS OF SAINT BERNARD, The SUM OF THEOLOGY of Albertus Magnus, The PRICK of DIVINE LOVE^x of saint Bonaventure a seraphic doctor^y, with other pieces of the kind,

^u I take this opportunity of observing, that one of these was the romance of sir LANCELOT DU LAC, translated from the Latin by Robert de Borron, at the command of our Henry the Second or Third. See supra, vol. i. p. 118. This new LANCELOT, I believe, is the same which was printed at Paris by Antony Verard, 1494. In three vast folio volumes. Another, is the romance of GYRON LE COURTOIS, translated also from Latin, at the command of the same monarch, by Lucas, or Luce, *chevalier du Chateau du Gast, or Gat, or Gal*, and printed by Verard as above. See Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 117. The old GUIRON LE COURTOIS is said to be translated by "LUCE chevalier seigneur du chateau du Gal, [perhaps *Sal.* an abbreviation for Salisbury,] voisin prochain du sire du Sablieres, par le commandement de tres noble et tres puissant prince M. le roy Henry jadis roy d'Angleterre." Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 7586. See supra, vol. i. p. 118. Note *.

^w Written in 1098.

^x Supra, vol. i. p. 81.

^y He flourished in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deserves notice, more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were present pope Gregory the tenth, the emperor of Greece by several Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin the second the Latin eastern emperor, James king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred bishops and archbishops, sixty abbots more than a thousand prelates and priests of lower rank, the ambassadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourse of people of all orders and degrees. The sepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the most consummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. Miræi Auctar. Script. Eccles. p. 72. edit. Fabric. [See supra, vol. i. p. 81.]

exhibited in the French language before the year 1480, at the petition and under the patronage of many devout duchesses. Yet in the mean time, the lives of saints and sacred history gave way to a species of narrative more entertaining and not less fabulous. Little more than Josephus, and a few MARTYRDOMS, were now translated from the Latin into French.

The truth is, the French translators of this century were chiefly employed on profane authors. At its commencement, a French abridgement of the three first decads of Livy was produced by Henri Romain a canon of Tournay. In the year 1416, Jean de Courci, a knight of Normandy, gave a translation of some Latin chronicle, a HISTORY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, entitled BOUQUASSIERE. In 1403, Jean de Courteuisse, a doctor in theology at Paris, translated Seneca on the FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES^z. Under the reign of king Charles the Seventh, Jean Cossa translated the CHRONOLOGY of Mattheus Palmerius a learned Florentine, and a writer of Italian poetry in imitation of Dante. In the dedication to Jane the Third, queen of Jerusalem, and among other titles countess of Provence, the translator apologises for supposing her highness to be ignorant of Latin; when at the same time he is fully convinced, that a lady endowed with so much natural grace, must be perfectly acquainted with that language. “Mais pour ce que le vulgar François est plus commun, j’ai pris peine y traduire ladite oeuvre.” Two other translations were offered to Charles the Seventh in the year 1445. One, of the FIRST PUNIC WAR of Leonard of Arezzo, an anonymous writer, who does not chuse to publish his name *a cause de sa petitesse*; and the STRATAGEMS of Frontinus, often cited by John of Salisbury, and mentioned in the Epistles of Peter of Blois^a, by Jean de Rouroy, a Parisian theologist. Under Louis the Eleventh, Sebastian Mamerot of Soissons, in the year 1466, attempted a new translation of the ROMULEON: and he professes, that he under-

^z It is supposititious. It was forged, about the year 560, by Martianus an archbishop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours calls the most eminent writer of

his time. Hist. Franc. v. 38. It was a great favourite of the theological ages.

^a Epist. 94.

took it solely with a view of improving or decorating the French language^b.

Many French versions of classics appeared in this century. A translation of Quintus Curtius is dedicated to Charles duke of Burgundy, in 1468^c. Six years afterwards, the same liberal patron commanded Cesar's COMMENTARIES to be translated by Jean du Chesne^d. Terence was made French by Guillaume Rippe, the king's secretary, in the year 1466. The following year a new translation of Ovid's METAMORPHOSES was executed by an ecclesiastic of Normandy^e. But much earlier in the century, Laurence Premierfait, mentioned above, translated, I suppose from the Latin, the OECONOMICS of Aristotle, and Tully's DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE, before the year 1426^f. He is said also to have translated some pieces, perhaps the EPISTLES, of Seneca^g. Encouraged by this example, Jean de Luxembourg, Laurence's cotemporary, translated Tully's Oration against Verres. I must not forget that Hippocrates and Galen were translated from Latin into French in the year 1429. The translator was Jean Tourtier, surgeon to the duke of Bedford, then regent of France; and he humbly supplicates Rauoul Palvin, confessor and physician to the duchess, and John Major, first physician to the duke, and graduate *en l'es-*

^b I am not sure whether this is not much the same as LE GRANDE HISTOIRE CESAR, &c. Taken from Lucan, Suetonius, Orosius, &c. Written at Bruges at the command of our Edward the Fourth, in 1479. That is, ordered to be *written* by him. A manuscript with pictures. MSS. Reg. 17 F. ii. 1. Brit. Mus. But see *ibid.* ROMELEON, *ou des Faits des Romains*, in ten books. With pictures. MSS. Reg. 19 E. v. See also 20 C. i.

^c Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. i. With beautiful pictures.

^d Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 G. viii. With pictures. Another appeared by Robert Gaguen in 1485.

^e Perhaps this might be Caxton's copy. See above, p. 421.

^f The two latter versions were translated into English by William Botoner,

and John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, and printed by Caxton, 1481. Botoner presented his manuscript copy to William of Waynflete bishop of Winchester in 1473. See *supra*, p. 372. Caxton's English CATO, printed 1483, was from the French. As were his FABLES OF ÆSOP, printed 1483.

^g Crucimanius mentions a version of Seneca by Premierfait, as printed at Paris, in 1500. Bibl. Gall. p. 287. A translation of Seneca's DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS CARDINALIBUS, but supposititious, is given to Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. Sanders recites the EPISTLES of Seneca, translated into French by some anonymous writer, at the command of Messire Barthelemi Signulfe a nobleman of Naples. Bibl. Cathedr. Tornacens. p. 209. Pieces of Seneca have been frequently translated into French, and very early.

tude d'Auxonford^h, and master Roullan, physician and astronomer of the university of Paris, amicably to amend the faults of this translation, which is intended to place the science and practice of medicine on a new foundation. I presume it was from a Latin version that the *ILIAD*, about this period, was translated into French metre.

Among other pieces that might be enumerated in this century, in the year 1412, Guillaume de Tignonville, provost of Paris, translated the *Dicta Philosophorum*ⁱ: as did Jean Gallopes dean of the collegiate church of saint Louis, of Salsoye, in Normandy, the *Iter Vitæ Humanæ* of Guillaume prior of Chalis^k. This version, entitled *Le Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine*, is dedicated to Jean queen of Sicily, above mentioned; a duchess of Anjou and a countess of Provence; who, without any sort of difficulty, could make a transition from the Life of sir Lancelot to that of saint Austin, and who sometimes quitted the tribunal of the COURT OF LOVE to confer with learned ecclesiastics, in an age when gallantry and religion were of equal importance. He also translated, from the same author, a composition of the same ideal and contemplative cast, called *Le Pelerin de l'Âme*, highly esteemed by those visionaries who preferred religious allegory to romance, which was dedicated to the duke of Bedford^l. In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an elegant illuminated manuscript of Bonaventure's *Life of Christ*, translated by Gallopes; containing a curious picture of the translator presenting his version to our Henry the Fifth^m. About the same time, but

^h Oxonford. Oxford.

ⁱ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. viii. Sæpius. *ibid.* This version was translated into English by lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1477.

^k See Labb. Bibl. MSS. p. 317. Bibl. Roman. ii. 236. And Oudin. iii. 976. Guillaum lived about 1352. Some of the French literary antiquaries suppose this to be a Latin piece. It is, however, in French verse, which was reduced into prose by Gallopes.

^l I am not certain, whether this is

Caxton's *PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOWLE*, an English translation from the French, printed in 1483. fol. Ames says, that Antonine Gerard is the author of the French, which was printed at Paris, 1480. Hist. Print. p. 34.

^m See *ARCHÆOL.* vol. ii. p. 194. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 G.iii. 20 B.iv. Englished about 1410, and printed by Caxton very early. The English translator, I believe, is John Morton, an Augustine friar.

before 1427, Jean de Guerre translated a Latin compilation of all that was marvellous in Pliny, Solinus, and the OTIA IMPERIALIA, a book abounding in wonders, of our countryman Gervais of Tilburyⁿ. The French romance, entitled L'ASSAILLANT, was now translated from the Latin chronicles of the kings of Cologne: and the Latin tract DE BONIS MORIBUS of Jacobus Magnus, confessor to Charles the Seventh, about the year 1422, was made French^o. Rather earlier, Jean de Premierfait translated BOCCACCIO DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIORUM^p. Nor shall I be thought to deviate too far from my detail, which is confined to Latin originals, when I mention here a book, the translation of which into French conduced in an eminent degree to circulate materials for poetry: this is Boccacio's DECAMERON, which Premierfait also translated, at the command of queen Jane of Navarre, who seems to have made no kind of conditions about suppressing the licentious stories, in the year 1414^q.

I am not exactly informed, when the ENEID of Virgil was translated into a sort of metrical romance or history of Eneas, under the title of LIVRE D' ENEIDOS COMPILE PAR VIRGILE, by Guillaume de Roy. But that translation was printed at Lyons in 1483, and appears to have been finished not many

ⁿ He flourished about the year 1218.

^o See supra, p. 371. There is a version of Boccacio's DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS, perhaps by Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 C. v.

^p This version was Englished, and printed, by Caxton, 1487.

^q See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 E. i. Where it is said that the Decameron was first translated into Latin. It is not very literal. It was printed at Paris 1485. fol. Again, *ibid.* 1534. 8vo. It was again translated by Antoine le Macon, fol. Paris 1543. And often afterwards.

[In Jean Petit's edition in 1535, and perhaps in that of 1485, of Premierfait's translation of the DECAMERON, it is said to be translated from Latin into French. But *Latin* here means *Italian*. Hence a mistake arose, that Boccacio wrote his DECAMERON in Latin. The

Italian, as I have before observed, was antiently called *Il volgare Latino*. Thus the French romance of MELIADUS DE LEONNOIS is said to be *translaté du LATIN*, by Rusticien de Pisa, edit. Par. 1532. fol. Thus also GYRON LE COURTOIS is called a version from the Latin. [Supra, p. 423. Note ^u.] M. de la Monnoye observes, "Que quand on trouve que certains VIEUX ROMANS ont été traduits de LATIN en François, par Luc de Salesberies, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pisa, ou autres, cela signifie que ç'a été d'ITALIEN en François." REM. au BIBL. FR. du La Croix du Maine, &c. tom. ii. p. 33. edit. 1772. [See supra, ADDIT. ad p. 15. i.] Premierfait's French DECAMERON, which he calls CAMERON, is a most wretched caricature of the original.—ADDITIONS.]

years before. Among the translator's historical additions, are the description of the first foundation of Troy by Priam, and the succession of Ascanius and his descendants after the death of Turnus. He introduces a digression upon Boccacio, for giving in his *FALL OF PRINCES* an account of the death of Dido, different from that in the fourth book of the *Eneid*. Among his omissions, he passes over Eneas's descent into hell, as a tale manifestly forged, and not to be believed by any rational reader: as if many other parts of the translator's story were not equally fictitious and incredible^r.

The conclusion intended to be drawn from this long digression is obvious. By means of these French translations, our countrymen, who understood French much better than Latin, became acquainted with many useful books which they would not otherwise have known. With such assistances, a commodious access to the classics was opened, and the knowledge of antient literature facilitated and familiarised in England, at a much earlier period than is imagined; and at a time, when little more than the productions of speculative monks, and irrefragable doctors, could be obtained or were studied. Very few Englishmen, I will venture to pronounce, had read Livy before the translation of Bercheur was imported by the regent duke of Bedford. It is certain that many of the Roman poets and historians were now read in England, in the original. But the Latin language was for the most part confined to a few ecclesiastics. When these authors, therefore, appeared in a language almost as intelligible as the English, they fell into the hands of illiterate and common readers, and contributed to sow the seeds of a national erudition, and to form a popular taste. Even the French versions of the religious, philosophical, historical, and allegorical compositions of those more enlightened Latin writers who flourished in the middle ages, had their use, till better books came into vogue: pregnant as they were with absurdities, they communicated instruction on various and new

^r It was translated, and printed, by Caxton, 1490.

subjects, enlarged the field of information, and promoted the love of reading, by gratifying that growing literary curiosity which now began to want materials for the exercise of its operations. How greatly our poets in general availed themselves of these treasures, we may collect from this circumstance only: even such writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning, when they translate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French version. It is needless to pursue this history of French translation any farther. I have given my reason for introducing it at all. In the next age, a great and universal revolution in literature ensued; and the English themselves began to turn their thoughts to translation.

These French versions enabled Caxton, our first printer, to enrich the state of letters in this country with many valuable publications. He found it no difficult task, either by himself, or the help of his friends, to turn a considerable number of these pieces into English, which he printed. Antient learning had as yet made too little progress among us, to encourage this enterprising and industrious artist to publish the Roman authors in their original language^s: and had not the French fur-

^s It is, however, remarkable, that from the year 1471, in which Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the English press flourished greatly under the conduct of many industrious, ingenious, and even learned artists, only the very few following classics, some of which hardly deserve that name, were printed in England. These were, *BOETHIUS de Consolatione*; both Latin and English, for Caxton, without date. The Latin *ESOPIAN Fables*, in verse, for Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. 4to. [And once or twice afterwards.] *TERENCE*, with the Comment of Badius Ascensius, for the same, 1504. 4to. *VIRGIL's BUCOLICS*, for the same, 1512. 4to. [Again, 1533. 4to.] *TULLY's OFFICES*, Latin and English, the translation by Whittington, 1533. 4to. The university of Oxford, during this period, produced only the first Book of *TULLY's EPISTLES*, at the charge of cardinal Wolsey, without date, or printer's name. Cambridge not a single classic.

No Greek book, of any kind, had yet appeared from an English press. I believe the first Greek characters used in any work printed in England, are in Linacer's translation of *Galen de Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521, 4to. A few Greek words, and abbreviations, are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German, a friend of Erasmus, who styles himself *primus utriusque lingue in Anglia impressor*. There are Greek characters in some of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatise *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, printed by Pinson in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the sixth book are seven Greek lines together. But the printer apologises for his imperfections and unskillfulness in the Greek types; which, he says, were but recently cast, and not in a sufficient quantity for such a work. The passage is curious. "*Æquo animo feras siquæ literæ, in ex*

nished him with these materials, it is not likely, that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers, would by the means of his press have been circulated in the English tongue, so early as the close of the fifteenth century.

NOTE A.—(*From the Emendations and Additions*.*)

These BRITISH LAIS, of which I have given specimens at the beginning of the FIRST DISSERTATION, and of which sir LAUNFAL is one, are discovered to have been translated into French from the language of Armorican Bretagne, about the thirteenth century, by Marie a French poetess, who made the translation of ESOP above mentioned. See CANT. T. vol. iv. p. 165. edit. 1775. But Marie's was not the only Collection of BRITISH LAIS, in French: as appears, not only from the EARL of THOLOUSE, but by the romance of EMARE, a translation from the French, which has this similar passage, St. ult.

Thys ys on of *Brytayne layes*
That was used of old dayes.

MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A ii. fol. 69. (see f. 70.) The SONG of SIR GOWTHER† is said by the writer to be taken from one of

emplis Hellenismi, vel tonis vel spiritibus careant. His enim non satis instructus erat typographus, videlicet recens ab eo fusis characteribus Græcis, nec parata ei copia qua ad hoc agendum opus est." About the same period of the English press, the same embarrassments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types; which yet were more likely, as that language was so much less known. In the year 1524, doctor Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry the Eighth, published his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ*, &c. 4to. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains, that he was obliged to omit his whole third part, because the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced; but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the first of the sort used in England. This learned orientalist was instrumental in preserving, at the dissolution of

monasteries, the Hebrew manuscripts of Ramsey abbey, collected by Holbech one of the monks, together with Holbech's *Hebrew Dictionary*. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. ii. 251. Leland. Script. v. HOLBECCUS.

It was a circumstance favourable at least to English literature, owing indeed to the general illiteracy of the times, that our first printers were so little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almost all Caxton's books are English. The multiplication of English copies multiplied English readers, and these again produced new vernacular writers. The existence of a press induced many persons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue.

* [This Note is referred to in p. 410, and is placed at the end of this Section on account of its length.—EDIT.]

† [The reprint of *Sir Gowther*, and its close analogy with the romantic legends of Robert of Cicyle, and Robert the

the Layes of Brytayne: and in another place he calls his story *the first Laye of Britanye*. MSS. REG. 17 B. xliii. Chaucer's FRANKLEIN'S TALE was also a *Bretagne Lay*, Urr. p. 107. In the Prologue he says,

The *olde gentill Bretons* in their dayes
Of divers aventoures madin their *Layes*,
Rymeyed first in their owne *Breton tonge*,
Whiche *layis* with ther instruments thei songe.

Devil, have already been noticed, (*supra*, p. 22) Though professing to be a lay of Brittany, it has no connexion with those early Armorican fictions, which centre in the achievements of Arthur and his knights; and the declaration was probably resorted to, from the popularity attached to the name. Whether it be of genuine English growth, as suggested by its recent editor, is a question not so easily decided. The allegation in the text can go for little unaided by evidence of a more conclusive nature; or, if received at all, can only be interpreted in the same literal sense as the assertions of Marie de France—that such fictions were derived from Brittany. The mention of “Gotlake,” the name of a well-known Saxon saint, and the agnomen under which Sir Gowther found his way into the calendar, might favour the supposition of an English origin. But the legend of the real St. Guthlac is still preserved both in Saxon and Latin, and has not the slightest affinity with the story detailed in the lay. The same motives which would prompt the assumption of a well-known source of popular fiction, would not object to the adoption of an English name, when recommended by similar advantages. It is true the very premises are here gratuitous; but had the author been an Englishman, or had the poem been composed in England, we might reasonably expect that some direct or latent allusion would still be discoverable, either to this country generally, or to Croyland the reputed scene of Saint Guthlac's miracles. As it is, a total silence is observed on either subject; and the principal agents are all foreigners;—the Duke of Ostrych, the Emperor of Almayn, the Sowdan of Perce, &c. The name itself speaks

nothing. Guth-her, which a strong guttural accentuation would render Gough-ther, is a genuine Saxon appellative; but by the same process the French Gautier (Gowtere) would assume a form nearly similar. The old Platt-deutsch romance of Zeno, which has been conjectured to be a kindred story, is a far more pleasing fiction; and though affording the same admixture of romantic and legendary lore, is free from that disgusting degradation of the hero, which marks Sir Gowther for the offspring of the monastery. The child, whose malicious and insatiate appetite produces so much mischief, is not the son of Satan, but the “fowle fende” himself, who assumes the form and place of the infant Zeno; and the following passage of the German romance is the only one in strict parallel with Sir Gowther's narrative:

Do lach de bose Satanas
Unde wenede, also eyn kint dot.
Do entwakede de vruwe gut,
Unde wolde dem kinde spyse geven:
Do behelt se kume dat leven.
He soch so sere ut oren brosten,
Dat man se laben moste.
Se wunnen mennich vrone wif,
Se al verloren oren lif,
Van dem vil ungehuren.

Which may be thus done into English.

That evil Satanas then lough,
And whined as a child mote do;
Then awaked that lady good,
And thought to give the child some food;
But at her breast he soke so sore,
That she had nigh her life forlore.
They hired many a goodly wife,
But through that fiend they lost their
life. EDIT.]

Here he translates from Marie, although this story is not in her manuscript, viz. fol. 181.

Li auntien Bretun curteis.

But in his DREME, he seems to have copied her LAY of ELIDUS. [See Diss. i.] To the *British Lais* I would also refer LA LAI DU CORN, which begins,

De un aventure ci avint
A la court del bon rei Artus.

MSS. DIGB. 86. Bibl. Bodl. membran. 4to. It probably existed before the year 1300. The story, which much resembles the old French metrical romance, called LE COURT MANTEL, is slightly touched in MORTE ARTHUR. ii. 33. A magical horn, richly garnished, the work of a fairy, is brought by a beautiful boy riding on a fleet courser, to a sumptuous feast held at Carleon by king Arthur, in order to try the fidelity of the knights and ladies, who are in number sixty thousand. Those who are false, in drinking from this horn, spill their wine. The only successful knight, or he who accomplishes the adventure, is *Garaduc* or *Crádok*. I will here give the description of the horn.

————— Un dauncel^a,
Mout avenaunt et bel,

^a More properly written *daunzel*, or *danzel*. As in the old French romance of GARIN,

Et la *danzel* que Bues ot norris.

And in other places. So our king Richard the First, in a fragment of one of his Provencial sonnets,

E lou *donzel* de Thuscana.

“For *Boys* Tuscany is the country.” In Spanish, *Lo Donzell*. See Andr. Bosch, *Dels Titols de honor de Cathalanya*. L. iii. c. 3. § 16. In some of these instances, the word is restrained to the sense of *Squire*. It is from the Latin DOMICELLUS. Froissart calls Richard the Second, when prince of Wales, “Le jeune *Damoisel* Richart,” tom. i. c. 325.

[Mr. Ritson denies that the sonnet in

question was written by Richard I.; and follows Nostradamus, who attributes it to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa. It is, however, a well known fact, that this Emperor was so firm in his predilection for his native tongue, that though acquainted with several European languages, he constantly refused to converse with the ambassadors of foreign states who were ignorant of German, except through the medium of an interpreter. This, coupled with the general inaccuracy of Nostradamus’s historical notices, might justify a doubt as to the correctness of the statement. It would, however, be perfectly in character if spoken of the Emperor Frederic II., who was himself a Minnesinger or Troubadour, and a patron of Troubadours.—
EDIT.]

Seur un cheval corant,
 En palleis vint eraunt:
 En sa main tont un cor
 A quatre bendel de or,
 Ci com estoit diveure
 Entaillez de ad trifure¹,
 Peres ici ont assises,
 Qu en le or furent mises,
 Berreles et sardoines,
 Et riches calcedoines;
 Il fu fust de ollifaunt,
 Ounques ne ni si graunt,
 Ne si fort, ne si bel,
 Desus ont un anel,
 Neèle de ad argent,
 Eschelettes il ont cent
 Perfectees de or fin,
 En le tens Constantin,
 Les fist une Fee,
 Qu preuz ert, et senee,
 E le corn destina
 Si cum vous orres ja:
 Qu sour le corn ferroit
 Un petit de soun doit,
 Ses eschelettes cent
 Sounent tant doucement,

¹ Or rather *trifore*. Undoubtedly from the Latin *triforium*, a rich ornamented edge or border. The Latin often occurs under Dugdale's INVENTORY of saint Paul's, in the MONASTICON, viz. "Morsus [a buckle] W. de Ely argenteus, cresta ejus argentea, cum TRIFORIO exterius aureo et lapillis insitis," &c. tom. iii. ECCL. CATH. p. 309. TRIFORIATUS repeatedly occurs in the same page, as thus. "Morsus Petri de Blois TRIFORIATUS de auro."—"Medio circulo [of a buckle] aurato, TRIFORIATO, inserto grossis lapidibus," &c.—"Cum multis lapidibus et perlis insitis in limbis, et quadraturis TRIPHORATUS aureis," &c. &c.

ibid. p. 309. et seq. It is sometimes written TRIFORIA. As, "Pannus cujus campus purpureus, cum xiv listis in longitudine ad modum TRIFORIÆ contextis." ibid. p. 326. col. 2. TRIFURE, in the text, may be literally interpreted *jewel-work*. As in CHRON. S. Dion. tom. iii. Collect. Histor. Franc. p. 183. "Il estoient de fin or esmere et aourné de tres riches pierres precieuses d' uere [œuvre] TRIPHORE." Which Aimon calls, "gemmisque ornata Opere inclusorio," that is, *work consisting of jewels set in*. De GEST. FRANC. Lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 44. G. edit. Paris. 1603. fol.

Qu harpe ne viele
 Ne deduit de pucelle,
 Ne Sereigne du mer
 Nest tele desconter.

These lines may be thus interpreted. "A boy, very graceful and beautiful, mounted on a swift horse, came into the palace of king Arthur. He bore in his hand a horn, having four bandages of gold; it was made of ivory, engraved with *trifoire*: many pretious stones were set in the gold, beryls, sardonyces, and rich chalcedonies: it was of elephant [ivory]: nothing was ever so grand, so strong, or so beautiful: at bottom was a ring [or rim] wrought of silver; where were hanging an hundred little bells, framed of fine gold, in the days of Constantine, by a Fairy, brave and wise, for the purpose which ye have just heard me relate. If any one gently struck the horn with his finger, the hundred bells sounded so sweetly, that neither harp nor viol, nor the sports of a virgin, nor the syrens of the sea, could ever give such music." The author of this *Lai* is one Robert Bikez, as appears by the last lines; in which the horn is said still to be seen at Cirencester. From this tale came Ariosto's ENCHANTED CUP, ORL. FURIOS. xlii. 92. And Fontaine's LA COUPE ENCHANTEE. From the COURT MANTEL, a fiction of the same tendency, and which was common among the Welsh bards, Spenser borrowed the wonderful virtues and effects of his FLORIMEL'S GIRDLE, iv. 5. 3. Both stories are connected in an antient Ballad published by Percy. vol. iii. p. 1.

In the Digby manuscript, which contains *La Lai du Corn*, are many other curious chansons, romantic, allegorical, and legendary, both in old French and old English. I will here exhibit the rubrics, or titles, of the most remarkable pieces, and of such as seem most likely to throw light on the subjects or allusions of our antient English poetry. *Le Romaunz Peres Aunfour* [Alfonse] *coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement.* [See Notes to CANTERB. T. p. 328. vol. iv.] *De un demi ami.*—*De un bon ami enter.*—*De un sage homme et de i fol.*—*De un gopil et de un mul.*—*De un roi et de un clerc.*—*De un homme*

et de une serpente et de un gopil.—De un roi et de un versifiour.—De ii clerks escoliers.—De un prodome et de sa male femme.—Del engin de femme del nelons.—Del espee autre engin de femme.—De un roy et de un fableour.—De une veille et de une lisette.—De la gile de la per e el pin.—De un prodfemme bone cointise. [Pr. “Un Espagnol ceo vy counter.”]—*De ii menestreus.* [i. e. Minstrels.]—*De un roy et de Platoun.—De un vilein de i lou et de un gopil.—De un roy fol large.—De maimound mal esquier.—De Socrates et de roi Alisaundre.—De roi Alisaundre et de i philosophe.—De un filosofel et del alme.—Ci commence le romaunz de Enfer, Le Sounge Rauf de Hodenge de la voie denfer.* [Ad calc. “Rauf de Hodeng, saunz mensounges,—Qu cest romaunz fist de sun songe.” See Verdier, BIBL. FR. ii. 394. v. 394. Paris, 1773.]—*De un vallet qui soutint dames et dammaisales.—De Romme et de Gerusalem.—La lais du corn.—Le fabel del gelous.—Ci comence la bertournee.—La vie de un vaillet amerous.—De iiiiii files . . .* [Pr. “Un rois estoit de graunt pouer.”]—*How Jheu Crist herewede helle, &c.* [See vol. ii. Sect. xxvii.]—*Le xv singnes [signes] de domesday.* [Pr. “Fifteene toknen ich tellen may.” Compare vol. ii. p. 51.]—*Ci comence la vie seint Eustace ci ont nom Placidus.*

[Pr. “Alle ðat loveð godes lore
Olde and yonge lasse and more.”]

See MS. VERNON, fol. 170. ut supr.]—*Le diz de seint Bernard.* [Pr. “ðe blessinge of hevene kinge.”]—*Vbi sont ci ante nos fuerount.* [In English.]—*Chaunçon de nostre dame.* [Pr. “Stond wel moder ounder rode.”]—*Here beginneth the sawe of seint Bede preest.* [Pr. “Holi gost ði migtee.”]—*Coment le saunter nostre dame fu primes cuntrone.* [Pr. “Luedi swete and milde.”]—*Les . . . peines de enfen.* [Pr. “Oiez Seynours une demande.”]—*Le regret de Maximian.* [Pr. “Herkened to mi ron.” MSS. HARL. 2253. f. 82. See vol. i. p. 35.]—*Ci comence le cuntent par entre le mavis et la russinole.* [Pr. “Somer is cumen wið love to tonne.” See vol. i. p. 31.]—*Of the fox and of the wolf.* [Pr. “A vox gon out of ðe wode go.”]—*Hending the hende.*

[MSS. HARL. 2253. 89. fol. 125.]—*Les proverbes del vilain.*—*Les miracles de seint NICHOLAS.*—*Ragemon le bon.*—*Chancun del secle.* [In English.]—*Ci commence le fable et la courtise de dame siri . . .* [Pr. “As I com bi an waie.”]—*Le noms de un leure Engleis.* [i. e. The names of the Hare in English.]—*Ci comence la vie nostre dame.*—*Ci comence le doctrial de enseignemens de curteisie.*—*Ci comence les Aves noustre dame.*—*De ii chevalers torts ke plenderent aroune.*—*Bonne prieur a nostre seigneur Jhu Crist.*—*Ci comence lescrit de ii dames.*—*Hic incipit carmen inter corpus et animam.* [A Dialogue in English verse between a body laid on a bier and its Soul. Pr. “Hon on . . . stude I stod an lutell escrit to here.”]—*Ci commence la manere que le amour est pur assaier.* [Pr. “Love is soft, love is swete, love is goed sware.”]—*Chaunçon de noustre seigneur.* This manuscript seems to have been written about the year 1304. Ralph Houdain, whose poem called VISION D'ENFER it contains, wrote about the year 1230.

The word, LAI*, I believe, was applied to any subject, and signified only the versification. Thus we have in the Bodleian library *La LUMERE AS LAIS*, par *Mestre Pierre de Feccham*.

Vrai deu omnipotent

Kestes fin et commencement.

MSS. BODL. 399. It is a system of theology in this species of metre.

* [Though the etymology of this word still remains inscrutable, its import is sufficiently manifest. And notwithstanding the versification of the several pieces bearing this title is nearly similar, the appellation appears rather to have been

given to the matter of them than to the form in which they were composed. Feccham's poem is not a lay; and its title would be rendered in more modern orthography *La Lumiere aux Laïques.* —EDIT.]

SECTION XXV.

THE first poet that occurs in the reign of king Edward the Fourth is John Harding^t. He was of northern extraction, and

^t To the preceding reign of Henry the Sixth, belongs a poem written by James the First, king of Scotland, who was atrociously murdered at Perth in the year 1436. It is entitled the KING'S COMPLAINT, is allegorical, and in the seven-lined stanza. [The title of this poem is: "the Quair, maid be king James of Scotland the First, callit the king's Quair," where the king's Quair, means the king's book (Quire).—EDIT.] The subject was suggested to the poet by his own misfortunes, and the mode of composition by reading Boethius. At the close, he mentions Gower and Chaucer as seated on the *steppys of rhetoryke*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Selden. Archiv. B. 24. chart. fol. [With many pieces of Chaucer.] This unfortunate monarch was educated while a prisoner in England, at the command of our Henry the Fourth, and the poem was written during his captivity there. The Scotch historians represent him as a prodigy of erudition. He civilised the Scotch nation. Among other accomplishments, he was an admirable musician, and particularly skilled in playing on the harp. See Lesley, DE REB. GEST. SCOT. lib. vii. p. 257. 266. 267. edit. 1675. 4to. The same historian says, "ita orator erat, ut ejus dictione nihil fuerit artificiosius: ita POETA, ut carmina non tam arte strinxisset, quam natura sponte fudisse videretur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina diversi generis, quæ in rhythmum Scotice illigavit, eo artificio," &c. Ibid. p. 267. See also Buchanan, RER. SCOT. lib. x. p. 186—196. Opp. tom. i. Edinb. 1715. Among other pieces, which I have never seen, Bale mentions his CANTILENÆ SCOTICÆ, and RHYTHMI LATINI. Bale, paral. post. Cent. xiv. 56. pag. 217. It is not the plan of this work to compre-

hend and examine in form pieces of Scotch poetry, except such only as are of singular merit. Otherwise, our royal bard would have been considered at large, and at his proper period, in the text. I will, however, add here, two stanzas of the poem contained in the Selden manuscript, which seems to be the most distinguished of his compositions, and was never printed.

In ver that full of vertue is and gude,
When nature first begynneth her em-
pryse,
That quilham was be cruell frost and
flude,
And shoures scharp, opprest in many
wyse;
And Cynthius gynneth to aryse
Heigh in the est a morow soft and swete
Upwards his course to drive in Ariete:
Passit bot mydday foure grees evyn
Off lenth and brede, his angel wingis
bright
He spred uppon the ground down fro
the hevyn;
That for gladness and confort of the
sight,
And with the tiklyng of his hete and
light
The tender floures opinyt thanne and
sprad
And in thar nature thankit him for glad.

This piece is not specified by Bale, Dempster, or Mackenzie. See Bale, ubi supr. Dempster, SCOT. SCRIPTOR. ix. 714. pag. 380. edit. 1622. Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 318. Edinb. 1708. fol.

John Major mentions the beginning of some of his other poems, viz. "Yas sen," &c. And "At Beltayn," &c. [Both these poems are supposed to be still existing. They will be found in Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i,

educated in the family of lord Henry Percy^u: and, at twenty-five years of age, hazarded his fortunes as a volunteer at the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, fought against [Percy and] the Scots [under lord Douglas] in the year 1403. He appears to have been indefatigable in examining original records, chiefly with a design of ascertaining the fealty due from the Scottish kings to the crown of England: and he carried many instruments from Scotland, for the elucidation of this important inquiry, at the hazard of his life, which he delivered at different times to the Fifth and Sixth Henry, and to Edward the Fourth^w. These investigations seem to have fixed his mind on the study of our national antiquities and history. At length he cloathed his researches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to king Edward the Fourth, and with the title of *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of king Edward the Fourth in verse*^x.

p. 55—129. There does not however appear to be any good authority for attributing the latter, usually called "Peblis to the Play," to James the First. The internal evidence speaks decidedly for a later æra than the reign of this distinguished monarch.—EDIT.] Both these poems seem to be written on his wife, Joan daughter of the dutchess of Clarence, with whom he fell in love while a prisoner in England. Major mentions besides, a *libellus artificiosus*, whether verse or prose I know not, which he wrote on this lady in England, before his marriage; and which Bale entitles, *Super Uxore futura*. This historian, who flourished about the year 1520, adds, that our monarch's CANTILENÆ were commonly sung by the Scotch as the most favorite compositions: and that he played better on the harp, than the most skillful Irish or highland harper. Major does not enumerate the poem I have here cited. Major, *GEST. SCOT.* lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. 135. edit. 1521. 4to. Doctor Percy has one of James's CANTILENÆ, in which there is much merit.

^u One William Peeris, a priest, and secretary to the fifth earl of Northumberland, wrote in verse, *William Peeris's discente of the Lord Percis. Pr. Prol.* "Cronykills and annuel books of kyngs." *Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg.* 18. D. 9. Then immediately follows (10.)

in the same manuscript, perhaps written by the same author, a collection of metrical proverbs painted in several chambers of Lekingfield and Wresille, antient seats of the Percy family.

^w Henry the Sixth granted immunities to Harding in several patents for procuring the Scottish evidences. The earliest is dated an. reg. xviii. [1440.] There is a memorandum in the exchequer, that, in 1458, John Harding of Kyme delivered to John Talbot, treasurer of England, and chancellor of the exchequer, five Scottish letters patent, acknowledging various homages of the kings and nobility of Scotland. They are inclosed in a wooden box in the exchequer, kept in a large chest, under the mark, SCOTIA. HARDING. So says Ashmole [*MSS. Ashmol.* 860. p. 186.] from a register in the exchequer called the YELLOW-BOOK.

^x Printed, at London, 1543. 4to. by Grafton, who has prefixed a dedication of three leaves in verse to Thomas duke of Norfolk. A continuation in prose from Edward the Fourth to Henry the Eighth is added, probably by Grafton. But see Grafton's Preface to his *ABRIDGEMENT OF THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND*, edit. 1570.

[Harding "was a most dexterous and notable forger, and obtained great rewards from Henry the Sixth, and Ed-

The copy probably presented to the king, although it exhibits at the end the arms of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, most elegantly transcribed on vellum, and adorned with superb illuminations, is preserved among Selden's manuscripts in the Bodleian library^y. Our author is concise and compendious in his narrative of events from Brutus to the reign of king Henry the Fourth: he is much more minute and diffuse in relating those affairs of which, for more than the space of sixty years, he was a living witness, and which occurred from that period to the reign of Edward the Fourth. The poem seems to have been completed about the year 1470. In his final chapter he exhorts the king, to recall his rival king Henry the Sixth, and to restore the partisans of that unhappy prince.

This work is almost beneath criticism, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary. Harding may be pronounced to be the most impotent of our metrical historians, especially when we recollect the great improvements which English poetry had now received. I will not even except Robert of Gloucester, who lived in the infancy of taste and versification. The chronicle of this authentic and laborious annalist has hardly those more modest graces, which could properly recommend and adorn a detail of the British story in prose. He has left some pieces in prose: and Winstanly says, "as his prose was very usefull, so was his poetry as much delightfull." I am of opinion, that both his prose and poetry are equally useful and delightful. What can be more frigid and unanimated than these lines?

ward the Fourth, for a number of supposititious charters of fealty and homage, from the Scottish monarchs to the kings of England; which he pretended to have obtained in Scotland at the hazard of his life, and which are still carefully preserved in the exchequer."—RITSON.]

[A new edition has since been published by Mr. Ellis, who has collated both the Selden and Ashmole MSS., together with a very valuable one now in the British Museum, and formerly belonging to lord Lansdowne. The text of Mr. Ellis has been followed upon the present occasion. It may be right to

add, that this gentleman has suggested a possibility, that Harding was himself imposed upon in the affair of the charters; that he was the dupe, and not the perpetrator, of the fraud.—EDIT.]

^y MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 26. It is richly bound and studded. At the end is a curious map of Scotland; together with many prose pieces by Harding of the historical kind. The Ashmolean manuscript is entitled, *The CHRONICLE OF JOHN HARDING in metre from the beginning of England unto the reign of Edward the Fourth.* MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 34. membran.

Kyng Arthure then in Avalon so died,
 Wher he was buried in a chapell fayre,
 Whiche nowe is made and fully edified,
 The mynster church this daye of great repayre,
 Of Glastenbury where nowe he hath his leyre;
 But then it was called the blacke chapell
 Of our Lady as chronicles can tell.

Wher Geryn erle of Chartres then abode,
 Besyde his toumbe for whole devocion,
 Whether Launcelot de Lake came, as he rode
 Upon the chace with trompette and clarion,
 And Geryn tolde hym ther all up and downe,
 Howe Arthure was there layde in sepulture,
 For whiche with hym to byde he hight full sure.^z

Fuller affirms our author to have "drunk as deep a draught of Helicon as any of his age." An assertion partly true: it is certain, however, that the diction and imagery of our poetic composition would have remained in just the same state had Harding never wrote.

In this reign, the first mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of LAUREATE, occurs. John Kay was appointed poet laureate to Edward the Fourth. It is extraordinary, that he should have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretensions in some degree to this office, with which he is said to have been invested by the king, at his return from Italy. The only composition he has transmitted to posterity is a prose English translation of a Latin history of the Siege of Rhodes^a: in the dedi-

^z Ch. lxxxiv. fol. lxxvii. edit. Graft. 1543.

^a MSS. Cotton. Brit. Mus. VITELL. D. xii. 10. It was printed at London, 1506. This impression was in Henry Worsley's library, Cat. MSS. Angl. etc. tom. ii. p. 212. N. 6873. 25. I know nothing of the Latin; except that Gulielmus Caorsinus, vice-chancellor for forty years of the knights of Malta, wrote an *OBSIDIO RHODIÆ URBS*, when it was in vain attempted to be taken by the

Turks in 1480. Separately printed without date or place in quarto. It was also printed in German, Argentorat. 1513. The works of this Gulielmus, which are numerous, were printed together, at Ulm, 1496. fol. with rude wooden prints. See an exact account of this writer, *Diar. Eruditor. Ital.* tom. xxi. p. 412.

One John Caius a poet of Cambridge is mentioned in sir T. More's *WORKS*, p. 204. And in Parker's *Def. of Pr. Merr. against Martin*, p. 99.

cation addressed to king Edward, or rather in the title, he styles himself *hys humble poete laureate*. Although this our laureate furnishes us with no materials as a poet, yet his office, which here occurs for the first time under this denomination, must not pass unnoticed in the annals of English poetry, and will produce a short digression.

Great confusion has entered into this subject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification^b, antiently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford: on which occasion, a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was afterwards usually styled *poeta laureatus*^c. These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. I will give some instances at Oxford, which at the same time will explain the nature of the studies for which our academical philologists received their rewards. About the year 1470, one John Watson, a student in grammar, obtained a concession to be graduated and laureated in that science; on condition that he composed one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university, and a Latin comedy^d. Another grammarian was distinguished with the same badge, after having stipulated, that, at the next public Act, he would affix the same number of hexameters on the great gates of saint Mary's church, that they might be seen by the whole university. This was at that period the most convenient mode of publication^e.

^b In the antient statutes of the university of Oxford, every Regent Master in Grammar is prohibited from reading in his faculty, unless he first pass an examination *DE MODO VERSIFICANDI et dictandi, &c.* MSS. Bibl. Bodl. fol. membran. Arch. A. 91. [nunc 2874.] f. 55. b. This scholastic cultivation of the art of PROSODY gave rise to many Latin systems of METRE about this period. Among others, Thomas Langley, a monk of Hulm in Norfolk, in the year 1430, wrote, in two books, *DE VARIE-TATE CARMINUM*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 100. One John Seguard, a Latin poet and rhetorician of Norwich, about the year 1414, wrote a piece of this kind called *METRISTENCHIRIDION*, addressed

to Courtney bishop of Norwich, treating of the nature of metre in general, and especially of the *common* metres of the *Hymns* of Boecius and *Oracius* [Horace.] Oxon. MSS. Coll. Merton. Q. iii. 1.

^c When any of these graduated grammarians were licenced to teach boys, they were publicly presented in the Convocation-house with a rod and ferrel. Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 72. a.

^d Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 143. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the learned Mr. Swinton, keeper of the Archives at Oxford, for giving me frequent and free access to the Registers of that university.

^e Ibid. fol. 162.

About the same time, one Maurice Byrchensaw, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree, in that faculty; and his petition was granted, with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's ART OF LOVE, and the Elegies of Pamphilus^f, to be studied in his auditory^g. Not long afterwards, one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's OFFICES, and likewise the first of his EPISTLES, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellor of the university^h. About the year 1489ⁱ, Skelton was laureated at Oxford, and in the year 1493, was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge^k. Robert Whittington affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and eminent for his various treatises in grammar, and for his facility in Latin poetry: having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512^l. This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical systems. "ROBERTI WHITTINTONI, *Lichfeldiensis, Grammatices Magistri, PROTOVATIS Angliæ, in florentis-*

^f Ovid's supposititious pieces, and other verses of the lower age, were printed together by Goldastus, Francof. 1610. 8vo. Among these is, "Pamphili Mauriliani PAMPHILUS, sive de Arte Amandi, Elegiæ lxiii." This is from the same school with Ovid DE VETULA, and by some thought to be forged by the same author.

^g Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 134. a.

^h Registr. ut supr. G. fol. 124. b.

ⁱ Caxton, in the preface to the English ENEYDOS, mentions "Mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the universite of Oxenford," &c. This work was printed in 1490. Churchyard mentions Skelton's academical laurea- tion, in his poem prefixed to Skelton's works, Lond. 1568. 8vo.

Nay Skelton wore the laurel wreath,
And past in scholes ye knoe.

And again,

That war the garland wreath
Of laurel leaves so late.

^k Registr. Univ. Cantabrig. sub anno. Conceditur Johanni Skelton poetæ in partibus transmarinis atque Oxonii laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur." And afterwards, an. 1504, 5. "Conceditur Johanni Skelton poete laureato quod possit constare eodem gradu hic quo stetit Oxonii, et quod possit uti habitu sibi concessa a principe." The latter clause, I believe, relates to some distinction of habit, perhaps of fur or velvet, granted him by the king. Skelton is said to have been poet laureate to Henry the Eighth. He also styles himself *Orator regius*, p. 1. 6. 109. 107. 284. 285. 287. Works, 1736.

^l Registr. Univ. Oxon. ut supr. G. 173. b. 187. b.

sima Oxoniensi Achademia LAUREATI, DE OCTO PARTIBUS ORATIONIS^m." In his PANEGYRIC to cardinal Wolsey, he mentions his laurel,

Suscipe LAURICOMI munuscula parva Robertiⁿ.

With regard to the Poet laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the KING'S VERSIFIER, and to whom one hundred shillings were paid as his annual stipend, in the year 1251^o. But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever solemnly crowned with laurel at his first investiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the searches of the learned Selden on this question have proved unsuccessful. It seems most probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of VERSIFIER gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity: or rather, that at length, those only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received academical sanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the universities for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Thus the *king's Laureate* was nothing more than "a graduated rhetorician employed in the service of the king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the antient title *versificator*: and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which Baston and Gulielmus, who appear to have respectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard the First and Edward the Second,

^m Lond. 1513. See the next note.

ⁿ In his "Opusculum Roberti Whittintoni in florentissima Oxoniensi achademia laureati." Signat. A. iii. Bl. Let. 4to. Colophon, "Expliciunt Roberti Whittintoni Oxonii protovatis epigrammata, una cum quibusdam panegyricis, impressa Londini per me Wynandum de Worde. Anno post virgineum partum M.CCCC. xix. decimo vero Kal. Maii." The Panegyrics are, on Henry the Eighth, and cardinal Wolsey. The Epigrams, which are long copies of verse, are addressed to Charles Brandon duke

of Suffolk, sir Thomas More, and to Skelton, under the title *Ad lepidissimum poetam SCHELTONEM carmen*, &c. Some of the lines are in a very classical style, and much in the manner of the earlier Latin Italian poets. At the end of these Latin poems is a defence of the author, called ANTILYCON, &c. This book is extremely scarce, and not mentioned by Wood, Ames, and some other collectors. These pieces are in manuscript, Oxon. MSS. Bodl. D. 3. 22.

^o See supr. vol. i. p. 51.

officially composed on Richard's crusade, and Edward's siege of Striveling castle^p.

Andrew Bernard, successively poet laureate of Henry the Seventh and the Eighth, affords a still stronger proof that this officer was a Latin scholar. He was a native of Tholouse, and an Augustine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate^q, as it is supposed, but his historiographer^r, and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He obtained many ecclesiastical preferments in England^s. All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin^t. These are, *an ADDRESS to Henry the Eighth for the most auspicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign*, with an *EPITHALAMIUM on the marriage of Francis the Dauphin of France with the king's daughter*^u. A NEW YEAR'S GIFT for

^p See supra, vol. ii. p. 64. By the way, Baston is called by Bale "*laureatus apud Oxonienses*." Cent. iv. cap. 92.

^q See an instrument PRO POETA LAUREATO. dat. 1486. Rymer's FOED. tom. xii. p. 317. But, by the way, in this instrument there is no specification of any thing to be done *officially* by Bernard. The king only grants to Andrew Bernard, *Poeta laureato*, which we may construe either *THE laureated poet*, or *A poet laureate*, a salary of ten marcs, till he can obtain some equivalent appointment. This, however, is only a precept to the treasurer and chamberlains to disburse the salary, and refers to letters patent, not printed by Rymer. It is certain that Gower and Chaucer were never appointed to this office, notwithstanding this is commonly supposed. Skelton, in his CROWNE OF LAWRELL, sees Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate approach: he describes their whole apparel as glittering with the richest precious stones, and then immediately adds,

They wanted nothing but the LAURELL. Afterwards, however, there is the rubric *Maister Chaucer LAUREATE poete to Skelton*. Works, p. 21. 22. edit. 1736.

^r Apostolo Zeno was both poet and historiographer to his imperial majesty. So was Dryden to James the Second. It

is observable that Petrarch was laureated as poet and historian.

^s One of these, the mastership of saint Leonard's hospital at Bedford, was given him by bishop Smith, one of the founders of Brase-nose college, Oxford, in the year 1498. Registr. SMITH, episc. Lincoln. sub ann.

^t Some of Skelton's Latin poems seem to be written in the character of the Royal laureate, particularly one, entitled "*Hæc Laureatus Skeltonus, orator reginæ, super triumphali*," &c. It is subscribed "*Per Skeltonida Laureatum, oratorem regium*." Works, p. 110. edit. ut supr. Hardly any of his English pieces, which are numerous, appear to belong to that character. With regard to the ORATOR REGIUS, I find one John Mallard in that office to Henry the Eighth, and his epistolary secretary. He has left a *Latin elegiac paraphrase on the Lord's prayer*, MSS. Bibl. Reg. 7 D. xiii. Dedicated to that king. *Le premier livre de la cosmographie*, in verse, ibid. 20 B. xii. And a *Psalter*, beautifully written by himself, for the use of the king. In the margin, are short notes in the hand-writing, and two exquisite miniatures, of Henry the Eighth. Ibid. 2 A. xvi.

^u MS. olim penes Thom. Martin de Palgrave.

the year 1515^w. And verses wishing prosperity to his majesty's thirteenth year^x. He has left some Latin hymns^y: and many of his Latin prose pieces, which he wrote in the quality of historiographer to both monarchs, are remaining^z.

I am of opinion, that it was not customary for the royal laureate to write in English, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminish the veneration for the Latin language: or rather, till the love of novelty, and a better sense of things, had banished the narrow pedantries of monastic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the mean time it is to be wished, that another change might at least be suffered to take place in the execution of this institution, which is confessedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a composition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conscious I say this at a time, when the best of kings affords the most just and copious theme for panegyric: but I speak it at a time, when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taste and genius, which are idly wasted on the most splendid subjects, when imposed by constraint, and perpetually repeated.

To what is here incidentally collected on an article more curious than important, I add an observation, which shews that the practice of other nations in this respect altogether corresponded with that of our own. When we read of the laureated poets of Italy and Germany, we are to remember, that they most commonly received this honour from the state, or some university; seldom, at least not immediately, from the prince: and if we find any of these professedly employed in the department of a court-poet, that they were not, in conse-

^w MSS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 287.

^x Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12 A. x. The copy presented. In paper. There is a wretched false quantity in the first line,

Indue, honor, cultus, et *adole* munera
flammi.

^y And a Latin life of saint An-

drew. MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN. A. xviii. 15.

^z A chronicle of the life and achievements of Henry the Seventh to the taking of Perkin Warbeck, MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN. A. xviii. 15. Other historical commentaries on the reign of that king. Ibid. JUL. A. 4. JUL. A. 3.

quence of that peculiar situation, styled poets laureate. The distinction, at least in general, was previously conferred^a.

John Scogan is commonly supposed to have been a cotemporary of Chaucer, but this is a mistake^b. He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford: and being an excellent mimic, and of great pleasantry in conversation, became the favourite buffoon of the court of Edward the Fourth, in which he passed the greatest part of his life. Bale inaccurately calls Scogan, the JOCLATOR of Edward the Fourth: by which word he seems simply to understand the king's JOKER, for he certainly could not mean that Scogan was his majesty's MINSTREL^c. Andrew Borde, a mad physician and a dull poet in the reign of Henry the Eighth, published his JESTS, under the title of SCOGIN'S JESTS^d, which are without humour or invention; and

^a The reader who requires a full and particular information concerning the first origin of the laureation of poets, and the solemnities with which this ceremony was performed in Italy and Germany, is referred to Selden's *TIT. HON. Op. tom. p. 457. seq. VIE DE PETRARQUE, tom. iii. Notes, &c. p. 1. Not. quat.* And to a memoir of M. l'Abbè du Resnel, *MEM. LIT. x. 507. 4to.* I will only add, the form of the creation of three poets laureate by the chancellor of the university of Strasburgh, in the year 1621. "I create you, being placed in a chair of state, crowned with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring of gold, and the same do pronounce and constitute, POETS LAUREATE, in the name of the holy Trinity, the father, son, and holy ghost. Amen."

^b See Hollinsh. *Chron. iii. f. 710.* It is uncertain whether the poem addressed by Chaucer to Scogan, was really written by the former, *MSS. Fairfax. xvi.*

[Mr. Ritson has shewn that the contemporary of Chaucer was *Henry*, and the person mentioned by Hollinshed *John Scogan*. The *moral balade*, noticed in the text, must be attributed to the former, to whom Mr. Ritson also ascribes on the authority of a MS. in C. C. C. Oxford, "a 'balade' usually printed as Chaucer's, and beginning 'fle from the prese,'" &c. Warton in a

note below, says the same MS. calls it "Proverbium *Johannis Skogan*." John Scogan appears to have been the author of a poem called "Colin Clout," now unknown. See Ritson's *Bibl. Poetica*, p. 99.—EDIT.]

^c *Script. xi. 70.* By the way, the SERJEANT of the King's Minstrels occurs under this reign: and in a manner, which shews the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of access to the king at all hours and on all occasions. "And as he [k. Edward IV.] was in the north contray in the moneth of Septembre, as he laye in his bedde, one namid Alexander Carlisle, that was *sariaunt of the mynstrallis*, cam to him in grete haste, and bade hym aryse, for he hadde enemys cummyng," &c. A REMARKABLE FRAGMENT, etc. [an. ix. Edward IV.] ad calc. *SPORTTI CHRON. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1729. 8vo.* Compare Percy's *ESS. MINSTR. p. 56.* Anstis, *ORD. GART. ii. 303.*

^d It is from these pieces we learn that he was of Oriel college: for he speaks of retiring, with that society, to the hospital of saint Bartholomew, while the plague was at Oxford. These JESTS are sixty in number. *Pr. Pref.* "There is nothing besides." *Pr.* "On a time in Lent." They were reprinted about the restoration. 4to.

give us no very favourable idea of the delicacy of the king and courtiers, who could be exhilarated by the merriments of such a writer. A MORAL BALADE, printed in Chaucer's works, addressed to the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and sent from a tavern in the Vintry at London, is attributed to Scogan^e. But our jocular bard evidently mistakes his talents when he attempts to give advice. This piece is the dullest sermon that ever was written in the octave stanza. Bale mentions his COMEDIES^f, which certainly mean nothing dramatic, and are perhaps only his JESTS above mentioned. He seems to have flourished about the year 1480.

Two didactic poets on chemistry appeared in this reign, John Norton and George Ripley. Norton was a native of Bristol^g, and the most skillful alchemist of his age^h. His poem is called the ORDINAL, or a manual of the chemical artⁱ. It was presented to Nevil archbishop of York, who was a great patron of the hermetic philosophers^k; which were lately grown so numerous in England, as to occasion an act of parliament against the transmutation of metals. Norton's reason for treating his subject in English rhyme, was to circulate the principles of a science of the most consummate utility among the unlearned^l. This poem is totally void of every poetical elegance. The only wonder which it relates, belonging to an art, so fertile in striking inventions, and contributing to enrich the store-house of Arabian romance with so many magnificent imageries, is that

^e It may yet be doubted whether it belongs to Scogan; as it must have been written before the year 1447, and the writer complains of the approach of old age. Col. i. v. 10. It was first printed, under Scogan's name, by Caxton, in the COLLECTION OF CHAUCER'S and LYDGATE'S POEMS. The little piece, printed as Chaucer's, [Urr. ed. p. 548.] called FLEE FROM THE PRESSE, is expressly given to Scogan, and called PROVERBIUM JOANNIS SKOGAN, MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 203.

^f xi. 70.

^g He speaks of the wife of William Canning, who will occur again below,

five times mayor of Bristol, and the founder of saint Mary of Radcliffe church there. ORDINAL, p. 34.

^h Printed by Ashmole, in his THEATRUM CHEMICUM. Lond. 1652. 8vo. p. 6. It was finished A. D. 1477. ORDIN. p. 106. It was translated into Latin by Michael Maier, M. D. Francof. 1618. 4to. Norton wrote other chemical pieces.

ⁱ See ORDIN. p. 9. 10. Norton declares, that he learned his art in forty days, at twenty-eight years of age. Ibid. p. 33. 88.

^k Ashmole, ubi supr. p. 455. Notes.

^l Pag. 106.

of an alchemist, who projected a bridge of gold over the river Thames near London, crowned with pinnacles of gold, which being studded with carbuncles, diffused a blaze of light in the dark^m. I will add a few lines only, as a specimen of his versification.

Wherefore he would set up in high
That bridge, for a wonderfull sight,
With pinnacles guilt, shininge as goulde,
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.
Then he remembered of the newe,
Howe greater fame shulde him pursewe,
If he mought make that bridge so brighte,
That it mought shine alsoe by night :
And so continewe and not breake,
Then all the londe of him would speake, &c.ⁿ

Norton's heroes in the occult sciences are Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully, to whose specious promises of supplying the coinage of England with inexhaustible mines of philosophical gold, king Edward the Third became an illustrious dupe^o.

George Ripley, Norton's cotemporary, was accomplished in many parts of erudition ; and still maintains his reputation as a learned chemist of the lower ages. He was a canon regular of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, a great traveller^p, and studied both in France and Italy. At his return from abroad, pope Innocent the Eighth absolved him from the observance of the rules of his order, that he might prosecute his studies with more convenience and freedom. But his convent not concurring with this very liberal indulgence, he turned

^m Pag. 26.

ⁿ Pag. 26.

^o Ashmol. ubi supr. p. 443. 467. And Camden's REM. p. 242. edit. 1674. By the way, Raymond Lully is said to have died at eighty years of age, in the year 1315. Whart. APP. Cave, cap. p. 6.

^p Ashmole says, that Ripley, during

his long stay at Rhodes, gave the knights of Malta 100,000*l.* annually, towards maintaining the war against the Turks. Ubi supr. p. 458. Ashmole could not have made this incredible assertion, without supposing a circumstance equally incredible, that Ripley was in actual possession of the Philosopher's Stone.

Carmelite at saint Botolph's in Lincolnshire, and died an anchorite in that fraternity in the year 1490^a. His chemical poems are nothing more than the doctrines of alchemy cloathed in plain language, and a very rugged versification. The capital performance is *THE COMPOUND OF ALCHEMIE*, written in the year 1471^r. It is in the octave metre, and dedicated to Edward the Fourth^s. Ripley has left a few other compositions on his favourite science, printed by Ashmole, who was an enthusiast in this abused species of philosophy^t. One of them, the *MEDULLA*, written in 1476, is dedicated to archbishop Nevil^u. These pieces have no other merit, than that of serving to develope the history of chemistry in England.^w

^a Ashmol. p. 455. seq. Bale, viii. 49. Pits. p. 677.

^r Ashmol. *THEATR. CHEM.* p. 193. It was first printed in 1591. 4to. Reprinted by Ashmole, *THEATR. CHEM.* ut supr. p. 107. It has been thrice translated into Latin, Ashm. ut supr. p. 465. See Ibid. p. 108. 110. 122. Most of Ripley's Latin works were printed by Lud. Combachius, Cassel. 1619. 12mo.

^s He mentions the abbey church at Westminster as unfinished. Pag. 154. st. 27. P. 156. and st. 34.

^t Ashmole conjectures, than an English chemical piece in the octave stanza, which he has printed, called *HERMES'S BIRD*, no unpoetical fiction, was translated from Raymond Lully, by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, a great chemist: and adds, that Cremer brought Lully into England, and introduced him to the notice of Edward the Third, about the year 1334. Ashmol. ubi supra, p. 213. 467. The writer of *HERMES'S BIRD*, however, appears by the versification and language, to have lived at least an hundred years after that period. He informs us, that he made the translation "owte of the Frensche." Ibid. p. 214. [It was translated by Lydgate from a French Fabliau. See Way's *Fabliaux*, vol. i. It had been previously printed by Caxton, De Worde, &c. under the title of the *Chorle* and the *Byrde*.—EDIT.] Ashmole mentions a curious picture of the *GRAND MYSTERIES OF THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE*, which abbot Cremer or-

dered to be painted in Westminster abbey, upon an arch where the waxen kings and queens are placed: but that it was obliterated with a plasterer's brush by the puritans in Oliver's time. He also mentions a large and beautiful window, behind the pulpit in the neighbouring church of saint Margaret, painted with the same subject, and destroyed by the same ignorant zealots, who mistook these innocent hieroglyphics for some story in a popish legend. Ashmol. ibid. 211. 466. 467. Compare Widmore's *Hist. WESTMINSTER-ABBEY*, p. 174. seq. edit. 1751. 4to.

^u Ashmol. p. 389. See also p. 374. seq.

^w It will be sufficient to throw some of the obscurer rhymers of this period into the Notes. Osbern Bokenham wrote or translated metrical lives of the saints, about 1445. See supra, vol. i. p. 15. Note. Gilbert Banester wrote in English verse the *Miracle of saint Thomas*, in the year 1467. CCC. MSS. Q. viii. See supra, vol. i. p. 79. Note. And Lel. *COLLECTAN.* tom. i. (p. ii.) pag. 510. edit. 1770. Wydville earl of Rivers, already mentioned, translated into English distichs, *The morale Proverbes of Crystyne of Pyse*, printed by Caxton, 1477. They consist of two sheets in folio. This is a couplet;

Little vailleth good example to see
For him that wole not the contrarie flee.

This nobleman's only original piece is a

—They certainly contributed nothing to the state of our poetry.

Balet of four stanzas, preserved by Rouse, a cotemporary historian, Ross. Hist. p. 213. edit. Hearn. apud Leland. Itin. tom. x. edit. Oxon. 1745. I refer also the NOTBROWNE MAYDE to this period. [Warton retracted this opinion, Vid. infra, Sect. XLIV.]—See Capel's PROLUSSIONS, p. 23. seq. edit. 1760. And Percy's ANC. BALL. vol. ii. p. 26. seq. edit. 1767. Of the same date is perhaps the DELECTABLE HISTORIE of king Edward the Fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth,

&c. &c. See Percy, ubi supra, p. 81. [This is but a modern version of an earlier poem published by Mr. Ritson under the title of the "Kyng and the Barker."—EDIT.] Hearne affirms, that in this piece there are some "romantic assertions:—otherwise 'tis a book of value, and more authority is to be given to it than is given to poetical books of LATE YEARS." Hearne's Leland, ut supra, vol. ii. p. 103.

SECTION XXVI.

BUT a want of genius will be no longer imputed to this period of our poetical history, if the poems lately discovered at Bristol, and said to have been written by Thomas Rowlie, a secular priest of that place, about the year one thousand four hundred and seventy, are genuine.

It must be acknowledged, that there are some circumstances which incline us to suspect these pieces to be a modern forgery. On the other hand, as there is some degree of plausibility in the history of their discovery, as they possess considerable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowlie by many respectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this series of our poetry, if it was for no other reason than that the world might be furnished with an opportunity of examining their authenticity. By exhibiting therefore the most specious evidences, which I have been able to collect, concerning the manner in which they were brought to light^a, and by producing such specimens, as in another respect cannot be deemed unacceptable; I will endeavour, not only to gratify the curiosity of the public on a subject that has long engaged the general attention, and has never yet been fairly or fully stated, but to supply the more inquisitive reader with every argument, both external and internal, for determining the merits of this interesting controversy. I shall take the liberty to add my own opinion, on a point at least doubtful: but with the greatest deference to decisions of much higher authority.

About the year 1470, William Cannyng, an opulent merchant and an alderman of Bristol, afterwards an ecclesiastic,

^a I acknowledge myself greatly indebted to the ingenious Doctor Harrington of Bath, for facilitating my enquiries on this subject.

and dean of Westbury college, erected the magnificent church of Saint Mary of Redcliffe, or Radcliff, near Bristol^b. In a muniment-room over the northern portico of the church, the founder placed an iron chest, secured by six different locks^c; which seems to have been principally intended to receive instruments relating to his new structure, and perhaps to his other charities^d, inventories of vestments and ornaments^e, accounts of church-wardens, and other parochial evidences. He is said to have directed, that this venerable chest should be annually visited and opened by the mayor and other chief magistrates of Bristol, attended by the vicar and church-wardens of the parish: and that a feast should be celebrated every year, on the day of visitation. But this order, that part at least which relates to the inspection of the chest, was soon neglected.

In the year 1768, when the present new bridge at Bristol was finished and opened for passengers, an account of the ceremonies observed on occasion of opening the old bridge, appeared in one of the Bristol Journals; taken, as it was declared, from an antient manuscript^f. Curiosity was naturally raised to know from whence it came. At length, after much inquiry concerning the person who sent this singular memoir to the newspaper, it was discovered that he was a youth about seventeen years old, whose name was Chatterton; and whose father had been sexton of Radcliffe church for many years, and also mas-

^b He is said to have rebuilt Westbury college. Dugd. WARWICKSH. p. 634. edit. 1730. And Atkyns, GLOCESTERSH. p. 802. On his monument in Radcliffe church, he is twice represented, both in an alderman's and a priest's habit. He was five times mayor of Bristol. See Godwin's BISH. p. 446. [But see edit. fol. p. 467.]

^c It is said there were four chests; but this is a circumstance of no consequence.

^d These will be mentioned below.

^e See an inventory of ornaments given to this church by the founder, Jul. 4, 1470, formerly kept in this chest, and printed by Mr. Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. p. 45.

^f The old bridge was built about the year 1248. HISTORY OF BRISTOL, MS. Archiv. Bodl. C. iii. By Abel Wantner.

Archdeacon Furney, in the year 1755, left by will to the Bodleian library, large collections, by various hands, relating to the history and antiquities of the city, church, and county of Gloucester, which are now preserved there, Archiv. C. ut supr. At the end of N. iii. is the manuscript HISTORY just mentioned, supposed to have been compiled by Abel Wantner, of Minchin-Hampton in Gloucestershire, who published proposals and specimens for a history of that county, in 1683.

ter of a writing-school in that parish, of which the church-wardens were trustees. The father however was now dead and the son was at first unwilling to acknowledge, from whom or by what means, he had procured so valuable an original. But after many promises, and some threats, he confessed that he received a manuscript on parchment containing the narrative above mentioned, together with many other manuscripts on parchment, from his father; who had found them in an iron chest, the same that I have mentioned, placed in a room, situated over the northern entrance of the church.

It appears that the father became possessed of these manuscripts in the year 1748. For in that year, he was permitted, by the church-wardens of Radcliffe church, to take from this chest several written pieces of parchment, supposed to be illegible and useless, for the purpose of converting them into covers for the writing-books of his scholars. It is impossible to ascertain, what, or how many, writings were destroyed, in consequence of this absurd and unwarrantable indulgence. Our school-master, however, whose accomplishments were much above his station, and who was not totally destitute of a taste for poetry, found, as it is said, in this immense heap of obsolete manuscripts, many poems written by Thomas Rowlie, above mentioned, priest of Saint John's church in Bristol, and the confessor of alderman Cannyng, which he carefully preserved. These, at his death, of course fell into the hands of his son.

Of the extraordinary talents of this young man more will be said hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that he saw the merit and value of these poems, which he diligently transcribed. In the year 1770, he went to London, carrying with him these transcripts, and many originals, in hopes of turning so inestimable a treasure to his great advantage. But from these flattering expectations, falling into a dissipated course of life, which ill suited with his narrow circumstances, and finding that a writer of the most distinguished taste and judgment, Mr. Walpole, had pronounced the poems to be suspicious, in

a fit of despair, arising from distress and disappointment, he destroyed all his papers, and poisoned himself. Some of the poems however, both transcripts and originals, he had previously sold, either to Mr. Catcott, a merchant of Bristol, or to Mr. Barrett, an eminent surgeon of the same place, and an ingenious antiquary, with whom they now remain^s. But it appears, that among these there were but very few of parchment: most of the poems which they purchased were copies in his own hand. He was always averse to give any distinct or satisfactory account of what he possessed: but from time to time, as his necessities required, he produced copies of his originals, which were bought by these gentlemen. The originals, one or two only excepted, he chose to retain in his own possession.

The chief of these poems are, *The TRAGEDY OF ELLA*, *The EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN*, *ODE TO ELLA*, *The BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, *The TOURNAMENT*, one or two *DIALOGUES*, and a *Description of CANNYNGE'S FEAST*.

The TRAGEDY OF ELLA has six characters; one of which is a lady, named *Birtha*. It has a chorus consisting of minstrells, whose songs are often introduced. *Ella* was governor of the castle of Bristol, and a puissant champion against the Danes, about the year 920. The story seems to be the poet's invention. The tragedy is opened with the following soliloquy.

CELMONDE atte Brystowe.

Before yonne roddie sonne has droove hys wayne
Through half hys joornie, dyghte yn gites of gowlde,
Mee, hapless mee, he wylle a wretch behowlde,
Myselfe, and alle thatts myne, bounde yn Myschaunche's
chayne!

Ah Byrtha, whie dydde nature frame thee fayre,
Whie art thou alle that poyntelle^h canne bewreene?
Whie art thou notte as coarse as odhers are?

^s Mr. Barrett, to whom I am greatly gaged in writing the *ANTIQUITIES* of
obliged for his unreserved and liberal *BRISTOL*.
information on this subject, is now en-^h pencil.

Botte thenne thie soughleⁱ woulde throwe thie vysage sheene,
 Yatte^k shemres^l onne thie comlie semlykeene^m,
 Or scarlette with waylde lynnenn clotheⁿ,
 Lyke would thie sprite^o [shine] upon thie vysage:
 This daie brave Ella dothe thyne honde and harte
 Clayme as hys owne to bee, whyche nee^p from hys moste parte.
 And cann I lynne to see herre with anere^q?
 Ytte cannotte, must notte, naie ytte shall notte bee!
 Thys nyght I'lle putt strong poysonne yn the beere,
 And hymme, herre, and myselfe attones^r wylle slea.
 Assyst me helle, lette devylles rounde me tende,
 To slea myselfe, my love, and eke my doughhtie friende!

The following beautiful descriptions of SPRING, AUTUMN, and MORNING, are supposed to be sung in the tragedy by the chorus of minstrels.

SPRING.

The boddyng flowrettes blashes at the lyhte,
 The mees be springede^s with the yellowe hue,
 Yn daisyed mantells ys the monntayne dyghte,
 The neshe^t younge cowslepe bendethe wythe the dewe;
 The trees enleafede, into heaven straught^u,
 Whanne gentle wyndes doe blowe, to whestlynge dynne ys^w
 brought.

The evenynge commes, and brynges the dewe alonge,
 The rodie welkynne sheeneth toe the eyne,
 Arounde the alestake^x mynstrelles synge the songe,
 Yonge ivie rounde the doore-post doth entwyne;
 I laie mee on the grasse: yette to mie wylle,
 Albeytte alle ys fayre, theere lackethe sommethynge styлле.

ⁱ soul.^k that.^l glimmers.^m seemliness; beauty.ⁿ Perhaps we should read,

Or scarlette veiled with a linnen clothe.

^o soul.^p never.^q another.^r at once.^s The meadows are sprinkled, &c.^t tender.^u stretching; stretched.^w i. e. are.^x A sign-post before an ale-house. In Chaucer, the Hoste says,— Here at this *alehouse-stake*,

I wol both drinke, and etin of a cake.

WORDES HOST. v. 1835. Urr. p. 131. And in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, fol. 9. a. edit. 1570.

By the *ale-stake* knowe we the alehouse, And everie inne is knowen by the signe.

AUTUMN.

Whanne Autumne, blake, and sonne-brente doe appere,
 Wythe hys goulde honde, guylteynge the falleynge lefe,
 Bryngeynge oppe Wynterre to folfylle the yere,
 Beereynge uponne hys backe the riped shefe;
 Whanne alle the hylls wythe woddie seede is whyte,
 Whanne levynne fyres, ande lemes, do mete fromme farr the
 syghte:

Whanne the fayre apple, rudde as even skie,
 Doe bende the tree untoe the fructyle grounde,
 Whanne joicie peres, and berryes of blacke die,
 Doe daunce ynne ayre, and calle the eyne arounde:
 Thanne, bee the even fowle, or even fayre,
 Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys steyned withe somme care.

MORNING.

Bryghte sonne han ynne hys roddie robes byn dyghte,
 Fro the redde easte hee flytted wythe hys trayne;
 The howers drawe awaie the geete of nyghte,
 Herre sable tapistrie was rente ynne twayne:
 The dauncynge streakes bedeckedd heavenne's playne,
 And onne the dewe dydd smyle wythe shemrynge^y eie,
 Lyche gottes^z of blodde whyche doe blacke armoure steyne,
 Sheenyng uponne the borne whyche stonde the bye:—
 The souldyerrs stode uponne the hyllis syde,
 Lyche yonge enlefed trees whych ynne a forreste byde.^a

^y glimmering.^z drops.^a There is a description of morning in another part of the tragedy.

The mornynge gynes alonge the east to sheene,
 Darkling the lyghte does on the waters plaie;
 The feynte rodde beam slowe creepethe over the leene,
 To chase the morkynesse of nyghte awaie.

Swift fleis the hower that will brynge oute the daie,

The softe dewe falleth onne the greeynge grasse;

The shepster mayden dyghtynge her arraie,

Scante sees her vysage ynne the wavie glasse:

By the fulle daylight wee scalle ELLA see,

Or BRISTOWE's walled towne. Damoy-selle followe mee.

But the following ode, belonging to the same tragedy, has much more of the choral or lyric strain.

I.

O! synge unto mie roundelaie,
O! drop the bryny tear with me,
Daunce ne moe atte hallie day,
Lyke a running river bee.

My love is dedde,
Gone to his death bedde,
Al under the willowe tree.

II.

Blacke his cryne^b as the wyntere night,
Whyte his rode^c as summer snowe,
Rodde his face as morning lyght,
Cold he lies in the grave below.

My love is dedde, &c.

III.

Swote his tounge as the throstle's note,
Quycke in daunce as thought can be,
Deft his tabor, codgelle stote,
Oh! he lies by the willowe tree.

My love is dedde, &c.

IV.

Hark! the raven flaps his wynges,
In the brier'd delle belowe;
Hark! the dethe owl loud doth sing
To the night mares as they go.

My love is dedde, &c.

V.

See the white moon sheenes on hie!
Whyter is my true love's shrowde,
Whyter than the morning skie,
Whyter than the evening cloud.

My love is dedde, &c.

^b hair.

^c neck.

VI.

Here upon my true love's grave
 Shall the garen^d fleurs be layde :
 Ne one hallie saynte to save
 Al the celness of a mayde.
 My love is dedde, &c.

VII.

With my hondes I'll dente^e the brieres,
 Round his hallie corse to gre^f,
 Ouphante^g faeries, light your fyres,
 Here my bodie still shall bee.
 My love is dedde, &c.

VIII.

Come with acorne-cup, and thorne,
 Drain mie harty's blodde awaie :
 Lyfe and all its goodes I scorne,
 Daunce by night, or feast by day.
 My love is dedde, &c.

IX.

Watere wythes crownde with reytes^h,
 Bere me to your lethale tyde ;
 I die—I come—My true love waytes !
 Thos the damselle spake, and dy'd.

According to the date assigned to this tragedy, it is the first drama extant in our language. In an Epistle prefixed to his patron Cannynge, the author thus censures the MYSTERIES, or religious interludes, which were the only plays then existing.

Plaies made from HALLIEⁱ TALES I hold unmete ;
 Let some *great story of a man* be songe ;
 Whanne, as a man, we Godde and Jesus trete,
 Ynne mie poore mynde we doe the godhead wronge.

The ODE TO ELLA is said to have been sent by Rowlie in

^d bright.^e *indent* ; bend into the ground.^f grow.^h reeds.^g ouphan ; elphin.ⁱ *holy*.

the year 1468, as a specimen of his poetical abilities, to his intimate friend and cotemporary Lydgate, who had challenged him to write verses. The subject is a victory obtained by Ella over the Danes, at Watchett near Bristol^k. I will give this piece at length.

SONGE TO AELLE LORDE OF THE CASTLE OF BRISTOWE *ynne*
daies of yore.

Oh ! thou (orr whatt remaynes of thee)
EALLE the darlynge of futuritie !
Lette thys mie songe bolde as thie courage bee,
As everlastynge to posteritie !
Whanne Dacya's sonnes, whose hayres of bloude redde hue,
Lyche kynge cuppes brastyng wythe the mornynge due,
Arraung'd ynn dreare arraie,
Uppone the lethale daie,
Spredde farr and wyde onn Watchett's shore :
Thenn dyddst thou furyouse stonde,
And bie thie brondeous honde
Beesprengedd all the mees with gore.

^k With this address to Lydgate prefixed.

Well thenne, good John, sythe ytt muste
needes so be,
That thou, and I a bowtyng matche
muste have ;
Lett ytt ne breakynge of ould friend-
shippe bee,
Thys ys the onelie allaboone I crave.
Remember Stowe, the Bryghtstowe Car-
malyte,
Who, when John Clackynge, one of
myckle lore,
Dydd throwe his gauntlette penne wythe
hym to wryte,
He shewde smalle wytte, and shewde his
weaknesse more.
Thys ys mie 'formance, whiche I now
have wrytte,
The best performance of mie lyttel
wytte.

Stowe should be Stone, a Carmelite friar
of Bristol, educated at Cambridge, and

a famous preacher. Lydgate's answer on receiving the ode, which certainly cannot be genuine, is beneath transcription. The writer freely owning his inferiority, declares, that Rowlie rivals Chaucer and Turgotus, who both lived in *Norman tymes*. The latter, indeed, may in some measure be said to have flourished in that era, for he died bishop of Saint Andrews in 1115. But he is oddly coupled with Chaucer in another respect, for he wrote only some Latin chronicles. Besides, Lydgate must have been sufficiently acquainted with Chaucer's age ; for he was living, and a young man, when Chaucer died. The writer also mentions Stone, the Carmelite, as living with Chaucer and Turgotus : whereas he was Lydgate's cotemporary. These circumstances, added to that of the extreme and affected meanness of the composition, evidently prove this little piece a forgery.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle¹,
 Downe to the depthe of helle,
 Thousandes of Dacyanns wente;
 Brystowannes menne of myghte,
 Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,
 And actedd deedes full quente.

Oh! thou, where'er (thie bones att reste)
 Thie spryte to haunt delyghteth beste,
 Whytherr upponn the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,
 Orr whare thou kennst fromme farre
 The dysmalle crie of warre,
 Orr seeste somme mountayne made of corse of sleyne:

Orr seeste the harnessd steede,
 Yprauncynge o'er the meede,
 And neighe to bee amonge the poynctedd speeres;
 Orr ynn blacke armoure staulke arounde
 Embattell'd Brystowe, once thie grounde,
 And glowe ardorous onn the castell steeres:

Orr fierie rounde the mynster^m glare:
 Lette Brystowe styлле bee made thie care,
 Garde ytte fromme foemenne and consumynge fyre,
 Lyche Avone streame ensyrke ytt rounde;
 Ne lett a flame enharme the grounde,
 'Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyres.

The BATTLE OF HASTINGS is called a translation from the Saxon: and contains a minute description of the persons, arms, and characters of many of the chiefs, who fought in that important action. In this poem, Stonehenge is described as a Druidical temple.

The poem called the TOURNAMENT, is dramatically conducted, among others, by the characters of a herald, a knight, a minstrel, and a king, who are introduced speaking.

¹ sword.

^m the monastery; now the cathedral.

The following piece is a description of an alderman's feast at Bristol; or, as it is entitled, *ACCOMTE OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST*.

Thorowe the hall the belle han sounde,
 Byalccoyleⁿ doe the grave beseeme;
 The ealdermenne doe sytte arounde,
 And snoffelle^o opp the cheorte steeme.
 Lyke asses wylde in deserte waste
 Swotely the morneynge doe taste,
 Syke kene thei ate: the mynstrells plaie,
 The dynne of angelles doe thei kepe:
 Thei styll^p: the gwestes ha ne to saie,
 But nodde ther thankes, and falle asleepe.
 Thos echeone daie bee I to deene^q,
 Gyff^r Rowley, Ischamm, or Tybb Gorges, be ne seen.

But a dialogue between two ladies, whose knights, or husbands, served in the wars between York and Lancaster, and were now fighting at the battle of Saint Albans, will be more interesting to many readers. This battle happened in the reign of Edward the Fifth, about the year 1471.

ELINOUR and JUGA.

Anne Ruddeborne^s bank twa pynyngge maydens sate,
 Their teares faste dryppeynge to the waterre cleere;
 Echone bementynge^t for her absente mate,
 Who atte Seyncte Albonns shouke the morthynge^u speare.
 The nottebrowne Ellynor to Juga fayre,
 Dydde speke acroole^v, with languyshmente of eyne,
 Lyke droppes of pearlie dewe, lemed^w the quyvrynge brine.

ⁿ BELLACCOYLE. A personage in Chaucer's *Rom. R.* v. 2984. &c. i. e. *KIND WELCOME*. From the Fr. *Bel accueil*.

^o snuff up.

^p the minstrels cease.

^q dine.

^r if.

^s Rudborn, in Saxon, red-water, a river near Saint Albans.

^t lamenting.

^u murdering.

^v faintly.

^w glistened.

ELINOUR.

O gentle Juga ! hear mie dernie^x plainte,
 To fyghte for Yorke mie love is dyght^y in stele ;
 O mai ne sanguen steine the whyte rose peyncte,
 Maie good Seyncte Cuthberte watch syrre Robynne wele !
 Moke moe thanne death in phantasie I feelle ;
 See ! see ! upon the grounde he bleedyng lies !
 Inhild^z some joice^a of life, or else my deare love dies.

JUGA.

Systers in sorrowe on thys daise ey'd banke,
 Where melancholych broods, we wylle lamente :
 Be wette with mornynge dewe and evene danke ;
 Lyche levynde^b okes in eche the oder bente :
 Or lyke forletten^c halles of merriemente,
 Whose gastlie^d nitches holde the traine of fryghte^e,
 Where lethale^f ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

No mo the miskynette^g shalle wake the morne,
 The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie ;
 No mo the amblynge palfrie and the horne,
 Shall from the lessel^h rouze the foxe awaie :
 Ill seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie :
 Alle nete amenge the gravde chercheⁱ glebe wyll goe,
 And to the passante spryghtes lecture^k mie tale of woe.

Whan mokie^l cloudes do hange upon the leme
 Of leden^m moon, ynn sylver mantels dyghte :
 The tryppeynge faeries weve the golden dreme
 Of selynessⁿ, whyche flyethe with the nyghte ;
 Thenne (but the seynctes forbydde) gif to a spryghte
 Syrre Rychardes forme is lyped ; I'll holde dystraughte
 Hys bledeynge clai-colde corse, and die eche daie yn thoughte.

^x sad complaint.^y arrayed, or cased.^z infuse.^a juice.^b blasted.^c forsaken.^d ruins.^e fear.^f deadly, or death-boding.^g a small bagpipe.^h In a confined sense, a bush or hedge, though sometimes used as a forest.ⁱ church-yard, full of graves.^k relate.^l black.^m decreasing.ⁿ happiness. Chaucer, Tr. CRES. iii.

ELINOUR.

Ah, woe-bementynge wordes; what wordes can showe!
 Thou lymed^o river, on thie linche^p mai bleede
 Champyons, whose bloude wyll wythe thie waterres flowe,
 And Rudborne streeme be rudborne streeme indeede!
 Haste gentle Juga, trippe ytte o'ere the meade
 To know or wheder wee muste waile agayne,
 Or whythe oure fallen knyghte be manged onne the plain.

So saieing, lyke twa levyn-blasted trees,
 Or twain of cloudes that holdeth stormie raine,
 Theie moved gentle o'ere the dewe mees^q;
 To where Seyncte Albon's holie shrynes remayne.
 There dyd theye finde that bothe their knyghtes were sleyn;
 Distraughte^r, theie wandered to swollen Rudborne's syde,
 Yelled theyre leathalle knelle, sonke in the waves and dyde.

In a DIALOGUE, or ECLOGUE, spoken by two ladies, are these lines.

Sprytes of the blaste, the pious Nygelle sedde,
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.
 Richard of lyonn's harte to fyghte is gone,
 Uppon the broad sea doe the banners gleme;
 The aminusedd natyons be astonn
 To ken syke^s large a flete, syke fyne, syke breme^t;
 The barkis heofods coupe the lymed^u streme:
 Oundes^w synkyng oundes uppon the hard ake^x rise;
 The waters slughornes wyth a swoty cleme
 Conteke^y the dynninge^z ayre, and reche^a the skies.
 Sprytes of the blaste, on gouldenn trones astedde^b,
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde!

I am of opinion, that none of these pieces are genuine. The
 EXECUTION of SIR CHARLES BAUDWIN is now allowed to be

^o glassy.

^p bank.

^u polished; bright.

^w waters.

^q meads.

^r distracted.

^x oak; ship.

^y contend with.

^s so.

^t fierce.

^z noisy.

^a reach.

^b seated.

modern, even by those who maintain all the other poems to be antient^c. The ODE to ELLA, and the EPISTLE to Lydgate, with his ANSWER, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was shewn to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who assures me, that the writing was a gross and palpable forgery. It was not even skilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very essentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and consistent: part of the same manuscript exhibiting some letters shaped according to the present round hand, while others were traced in imitation of the antient court and text hands. The parchment was old; and that it might look still older, was stained on the outside with ochre, which was easily rubbed off with a linen cloth. Care had also been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow cast. To communicate a stronger stamp of rude antiquity, the ODE was written like prose: no distinction, or termination, being made between the several verses. Lydgate's ANSWER, which makes a part of this manuscript, and is written by the same hand, I have already proved to be a manifest imposition. This parchment has since been

^c It contains 98 stanzas, and was printed at London, in the year 1772. 4to. I am told that in the above-mentioned chest, belonging to Radcliffe-church, an antient Record was discovered, containing the expences for Edward the Fourth to see the execution of sir Charles Baldwin; with a description of a canopy under which the king sate at this execution. This Record seems to have given rise to the poem. A bond which sir Charles Baldwin gave to king Henry the Sixth, I suppose about seizing the earl of Warwick, is said to have been mentioned in one of Rowlie's manuscripts, called the YELLOW ROLL, perhaps the same, found in Cannyng's chest, but now lost. See Stowe's CHRON. by Howes, edit. fol. 1615. p. 406. col. 2. And Speed's, p. 669. col. 2. edit. 1611. Stowe says, that king Edward the Fourth was at Bristol, on a

progress through England, in the *harvest season* of the year 1462. And that he was *most royally received*. Ibid. p. 416. col. 2. Cannyng was then mayor of Bristol. Sir Charles Baldwin is said to have been executed at Bristol, in the presence of Edward the Fourth, in the year 1463. MS. Wantn. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. The same king was at Bristol, and lodged in saint Augustine's abbey, in 1472, when he received a large gratuity from the citizens for carrying on the war against France. Wantner, *ibid*.

[I have received some notices from the old registers of saint Ewin's church at Bristol, antiently called the MINSTER, which import, that the church pavement was *washed* against the coming of king Edward. But this does not at all prove or imply that the king *sat at the grete mynsterr windowe* to see the gallant Lan-

unfortunately lost^d. I have myself carefully examined the original manuscript, as it is called, of the little piece entitled, *ACCOMTE OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST*. It is likewise on parchment, and I am sorry to say that the writing betrays all the suspicious signatures which were observed in that of the *ODE TO ELLA*. I have repeatedly and diligently compared it with three or four authentic manuscripts of the time of Edward the Fourth, to all which I have found it totally unlike. Among other smaller vestiges of forgery, which cannot be so easily described and explained here, at the bottom are added in ink two coats of arms, containing empalements of Cannyng and of his friends or relations, with family-names, apparently delineated by the same pen which wrote the verses. Even the style and drawing of the armorial bearings discover the hand of a modern herald. This, I believe, is the only pretended original of the poetry of Rowlie, now remaining.

As to internal arguments, an unnatural affectation of antient spelling and of obsolete words, not belonging to the period assigned to the poems, strikes us at first sight. Of these old words combinations are frequently formed, which never yet existed in the unpolished state of the English language: and sometimes the antiquated diction is most inartificially misapplied, by an improper contexture with the present modes of speech. The attentive reader will also discern, that our poet sometimes forgets his assumed character, and does not always act his part with consistency: for the chorus, or interlude, of the damsel

castrian, Baldwin, pass to the scaffold; a circumstance, and a very improbable one, mentioned in Rowlie's pretended poem on this subject. The notice at most will prove only, that the king assisted at mass in this church, when he came to Bristol. Nor is it improbable, that the other churches of Bristol were cleaned, or adorned, at the coming of a royal guest. Wantner, above quoted, is evidently wrong in the date 1463, which ought to be 1461, or 1462.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^d At the same time, another manu-

script on parchment, written, as pretended, by Rowlie, was shewn to this gentleman: which, tallying in every respect with the *ODE TO ELLA*, plainly appeared to be forged, in the same manner, and by the same modern hand. It was in prose; and contained an account of Saxon coins, and the rise of coining in England, with a list of coins, poems, antient inscriptions, monuments, and other curiosities, in the cabinet of Cannyng above mentioned. This parchment is also lost; and, I believe, no copy remains.

who drowns herself, which I have cited at length from the *TRAGEDY OF ELLA*, is much more intelligible, and free from uncouth expressions, than the general phraseology of these compositions. In the *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, said to be translated from the Saxon, Stonehenge is called a Druidical temple. The battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066. We will grant the Saxon original to have been written soon afterwards: about which time, no other notion prevailed concerning this miraculous monument, than the supposition which had been delivered down by long and constant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengist's massacre. This was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armorican bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon minstrels: and that this was the popular belief at the time of the battle of Hastings, appears from the evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote his history not more than eighty years after that memorable event. And in this doctrine Robert of Gloucester and all the monkish chroniclers agree. That the Druids constructed this stupendous pile for a place of worship, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries. In the *EPISTLE to Lydgate*, prefixed to the *TRAGEDY*, our poet condemns the absurdity and impropriety of the religious dramas, and recommends *SOME GREAT STORY OF HUMAN MANNERS*, as most suitable for theatrical representation. But this idea is the result of that taste and discrimination, which could only belong to a more advanced period of society^c.

^c It would be tedious and trifling to descend to minute particulars. But I will mention one or two. In the *ODE to ELLA*, the poet supposes, that the spectre of Ella sometimes appears in the *mynster*, that is Bristol-cathedral. But when Rowlie is supposed to have lived, the present cathedral of Bristol was nothing more than an Augustine monastery, in which Henry the Eighth established long afterwards a bishop, and a dean and chapter, in the year 1542. *Minster* is a word almost appropriated to

Cathedrals: and I will venture to say, that the church of this monastery, before the present foundation took place, never was called *Bristol-minster*, or *The minster*. The inattention to this circumstance, has produced another unfortunate anachronism in some of Rowlie's papers. Where, in his panegyric on Cannynge, he says, "The favouryte of godde, the fryende of the chyrche, the companyonne of kynges, and the fadre of hys natyve citie, the grete and good Wyllyamme Canynge." Bristol was

But, above all, the cast of thought, the complexion of the sentiments, and the structure of the composition, evidently prove these pieces not antient. The ODE TO ELLA, for instance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; such, I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology. That Rowlie was an accomplished literary character, a scholar, an historian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny^f. Nor is it impossible that he might write English poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and which have been so confidently ascribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that these poems were composed by the son of the school-master before mentioned; who inherited the inestimable treasures of Cannyng's chest in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius; and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading

never styled a CITY till the erection of its bishoprick in 1542. See Willis's NOTIT. PARLIAMENT. p. 43. Lond. 1750. See also king Henry's Patent for creating the bishoprick of Bristol, in Rymer, dat. Jun. 4. A.D. 1542. An. reg. 34. Where the king orders, "Ac quod tota Villa nostra Bristollia exnunc et deinceps imperpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamque CIVITATEM BRISTOLLIE appellari et nominari, volumus et decernimus," &c. FOED. tom. xv. p. 749. Bristol was proclaimed a city, an. 35 Hen. VIII. MS. Wantner, ut supr. In which manuscript, to that period it is constantly called a town.

[I have observed, but for what reason I know not, that saint Ewin's church at Bristol was called the *minster*. I, however, suspect, that the poet here means *Bristol cathedral*. He calls, with his accustomed misapplication of old words, *Worcester cathedral* the *minster of our ladie*, infr. p. 471. But I do not think this was a common appellation for that church. In Lydgate's LIFE OF SAINT ALBAN, *Minster* is used in its first simple acceptation. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 19.

————— Seynt Albone
Of that *mynstre* leyde the first stone.

That is, of saint Alban's monastery.—
ADDITIONS.]

The description of Cannyng's feast, is called an ACCOUNTE OF CANNYNGE'S FEAST. I do not think, that so early as the year 1470, the word *Accounte* had lost its literal and original sense of a *computus*, or *computation*, and was used in a looser acceptation for *narrative* or *detail*. Nor had it even then lost its true spelling *accompt*, in which its proper and primary signification is preserved and implied.

^f He is also said to have been an eminent mechanic and mathematician. I am informed, that one of Rowlie's manuscripts discovered in Cannyng's iron chest, was a plan for supporting the tower of the Temple-church in Bristol, which had greatly declined from its perpendicular. In a late reparation of that church, some subterraneous works were found, minutely corresponding with this manuscript.

and writing verses: and some of his early compositions, which he wrote without any design to deceive, have been judged to be most astonishing productions by the first critic of the present age. From his situation and connections, he became a skilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himself therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miscellany of obscure and neglected parchment, which were commodiously placed in his own possession, he was tempted to add others of a more interesting nature, and such as he was enabled to forge, under these circumstances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old English literature, which is rarely the study of a young poet, a sufficient quantity of obsolete words and phrases were readily attainable from the glossary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confessed, that this youth wrote the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAUDWIN: and he who could forge that poem, might easily forge all the rest.

In the mean time, we will allow, that some pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preserved in Cannynge's chest: and that these were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the case, they were so much altered as to become entirely new compositions. The poem which bids the fairest to be one of these originals is CANNYNGE'S FEAST. But the parchment-manuscript of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery. A circumstance which is perhaps alone sufficient to make us suspect that no originals ever existed.

It will be asked, For what end or purpose did he contrive such an imposture? I answer, From lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleasure of deceiving the world, a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promised himself greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exercising his abilities: or, he might have sacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the success of his invention and dexterity.

I have observed above, that Cannyng ordered his iron chest in Radcliffe-church to be solemnly visited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment should be provided for the visitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which some of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately sent me from Bristol, it is affirmed, that this order is contained in Cannyng's will: and that he specifies therein, that not only his manuscript evidences above mentioned, but that the POEMS of HIS CONFESSOR ROWLIE, which likewise he had deposited in the aforesaid iron chest, were also to be submitted to this annual inspection. This circumstance at first strongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of these pieces. At least it proved, that Rowlie had left some performances in verse. But on examining Cannyng's will, no such order appears. All his bequests relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the said church: to the two chantry-priests, or chaplains, of his foundation: to the keeper of the PYXIS OBLATIONUM, in the north-door: and to the fraternity *Commemoracionis martirum*. Also vestments to the altars of saint Catharine, and saint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of saint Catharine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment of his two chantries^g, at the altars of saint Catharine and saint George, above mentioned. To the choir, he leaves two service-books, called *Liggers*, to be used there, on either side, by his two chantry-priests. He directs, that his funeral shall be celebrated in the said church with a *month's mind*, and the usual solemnities^h.

^g Compare Willis, *Mitr. Abb.* ii. 88.

^h This will is in Latin, dated Nov. 12, 1474. Proved Nov. 29. It was made in Westbury college. *Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. WATTIS*, quatern. xvii. fol. 125. Beside the bequests mentioned in the text, he leaves legacies to all the canons, the chaplains and deacons, and the twelve choristers, of Westbury college. To the six priests, six almsmen and six almswomen, founded in the new chapel at Westbury by Carpenter, bishop of Worcester. To many of the servants of

the said college. To the fabric of the church of that college, xls. To rebuilding the tower of the church of Compton Graynefield, xls. He also makes bequests to his almshouses at Bristol, and to the corporation of that town. He remembers some of the religious foundations, chiefly the Mendicants, at Bristol. He styles himself, *nuper mercator villæ Bristoll, et nunc decanus collegii S. Trin. de Westbury*. The subdean of Westbury college is one of the executors. In this will the name

Very few anecdotes of Rowlie's life have descended to posterity. The following MEMOIRS of his life are said to have been written by himself in the year 1460, and to have been discovered with his poetry: which perhaps to many readers will appear equally spurious.

"I was fadre confessor to masteres Roberte and mastre William Cannings. Mastre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, greedie of gaynes and sparyng of alms deedes; but master William was mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of twenty-two years deceasd master Roberte, and by master William's desyre, bequeathd me one hundred marks; I went to thank master William for his mickle courtesie, and to make tender of my selfe to him.—Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will need your aide. Master William, said I, if you command me I will go to Roome for you; not so farr distant, said he: I ken you for a mickle learnd priest, if you will leave the parysh of our ladie, and travel for mee, it shall be mickle to your profits.

"I gave my hands, and he told mee I must goe to all the abbies and pryorys, and gather together auncient drawyngsⁱ, if of anie account at any price. Consented I to the same, and

of ROWLIE is not mentioned. Compare Tanner, NOTIT. MONAST. p. 484. And Atkyns's GLOUCESTERSH. p. 802.

Bishop Carpenter, about the year 1460, was a considerable benefactor to Westbury college. He pulled down the old college, "and in the new building, enlarged it very much, compassing it about with a strong wall embattled, adding a faire gate with divers towers, more like unto a castle than a colledge: and lastly, bestowed much good land for augmenting the renew of the same." Godwin, SUCCESS. BISHOPS, pag. 446. edit. 1. ut supr. And Leland speaks much to the same purpose. "Hic [Carpenter] ex veteri collegio, quod erat Westberia, novum fecit, et prædiis auxit, addito pinnato muro, porta, et turribus, instar castelli." ITIN. vol. viii. fol. 112. a. And hence it appears to be a mistake, that Cannyng, who was indeed dean while these benefactions took place, rebuilt the college.

As Dugd. WARWICKSH. p. 634. edit. 1730. Atkyns, GLOUCESTERSH. p. 802. supr. citat. p. 452.

ⁱ I much doubt, if this word now existed, in the modern, or any, sense. Indeed, the phrase *to draw a picture* might have been now known: but *to draw*, in its present uncombined use, had not yet acquired this meaning. So late as the reign of James the First, a painter was often called a *picture-drawer*. In antient inventories of furniture, a *drawing* never occurs as any species of production of the art of designing: it became a technical and distinguishing term when that art began to attain some degree of maturity. *Pictures*, although this word is now confined to a precise signification, would not have been improper here. Yet the word *Picture* was not antiently used in its present sense and manner: but, a *picture with a cloth*, a *table with a picture*, &c.

pursuant sett out the Mundaie following for the minster of our ladie^k and Saint Goodwyne, where a drawing of a steeple, contrived for the belles when runge to swaie out of the syde into the ayre, had I thence, it was done by syr Symon de Mambrie^l, who in the troublesomme rayne of kyng Stephen devoted himselfe, and was shorne.

“Hawkes showd me a manuscript^m in Saxonne, but I was onley to bargayne for drawyings.—The next drawyings I metten with was a church to be reard, so as in form of a cross, the end standing in the ground, a long manuscript was annexd. Master Canning thought no workman culd be found handie enough to do it.—The tale of the drawers deserveth relation.—Thomas de Blunderville, a preeste, although the preeste had no allows, lovd a fair mayden, and on her begett a sonn. Thomas educated his soon; at sixteen years he went into the warrs, and neer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then sixteen, who was seen and lovd by Thomas, son of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Mesching, of the Minster, who invited, as custom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Heschamne. Thomas nevertheless had not seen his sonn for five years, kenning him instauntly; and learning the name of the bryde, toke him asyde and disclosd to him that he was his sonn, and was weded to his own sistre.—Yoyng Thomas toke on so that he was shorne.

“He drew manie fine drawyings on glass.

“The abott of the minster of Peterburrow sold it me, he might have bargaynd twenty marks better, but master William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did sell me a picture of great account, made by Badilian Y’allyanne, who did lyve in the rayne of kyng Henrie the First, a mann of fickle temper, havng been tendred syx pounds of silver for it, to which he said naie, and afterwards did give it to the then

^k I suppose, Worcester cathedral.

^l Or Malmesbury.

^m This was not an English word at this early period: it was not used, and

for obvious reasons, till after the invention of printing. So again we have below, “the Saxon *manuscripts*.” These, at this time, would have been called *books*.

abottⁿ of Coventree. In brief, I gathered together manie marks value of fine drawyings, all the works of mickle cunning.—Master William culld the most choise parts, but hearing of a drawyng in Durham church hee did send me.

“Fadree you have done mickle well, all the chatills are more worth than you gave; take this for your paynes: so saying, he did put into my hands a purse of two hundreds good pounds, and did say that I should note be in need, I did thank him most heartily.—The choise drawyng, when his fadre did dye, was begunn to be put up, and somme houses neer the old church erased; it was drawn by Aflema, preest of Saint Cutchburts, and offered as a drawyng for Westminster, but cast asyde, being the tender did not speak French.

“I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a house on the hyll, often repayrings to mastere William, who was now lord of the house. I sent him my verses touching his church, for which he did send me mickle good things.

“In the year kyng Edward came to Bristow, Master Cannings send for me to avoid a marriage which the kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had seen, of the familie of the Winddivilles, the danger where nigh, unless avoided by one remidee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a sonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that cause, and can be wedded.—Mr. Cannings instauntly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, bishop of Worcester, and the Fryday following was prepaired and ordaynd the next day, the daie of Saint Mathew, and on Sunday sung his first mass in the church of our ladie^o, to the astonishing of kyng Edward, who was so furiously madd and ravyns withall, that master Cannings was wyling to give him three thousand markes, which made him peace again, and he was admyted to the presence of the kyng, staid in Bristow, partook of all his pleasures and pastimes till he departed the next year^p.

ⁿ This should have been *Prior*. An *abbot* was never the title of the superiour in cathedral-convents. The *PRIOR OF COVENTRY* must have been a dignitary

well known by that name, as he sate in parliament.

^o Most probably Worcester cathedral.

^p See above, p. 464.

“I gave master Cannings my Bristow tragedy^q, for which he gave me in hands twentie pound, and did praise it more then I did think my self did deserve, for I can say in troth I was never proud of my verses since I did read master Chaucer; and now haveing nought to do, and not wyling to be ydle, I went to the minster of our Ladie and Saint Goodwin, and then did purchase the Saxon manuscripts, and sett my self diligently to translate and worde it in English metre, which in one year I performd and settled in the Battle of Hastyngs; master William did bargyin for one to be manuscript, and John Pelham, an esquire, of Ashley, for another.—Master William did praise it muckle greatly, but advisd me to tender it to no man, beying the mann whose name where therein mentioned would be offended. He gave me twenty markes, and I did goe to Ashley, to master Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

“But his ladie being of the family of the Fiscamps^r, of whom some things are said, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avaunt. Dureing this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to speake by a figure would have over sounded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe; I was fain content to gett away in a safe skin.

“I wrote my Justice of Peace^s, which master Cannings advisd me secrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was seizd with great pains, which did cost me mickle of marks to be cured off.—Master William offered me a cannon’s place in Westbury collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to staie at home. After this mischance I livd in a house by the Tower, which has not been repaird since Robert Consull of Gloucester repayrd the castle and wall; here I livd warm, but in my house on the hyll the ayre was mickle keen, some marks it cost me to put it in

^q That is, the poem called the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN, mentioned above, p. 464. What is there said concerning this poem, greatly invalidates the authenticity of these ME-

MOIRS. Rowlie might indeed write a poem on this subject; but not the poem circulated as his.

^r A Norman family.

^s I know nothing of this piece.

repair my new house, and brynging my chattles from the ould; it was a fine house, and I much marville it was untenanted. A person greedy of gains was the then possessour, and of him I did buy it at a very small rate, having lookd on the ground works and mayne supports, and fynding them staunch, and repayrs no need wanting, I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a *repayring lease* for ninety-nine years^t, he thinkyng it would fall down everie day; but with a few marks expence did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd."

It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious. Antient remains of English poetry, unexpectedly discovered, and fortunately rescued from a long oblivion, are contemplated with a degree of fond enthusiasm: exclusive of any real or intrinsic excellence, they afford those pleasures, arising from the idea of antiquity, which deeply interest the imagination. With these pleasures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more solid satisfaction, resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture.

[What is here said of Rowlie, was not only written, but printed, almost two years before the correct and complete edition of his Poems appeared. Had I been apprized of that publication, I should have been much more sparing in my specimens of these forgeries, which had been communicated to me in manuscript, and which I imagined I was imparting to my readers as curiosities. I had as yet seen only a few extracts of these poems; nor were those transcripts which I received, always exact. Circumstances which I mention here, to shew the inconveniencies under which I laboured, both with regard to my citations and my criticisms. These scanty materials, however, contained sufficient evidence to convince me, that the pieces were not genuine.

The entire and accurate collection of Rowlie's now laid before the public, has been so little instrumental in inducing me to change my opinion, that it has served to exemplify and confirm

^t I very much question, whether this technical law-term, or even this mode of contract, existed in the year 1460.

every argument which I have produced in support of my suspicions of an imposition. It has likewise afforded some new proofs.

Those who have been conversant in the works even of the best of our old English poets, well know, that one of their leading characteristics is inequality. In these writers, splendid descriptions, ornamental comparisons, poetical images, and striking thoughts, occur but rarely: for many pages together, they are tedious, prosaic, and uninteresting. On the contrary, the poems before us are every where supported: they are throughout, poetical and animated. They have no imbecillities of style or sentiment. Our old English bards abound in unnatural conceptions, strange imaginations, and even the most ridiculous absurdities. But Rowlie's poems present us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, institutions, customs, and characters. They appear to have been composed after ideas of discrimination had taken place; and when even common writers had begun to conceive, on most subjects, with precision and propriety. There are indeed, in the *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, some great anachronisms; and practices are mentioned which did not exist till afterwards. But these are such inconsistencies, as proceeded from fraud as well as ignorance: they are such as no old poet could have possibly fallen into, and which only betray an unskilful imitation of antient manners. The verses of Lydgate and his immediate successors are often rugged and unmusical: but Rowlie's poetry sustains one uniform tone of harmony; and, if we brush away the asperities of the antiquated spelling, conveys its cultivated imagery in a polished and agreeable strain of versification. Chatterton seems to have thought, that the distinction of old from modern poetry consisted only in the use of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the usual application of an artificial rust: but this disguise was not sufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanship.

The *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, just mentioned, might be proved to be a palpable forgery for many other reasons. It is said to be translated from the Saxon of Turgot. But Turgot died in 1015, [1115,] and the battle of Hastings was fought in 1066.

We will, however, allow, that Turgot lived in the reign of the Conqueror. But, on that supposition, is it not extraordinary, that a cotemporary writer should mention no circumstances of this action which we did not know before, and which are not to be found in Malmsbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and other antient chroniclers? Especially as Turgot's description of this battle was professedly a detached and separate performance, and at least, on that account, would be minute and circumstantial. An original and a cotemporary writer, describing this battle, would not only have told us something new, but would otherwise have been full of particularities. The poet before us dwells on incidents common to all battles, and such as were easily to be had from Pope's HOMER. We may add, that this piece not only detects itself, but demonstrates the spuriousness of all the rest. Chatterton himself allowed the first part of it to be a forgery of his own. The second part, from what has been said, could not be genuine. And he who could write the second part was able to write every line in the whole collection. But while I am speaking of this poem, I cannot help exposing the futility of an argument which has been brought as a decisive evidence of its originality. It is urged, that the names of the chiefs who accompanied the Conqueror, correspond with the Roll of Battle-Abbey. As if a modern forger could not have seen this venerable record. But, unfortunately, it is printed in Hollinshead's Chronicle.

It is said that Chatterton, on account of his youth and education, could not write these poems. This may be true; but it is no proof that they are not forged. Who was their author, on the hypothesis that Rowlie was not, is a new and another question. I am, however, of opinion that it was Chatterton. For if we attend only to some of the pieces now extant in a periodical magazine, which he published under his own signature, and which are confessedly of his composition; to his letters now remaining in manuscript, and to the testimony of those that were acquainted with his conversation,—he will appear to have been a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities; to have acquired a store of general information far ex-

ceeding his years, and to have possessed that comprehension of mind, and activity of understanding, which predominated over his situations in life, and his opportunities of instruction. Some of his publications in the magazines discover also his propensity to forgery, and more particularly in the walk of antient manners, which seem greatly to have struck his imagination. These, among others, are *ETHELGAR*, a *Saxon poem* in prose; *KENRICK*, *translated from the Saxon*; *CERDICH*, *translated from the Saxon*; *GODRED CROVAN*, a *Poem, composed by Dothnel Syrric king of the isle of Man*; *The HIRLAS*, *composed by Blythyn, prince of North Wales*; *GOTHMUND*, *translated from the Saxon*; *ANECDOTE OF CHAUCER*, and of the *ANTIQUITY OF CHRISTMAS GAMES*. The latter piece, in which he quotes a register of *Keinsham NUNNERY*, which was a priory of Black canons, and advances many imaginary facts, strongly shews his track of reading, and his fondness for antiquarian imagery. In this monthly collection he inserted ideal drawings of six achievements of Saxon heraldry, of an inedited coin of queen *Sexburgeo*, wife of king *Kinewalch*, and of a Saxon amulet; with explanations equally fantastic and arbitrary. From *Rowlie's* pretended parchments he produced several heraldic delineations. He also exhibited a draught by *Rowlie* of *Bristol castle* in its perfect state. I very much doubt if this fortress was not almost totally ruinous in the reign of *Edward the Fourth*. This draught, however, was that of an edifice evidently fictitious. It was exceedingly ingenious; but it was the representation of a building which never existed, in a capricious and affected style of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or system.

To the whole that is here suggested on this subject, let us add *Chatterton's* inducements and qualifications for forging these poems, arising from his character, and way of living. He was an adventurer, a professed hireling in the trade of literature, full of projects and inventions, artful, enterprising, unprincipled, indigent, and compelled to subsist by expedients.—
 ADDITIONS.]

NOTE A.—(*Referred to in page 101.*)

This conjecture of Mr. Tyrwhitt's is supported by the title of Dr. Whitaker's manuscript: *Hic incipit visio Will' de Peirs Plouhman*. Mr. Ritson was rather disposed to reject it, from a belief that this rubric had originated in a mistake; and was founded on an erroneous interpretation of the following, and other similar passages:

Than *Thought* in that time sayde these wordes,
Whether *Dowel*, *Dobet*, and *Dobest*, beene in lande,
Here is WYL wolde witte, if *Witte* could teche hym.

Yet he speaks with considerable hesitation: "Now unless the word WILLE be, *as there is some reason to believe*, no more than a personification of the mental faculty, and have consequently been *misapprehended by the writer of that title*, it would follow that the author's name is WILLIAM, and that his surname and quality are totally unknown." On a first perusal of the poem, there are few perhaps who have not been inclined to unite with Mr. Ritson, in this opinion of the Dreamer's character. His constant association with persons confessedly allegorical, the promptitude with which he recognises their several appellations and attributes, the familiarity of his address, at what otherwise must have been a first encounter, and the common interest these airy phantoms appear to take in the spiritual welfare of the wanderer,—seem to speak for a community of origin, and something like an identity of family. And perhaps there is no passage in the Visions more strongly corroborative of such a belief than this:

A much man, me thouhte, *lyke to my selve*
Cam and callede me by my ryhte name:
What ert thou, quath ich, that my name knowest,
That wost thou Wille, quath he, and no wight betere:
Wot ich? quath ich,—ho ert thou? Thouhte seide he thenne,
Ich have the sewed this seve yer: seih thou me no rather?

It will however be recollected that Wil (or as it is termed by

Mr. Ritson, "a personification of the mental faculty,") has been introduced on another occasion, and that in no very exalted capacity. It is a name given to the horse of Reason.

And sette my sadell uppon SOFFRE, till ich see my tyme;
Let worrok hym wel with a vyse before;
For it is the won of WIL to wynse and to kyke.

In a subsequent part of the poem, Free Will, or *Liberum Arbitrium*, is exhibited as the collective idea of the "mental faculty," or (to speak with Dr. Whitaker,) is used in a sense which seems "coextensive with all the faculties of the soul:" and in the catalogue of its attributes we find the modern acceptance of Will distinctly specified.

And the wyle ich quyke the cours, cald am ich Anima;
And wenne ich wilne other wolde, Animus ich hyhte;
And for that ich can and knowe, cald ich am mannys thouht;
And whan ich make mone to God, Memoria ich hatte;
And when ich deme domes, and do as treuthe techeth
Then is Racio my ryhte name, Reson in English;
And wenne ich fele that folke telleth, my furste name is
Sensus,

And that is wine and wisdom, the welle of alle craftes;
And when i chalange other nat chalange, chesse or refuse;
Thanne am ich Conscientia cald, Godes clerk and hus no-
tarie;

And when ich wol do other nat do goode dedes other ille,
Then am ich *Liberum Arbitrium*, as lettrede men tellen;
And when ich love leelly oure Lord and alle othere,
Then is Leel Love my name, in Latyn that is Amor;
And when ich flee fro the body, and feye leve the caroygne,
Then am ich a spirit specheles, and Spiritus thenne ich hote.

But the objection most conclusive against Mr. Ritson's doctrine, will be found in the circumstance, that with one or two exceptions, (such as the colloquy between Will and Reason,

Passus 6), all the imaginary beings of the poem are avowedly the creatures of a dreamer's fancy, the visions of his sleeping moments; while to mark the distinction between the narrator's person, and the fictitious creations with which he has peopled his allegory, he expressly alludes in his waking intervals to his residence on Cornhill, and to his wife and daughter, Kitty and Kalot. Whatever diversity of opinion may have been excited by the ambiguous appellation bestowed upon the dreamer, there can be no doubt of the substantial character intended to be conveyed of his family; and there is too much propriety observed in the allegorical combinations detailed in the poem, to suppose for a moment that the author would have united his imaginary wanderer with a consort "of middle-earth." To complete the proof, it may be observed, that in a manuscript noticed hereafter (Harl. No. 875) we find: "That made *William* to wepe." Where the present text reads: "That made *Wille* to wepe."—Whether this be the author's name, as inferred by Mr. Tyrwhitt, it is now impossible to decide. The same motives which might induce him to avoid any mention of his character, parentage, or occupation, would be sufficient to account for the assumption of a feigned Christian name.—In the subsequent pages the name of Langland has been retained, to avoid a tedious circumlocution.—EDIT.]

APPENDIX.

[See page 102, Note C.]

THE following extracts from Dr. Whitaker's edition of the "Visions of Peirs Plouhman" have been collated with two manuscripts in the British Museum: Vespasian B. xvi. and Harleian MS. No. 2376. Both these manuscripts are said to have been written in the fourteenth century; and they only vary from Dr. Whitaker's text, in their occasional use of a different orthography, and a few verbal discrepancies common to most copies of the same work. The Cotton manuscript from its antiquity, its strict observance of the alliteration, and the general correctness of its language, may be placed in the same rank of excellence with Dr. Whitaker's manuscript. Though equally provincial in its language—assuming Chaucer's poems as a standard of polished English,—it is written in a different dialect, and may have been transcribed in some western county, since it does not materially vary from the style of Robert of Gloucester. The Harleian manuscript, apparently some years younger, is not so conspicuous for its fidelity in minor particulars, though in the general outline of the narrative, and even in the tenor of almost every line, it may be said to accord with Dr. Whitaker's text and the Cotton copy. Its chief defects are a general neglect of the alliteration, and the repeated introduction of new glosses without a due attention to the context. Hence the sense is not unfrequently obscure, and occasionally both contradictory and absurd. But this is in some degree compensated for, by the retention of many Anglo-Saxon archaisms and several valuable examples of early grammatical

inflection ; and it will always prove a useful assistant in forming a future text of these "VISIONS."

It is among the remarks contained in Dr. Whitaker's preface, that the variations between his own manuscript and Crowley's text are so material, as to warrant a belief that the original writer had at some time chosen to remould his work, and that both versions have come down to us. This conclusion is strongly borne out by the amplifications of the Oxford manuscript, which, while they support the integrity of the early printed copies, clearly show that these variations are too important to have been the result of a common transcriber's caprice, or to have emanated, as Mr. Tyrwhitt believed, from the ignorance, negligence, or wilful interpolation of Crowley. But the inference which Dr. Whitaker has coupled with this remark,—that his own manuscript exhibits the poem in its original state, and that Crowley's text affords a specimen of the more recent *rifacimento*,—is not to be admitted without considerable hesitation. Among the Harley MSS. there is a fragment of this poem written upon vellum, (No. 875.) of an equally early date with Vespasian B. xvi. and in a character nearly resembling it. Unhappily this fragment only extends to the 151st line of the 8th passus, nor is it free from lacunæ even thus far. Our loss is however in some measure repaired—perhaps wholly so—by the preservation of a transcript on paper, in the same collection (No. 6041), which, though considerably younger, and somewhat modernized in its orthography, exhibits a much more correct and intelligible text. From this manuscript it is evident, that another and a third version was once in circulation ; and if the first draught of the poem be still in existence, it is here perhaps that we must look for it. For in this the narrative is considerably shortened, many passages of a decidedly episodic cast—such as the tale of the cat and the rats, and the character of Wrath—are wholly omitted ; others, which in the later versions are given with considerable detail of circumstance, are here but slightly sketched ; and though evidently the text book of Dr. Whitaker's and Crowley's ver-

sions, it may be said to agree with neither, but to alternate between the ancient and modern printed copies. Of this the reader will be best able to form his own opinion, on learning that the first passus agrees rather closely with Crowley to this line,

To synge there for Symony for Silver is swete.—

(See *Whitaker*, p. 5.)

and then continues in the following manner to the end:

Ther hovyd an hundred, in houves of selke
 Serjauntes it semed, that serven at barre¹
 Pleten for penyes, and poundes the lawe
 And naugt for loue of oure Lord, unlose here lippes ones
 Thow mygthest betere mete the myst, on Malverne hilles
 Than gete a mum of here mouth, but moné be schewyd.
 I say byschopes bolde, and bacheleres of devyn
 Be come clerkes of acomtes, the kyng for to serve.
 Erchedekenes and dekenes, that dignetes haven
 To preche the peple, and the pore men to fede
 Ben lopen to Londen, by leve of here byschopes
 And ben clerke of the kynges benche, the contre to schende.
 Barouns and burgeys, and bondage² also
 I say in that semblé, as ye schal here after
 Bakers and bochers, and brewsters many³
 Wollene websters, and wevers of linen
 Taylors and towkers, and tollers bothe
 Masons and minours, and many other craftes;
 And dykers and delvers, that don here dedes ille,
 And dryven forth the longe daye, with duke⁴ save dame
 Emme:
 Cokes and here knaves crien, hote pies hote,

Variations from the Harleian Fragment, No. 875.

¹ to serve at the barre.

² bondemen.

³ This and the following lines are omitted by No. 875.

⁴ deuz save.—But a later hand has corrected No. 6041, by expunging the k in 'duke' and inserting "vous" above: i. e. due vous save, &c.

Gode gees and grys, go we dyne, go we
 And taverners to hem, tolde hem the same⁵
 With wyne of Oseye, and wyn of Gascoyne⁶
 Of the Ryn and the Rochel, the rost to defye
 Al this I saug slepyng, and sevene sithes more⁷.

It was the discovery of this manuscript, combined with other considerations, which it would be now superfluous to enumerate, that confirmed a resolution already entertained of adhering to an early manuscript copy of Crowley's text, in the body of the History. But as some objections might be made to the propriety of such a measure, and a difference of opinion might arise as to the value and importance of the respective texts, it was thought adviseable to meet the difficulty in the shape of compromise, by giving the corresponding passages from Dr. Whitaker's edition in an Appendix. To have reprinted these with all their errors would have been an easy, though no very laudable undertaking. Dr. Whitaker's manuscript contains as pure a text as any single copy is likely to supply. But it is neither free from verbal inaccuracies, omissions, and other faults of a similar nature common to every relic of the age in which it was written, nor has it always been correctly read. The Museum copies offered a remedy for these defects⁸, and in resorting to their varied readings for an illustration of the difficulties noticed by Dr. Whitaker, a hope has been encouraged that even the present slight notice of their value may point to the means by which we may one day obtain an authentic text of our earliest English satirist.—The corrections introduced in the following pages are all supported by the joint authority of these documents. To have recorded every variation of orthography would have extended the notes to an immoderate length without increasing their value; for it is only in words of doubt-

⁵ Taverners hem tolde thilke same tale.

⁶ good wyne of Gaskyne, and the wyne of Osee.—The same hand already noticed, has corrected "wyn" to "weyte (wheat) of Gascoyne;"—an obvious improvement.

⁷ omitted.

⁸ By the aid of these manuscripts I found all the obscurities noticed by Dr. Whitaker in his first ten passus to be satisfactorily removed. I did not pursue the collation further.

ful import or ambiguous enunciation, that such particulars can be important to the philologist. Where the sense has materially differed, the corresponding passage has been preserved below.

And merveylously me mette, as ich may yow telle
 Al the welthe of this wordle, and the woo bothe
 Wynkyng as it were, wyterly ich saw hyt
 Of truyth and of tricherye, of tresoun and of gyle
 Al ich saw slepyng, as ich shal yow telle
 Esteward ich behulde, after the sonne
 And sawe a tour as ich trowede, truthe was ther ynne
 Westwarde ich wattede¹, in a wyle after
 And sawe a deep dale, deth as ich lyvede

¹ The Cotton MS. reads "bihulde;" the Harley "awaytede;" which inclines me to believe, that Dr. Whitaker in rendering "wattede," *wandered*, from the Anglo-Saxon "wath," has confounded it with another term of nearly similar sound.

For mucche woo was hym marked, that
wade shal with the lewede.

p. 236.

The orthography of the text is peculiar to Dr. Whitaker's MS.; but in the following extracts, the context shews "wattede" to be identical with a verb, which is elsewhere written "waytede."

Ich dar nouht for is felaweshepe, in
 faith Pees saide,

Bere sikerlich eny selver, to Seint Gyles
 doune;

He *watteth* ful wel, wan ich sulfere take,
 Wat wey ich wende, wel yerne he aspieth,
 To robbe me, and to ryfle me, yf ich ride
 softe.

p. 66.

Here it is equivalent to our modern *watch*; though Dr. Whitaker, by interpreting it "he knows it well," has confounded it with "wat," the past tense of "wite."

Throgh here wordes ich a wook, and
wattede aboute

And *seih* the sonne in the south, sitte that
 tyme.

p. 162.

Here as in the present text it means
 "gazed."

And ich *loked* in hus lappe, a Lazar lay
 ther ynne—

What *waytest* thou quath Faith, and
 what woldest thou have,

Ich wolde wyte quath ich tho, what is in
 thy lappe.

p. 319.

Whith mucche noyse that nyght, ner
 frentik ich awakede

In inwit and in alle whittes after libe-
 rum arbitrium

Ich *waitede* wyterly, ac ne wiste weder
 heo wente.

p. 314.

Dr. Whitaker has paraphrased these expressions by: "What waitest thou for," "I waited earnestly;" which if intended for *literal* versions are correct enough. For the primary signification of *look*, *see*, and *wait*, appears to have been the sense in which we still use the two first. Their secondary meaning was, to look upon with a view to defence or protection; though "wait" was used to imply close observation, for either offensive or defensive purposes; and hence its twofold sense, to attend or watch.

Woned in tho wones and wyckede [spirites²]
 A fair feld fol of folke, fonde ich ther bytwyne
 [Of] all manere of men, the mene and the ryche
 Worchynge and wandrynge, as the worlde asketh
 Somme pute hem to plow, and pleiden fol seylde
 In setting and in sawyng, swonken ful harde
 And wonne [that³] thuse wasters, wit gloteny distryeth
 Somme pute hem to pruyde, &c. (See *Whitaker*, p. 1.)

THUS robed in russett, ich romede a bout
 Al a somer seson, for to seke Dowel
 [And] frainede ful ofte, of folke that ich mette
 Yf eny whit wist, wer Dowel was at ynne
 And what man he myghte be, of meny man ich askede
 Was nevere wiht in this worlde, that wisse me couthe
 Wher that he longede, lasse ne more
 Til hit by-ful on a Frydaye, two freres ich mette
 Maisteres of menours, men of grete witte
 Ich hailsede⁴ hem hendelyche, as ich hadde ylernede
 And prayede pur charite, [or⁵] thei passede forthere
 Yf thei knew eny contreie, other costes aboute
 Wher that Dowel dwelleth, dere frendes telleth me
 For ye aren men of thys molde, that most wide walken
 And knowen contries and courtes, and menye kynne places
 Bothe princes paleis, and poure menne cotes

² spirit'. W.

³ ther. W. Dr. Whitaker glosses the passage; "some destroying themselves by gluttony and excess:" but this line is evidently connected with the preceding one, and the obvious meaning, "that the industrious laboured to attain (wonne) those things, which the prodigal destroyed by their gluttonous excesses."

⁴ Dr. Whitaker in his Glossary interprets "halse," to salute; and remarks, that "halsian" means rather, to implore. This I conceive *not* to have been its primary import. The verb is clearly derived from the substantive "hals," *the neck*; and expresses that peculiar action which constituted the ancient mode of salutation. The French *accoller* has been

formed on a similar principle. But even its secondary meaning is founded on a practice of high antiquity:

Καί ῥα παροιὸν αὐτοῖο καθίζιστο, καὶ λάβε
 γούνων
 Σκαίη δειξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀντρεῖωνος ἰλοῦσα,
 Λισσομένη προσείπει, κ. τ. λ. Il. A. 500.

In the following line of Chaucer,

And said, O dere child, I halse thee.
 v. 13575.

Mr. Tyrwhitt ought to have accepted the gloss presented by the Askew MS.: "I conjure thee." It does not mean here, as in his second example, "I salute thee."

⁵ as. W.

And Dowel and Do-uevele, wher thei dwellen bothe
 Sothliche seide the frere, he sojorneth with ous freres
 And ay hath as ich hope, and wol her after
 Contra quath ich as a clerke, and comsede to dispute
 And seide sothliche, Septies in die cadit justus
 Fallynge fro joye, Jesus wot the sothe
 Sevene sythe seith the bok, syngeth⁶ day by day
 The alther ryghtfulleste reuk, that regneth upon eerthe
 And ho so syngeth ich seide, certys doth nat wel
 For ho so syngeth, sykerliche doth uvele
 And Dowel and Do-uevele, may nat dwelle to gederes
 Ergo he ys nat alway, at hom among yow ffreres,
 He is som while elles wher, to wisse the puple
 Ich shal sei the my sone, seide the frere thenne
 How seven sithes the sadde man, syngeth on the day⁷
 By a forbusene⁸ quath the frere, ich shal the faire shewe
 Let brynge a man in a bot, in myddes a brode water
 The wynde and the water, and waggynge of the bote⁹
 Maketh the man meny tyme, to stomble yf he stande
 Stonde he nevere so styfliche, thorgh sterynge of the bote
 He bendeth and boweth, the body his unstable

⁶ The Cotton and Harleian MSS. read "synneth." Dr. Whitaker's MS. gives the earlier orthography from "singian, peccare." The Museum MSS. read:

And whose synneth i seide certes doth
 nout wel,

For whose synneth sikerli doth evele.

COTT.

And who synneth y seide certes doth
 nozt welle,

And who so synneth sykerly mot nede
 do uvele.

HARL.

⁷ MS. Harl. reads, "in one day"; which I conceive to be only a gloss.

⁸ Dr. Whitaker has remarked: This word appears to mean an example—a conjecture perfectly correct. It is the Anglo-Saxon fore-bysen, exemplum. It occurs again in the Cotton and Harley MSS. where Dr. Whitaker's reads "a forbusur"; page 300.

He is a forbusur (forbusun) to alle bus-shopes and a brygthe myrour.

Dr. Whitaker's gloss—"a furbisher to all bishops"—is quite out of the question.

⁹ Dr. Whitaker glosses this passage thus: "The motion of the boat will cause him many times to stumble, though he may not fall; and though he stand ever so steadily without change of place, yet through the motion of the boat," &c. I would rather interpret it: If the man stand, the motion of the boat will cause him to stumble (or fall) however stiffly he may stand. Through the motion (stirring) of the boat he bendeth and boweth; his body is unstable, but still (in person) he is safe and sound. Thus fares it with the righteous. Though he fall, he only falls like the man who fell in a boat, that aye is safe, &c. It is clear from the context that the man in the example was understood to fall: he fell, but he sank not.

Ac yut he is saf and sounde, so fareth hit by the ryghtful
 Thauh he falle he falleth nat; bote as ho fulle in a bote
 That ay is saf and sounde, that suteth with ynne the borde
 So hit fareth quath the frere, by ryghtful mannes fallynge
 Thawe he thorghe fondinge¹⁰ falle, he falleth nat out of charite
 So dedliche synne doth he nat, for Dowel hym helpeth
 The water ys lykned to the worlde, that waneth and wexeth
 The godes of [this¹¹] ground, aren lyke to the grete wawes
 [That] as wyndes and wederes [aren] walwen aboute
 The bot ys lyckenede to our body, that brotel ys of kynde
 That thorgh the fende and oure flesch, and this frele worlde
 Senegeth sevene sithe, the saddest man on erthe
 And lyfholiest of lyf, that lyveth under the sonne.
 Ac free will and free wit, folweth a man evere
 To repenten and ryse, and rowen out of synne
 To contrition to confession, til he come to hus ende
 Rather have we no reste, til we restitue
 Our lyf to oure Lord God, for our lycames gultes
 Ich have no kynde knowyng quath ich, to conceyve al thy speche
 Ac yf ich may lyve and loke¹², ich shal go lerne bettere
 Ich bykenne the to Christ¹³ quath he, that on the croice deide

¹⁰ Dr. Whitaker interprets the text, "though he sin through folly;" but *fondinge*, means, *temptation*; and the declaration implies: though the righteous man fall by means of temptation, &c. It occurs again, p. 270.

And frende in alle fondynges, and of foule reveles leche.

¹¹ I have substituted "*this*" for "*the*" on the authority of the Cotton MS. Vesp. B. xvi. and another in the same collection used in the body of the History. The same MS. (Caligula, A. xi.) gives the following reading of the succeeding line:

That as wind and weder is wawen about.

See vol. ii. p. 104. The corrections in the text were therefore too obvious not to be adopted.

¹² Did Langland combine these terms for the sake of their alliteration, or may

we regard them as perpetuating one of those primitive figures which are common to the poetry of every country?

Οὐτις, ἐμὲ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χροὶ δειρομένοιο,
 Σοὶ κοίλης παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίησε
 Il. A. 88.

Langland is frequent in his use of this figure. It has no reference to reading, and ought not to have been interpreted: if I have space to live and look in the book.

¹³ The Harleian MS. reads: Y bytake the Crist; The Cotton nearly agrees with the present text. Dr. Whitaker from his paraphrase "I teach unto thee Christ," appears to have given "bykenne," the power of the simple verb *kennen*, to instruct. I know of no example in Anglo-Saxon, which will afford us the verb "bekennan"; or in fact of any proof that such a verb existed, except the authority of Langland. But as "ken-

And ich seide the same, save yow fro meschaunce
 And gyve me grace on this ground, with good ende to deye.
 Ich wente forth wyde where walkynge myn one
 In a wylde wyldernesse, by a wode syde
 Blisse of [the] briddes, abyde me made
 And under [a] lynde in a launde, lenede ich a stounde
 To lithen here laies, and here loveliche notes
 Murthe of here murye mouthes, made me to slepe
 And merveilousliche me mette, a myddes al that blisse
 A muche man¹⁴ me thouhte, lyke to my selve
 Cam and callede me, by my ryhte name
 What ert thou quath ich, that my name knowest
 That wost thou Wille quath he, and no wight betere
 Wot ich quath ich ho ert thou. Thouhte seide he thenne
 Ich have the sewed this seve yer, seiþ you me no rather
 Ert thou Thouhte quath ich tho, thou couthest me wisse
 Where that Dowel dwelleth, and do¹⁵ me to knowe
 Dowel and Dobet quath he, and Dobest the thridde

nan" was synonymous with "tæcan," I would wish to assume, that the same affinity existed between their compounds "betæcan" (prodere, committere) and "bekennan"; and that we have here the counterpart of a phrase of very common occurrence in our early poetry—"I commit thee to Christ."

Horn, Crist I the betече
 Mid mourninde speche
 Crist the yeve god endyng
 And sound ageyn the brynge. v. 580.

Langland has used this expression once before, and I believe only once.

For ich bykenne the Crist, quath hue
 and hus clene Moder—

Thus left me that Lady. p. 26.

Here Dr. Whitaker explains it "For I warn thee (by) Christ and his Virgin Mother"—a gloss entirely without authority. Kenne occurs below:

Ich shall the kenne to clergie my cousin
 that knoweth.

where the Harleian MS. as usual supplies a gloss at the expense of the alliteration: Y shall teche the to clergie.

¹⁴ Dr. Whitaker interprets this "a meek man." The Harleian MS. reads "a moche man;" the Cotton, "a mekel man;" which may serve as the genuine gloss. It occurs in the Chronicle of England.

A moche mon com with him also,
 Corineus yclepud wes tho. v. 14.

¹⁵ Mr. Ellis conceived "the transitive use of the verb *do*, so frequent in our early writers, to be an imitation of a well known French idiom introduced at the Conquest." This elegant critic was not aware, that it had been current in England long anterior to the Norman invasion, and that it is still heard on the banks of the Elbe among the descendants of our common Saxon ancestors. In France it is supposed a relic of the Burgundian or Francic conquest, events to which it is customary to refer every corruption of the Roman grammar. But would it not be more rational to conclude, that many of these Teutonic idioms had found their way into Gaul before the Roman eagles passed the Arar (Saône)?

Beth thre fayre vertues, and beeth nauht ferr to fynde
 Who so his trywe of ys tonge, and of hus to handes
 And thorwe leel labour lyveth, and loveth his emcristine
 And therto trywe of hus tail, and halt well his handes
 Nouht dronkelewe ne deynous, Dowel hym folweth
 Dobet doth al this, ac yut he doth more
 He is lowe as a lombe, and loveliche of speche
 And helpeth herteliche, alle men of that he may aspare
 The bagges and the by gurdeles¹⁶, he hath to-broke hem alle
 That the Eorl¹⁷ Averous, heeld and hus eires

¹⁶ Dr. Whitaker interprets this word "private girdles:" an explanation manifestly founded upon the vulgar acceptance of a by law. We meet with it in the Anglo-Saxon Gospel of St. Matthew: Næbbe ge gold, ne seolfer, ne feoh, on eowrum bigyrdlum: where the received version of the same passages reads "purses:" Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your *purses*. c. x. v. 9. The origin of the term—as an appendage to the girdle—will be best understood, by the following illustrations taken from Chaucer:

And at hire girdel hung a purse of lether
 Tasseled with silk and perled with latoun.
 An anelace and a gipciere (purse) all of
 silk

Heng at his girdel white as morwe milk.

This illustration is certainly at variance with the declaration of a learned Antiquary (Ed. Rev.) who has recently maintained that a by-law means a town-law. But it may be questioned how far such a definition can be borne out by authority; and there can be little difficulty in showing that it is contrary to analogy. A by-law is not a solecism. We have a by-path, a by-name, a by-room, a by-word, a by-design, &c. not one of which is remotely connected with the idea of a town or has any relation to civic duties. In the cognate tongues their synonyms will be found compounded of the simple substantive and a preposition corresponding to our English *by*. In German there is a fluctuation between the use of "bei" and "neben," both implying by, in conjunction with, or in addition to. Thus a Neben-gesetz, a by-law, means a law in

addition to other laws, a municipal (it may be) or conventional law in addition to the regular statutes of the country, or the acknowledged ordonnances of an institution. And so of the rest. The Anglo-Saxons (who translated the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον* by *gód-spell*) gave as near an approach to the original as the affinity of the two languages would admit, when they rendered *παραβολή*, *big-spell*, the bey-spiel or example of modern German. The idea of *privacy* being originally connected with such compounds is equally unfounded. A by-name will entirely fail of its object unless publicity be given it, and no man can become a by-word among friends or foes but by attaining a certain degree of general notoriety.

¹⁷ The Brut of Tysilio gives a varied form of this word (*iarl*) which Mr. Roberts declares to be originally Welsh, and that it means "a governor of a district, from the preposition *iar*, over." Without professing to be in any way acquainted with the mysteries of Cymric lore, I will venture to suggest, that the Welsh "*iar*" is nothing more than a cognate root with the Teutonic "*ar, er, are, ere, ier, iara,*" all implying priority or superiority, and in no way connected with our English title of honour. This latter will be found in its simplest form, in the Low-German Paraphrase of the Gospels, known by the name of Canute's Book; where it is constantly used as a synonym for *man*. In this sense we also find it in the Anglo-Saxon "*ceorl*," our modern churl—the chorle of old English poetry;—and where the substitution of *ch* for *c*, shews the aspirate in some provinces to have been modu-

And of mammonaes money, mad hym meny frendes
 And is ronne in to religion, and rendreth hus byble
 And precheth to the puple, Seynt Poules wordes
 Libenter suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes
 Ye worldliche wyse, unwyse that ye suffre
 Lene hem and love hem, this Latin ys to mene
 Dobest bere sholde, the bisshopes croce
 And halye with hoked ende, ille men to goode
 And with the pyk putte down, prevaricatores legis¹⁸,
 Lordes that lyven as hem luste, and no lawe acounten.
 Fore here mok and for here meeble, suche men thynken
 That no bisshop, sholde here byddinge withsitte
 Ac Dobest sholde nat dreden hym, bote do as Gode hihte
 Nolite timere eos qui possunt occidere corpus
 Thus Dowel and Dobet, [devynede¹⁹] and Dobest

lated. With the full aspirate it still exists in the Scottish carle, and the "girl" of every day discourse, "an appellative," as Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, "formerly common to both sexes." Nor can we with any propriety translate "eorl" otherwise than "man" in many passages of Anglo-Saxon poetry: while the analogous terms,—baron and knight,—both of similar import, prove all these titles to have originated in very simple notions of distinction; and that at first they marked those alone, whose personal prowess had gained for them the consideration of *men*, or *youths* κατ' ἐξοχην. Their roots will therefore be found in verbs expressive of power or procreation; and they are not to be derived from prepositions,—a rather exploded system of etymology.

¹⁸ I have removed the full point at the close of this line, that it may be connected with the succeeding one; which in fact is merely a gloss of "prevaricatores legis." On the authority of the Harleian and Cotton MSS. I have also expunged the conjunction beginning the third line (And fore &c.) With these corrections the passage is free from obscurity. Dr. Whitaker has totally misconceived its meaning.

¹⁹ Both the Museum MSS. unite in this reading; and it is clear that Dr.

Whitaker, by a very excusable oversight, has read "dimnede" instead of "divynede," (the orthography of his MSS.) both here and below. The same mistake occurs again, p. 163, where Dr. Whitaker also reads "dimnede:"

Ac for the bok Bible, bereth good wit-
 nesse
 How Daniel dyvinede, and undude the
 dremeles
 Of king Nabugodonosor.

This species of inaccuracy, which every transcriber of early MSS. is more or less exposed to, has been productive of endless error in the text of our early poetry. I will throw together a few examples which have occurred to me while seeking for illustrations of the present extracts.

In a passage from Layamon's version of the Brut, Mr. Ellis reads *drinen* for *driven*.

(Ther heo gunnen driven)

and interprets it "urge" from the Dutch *dringen*. In the same writer, Mr. Turner reads *nalle* for *valle*.

(And Walwain gon to valle
 And feoll a there eorthe)

and interprets it "headlong." In a sub-

And crounede on to be kyng, to culle withoute synne
That wolde nat don as Dobest, [dyvynede] and tauhte
Thus Dowel and Dobet, and Dobest the thridde

sequent passage, the same valuable historian reads *ulode* for *vlode* (flood, water):

(And the Leo ithan vlode
Iwende mid me seolve)

and interprets it "howled." This mistake has engendered another, and caused him to interpret the second line "thinking with myself" instead of "went with me." Mr. Ritson in *King Horn* reads, *londe* for *loude*;

Horn hath loude soune,
Thurghout uch a toune, v. 217.

And again in the same romance a similar mistake has disturbed the sense twice, within the space of two lines.

The ship bygan to croude,
The wynd blew wel loude. v. 1301.

Mr. Ritson reads *cronde* and *londe*; leaving the former unexplained, as well he might. This term is the modern verb "to crowd" in its primitive sense. A crowd, a crush (rush, with the aspirate), a press, (a re-importation of our old English "res" with the labial prefix like rim and brim,) or a throng of people, had no reference originally, to the multitude collected, but to the action in which this assembly was engaged,—an earnest endeavour to move forwards. Chaucer gives the verb the same power as the minstrel poet.

O first moving cruel firmament,
With thy diurnal swegh that *croudest* ay
And hurtlest all from Est til Occident,
That naturally wold hold another way;
Thy *crouding* set the heven in swiche
array.

At the beginning, &c. v. 1715.

And again,

But in the same ship as he hire fond,
Hire and hire yonge sone and all hire gere,
He shulde put, and *croude* hire from the
lond. v. 3175.

My friend Mr. R. Taylor informs me that in Norfolk, to "*crowd* a barrow" is a common expression, and that a wheelbarrow is called a *crowding*-barrow.

The past tense of an Anglo-Saxon

verb, rather varying in orthography but precisely the same in import, occurs in the *epinicion* upon Athelstan's victory; where the several attempts to twist it into meaning, from the days of old Huntingdon downwards, afford an instructive specimen of that elegant figure "confusion worse confounded."

Cread cnear on-flot,
Ship crouded (drove) afloat.

Our Saxon vocabularies record no infinitive to which this word may be referred. But to return: In *The Lay of Dame Sirith*, Mr. Conybeare has printed *ausine* for *ansine*.

Not no man so muchel of pyne
As poure wif that falleth in ansine.

This is the Anglo-Saxon "*ansyne*," of which in its primitive meaning—appearance—I know but this example. In the modern languages of Europe descended from the great Teutonic stock, I believe it is almost exclusively confined to the sense adopted by our early minstrel. "Not" which is rendered "has not" is the common contraction of "ne wot," no man knows, &c. In the same singular production we have *inon* for *inow* and *won* for *wou*.

Ich habbe mi loverd that is my spouse
That maiden brougte me to house
Mid menske inou.

He loveth me and ich him wel
Our love is al so trewe as stel
With outen wou.

Mr. Conybeare's gloss of the third line: "against decency will I nought" destroys the sense: the present correction can have no obscurity. *Wou*, which is rendered "fail, warning," is the Anglo-Saxon "*woh* or *woge*," injustice, wrong, either in a physical or moral sense; and is both the language and orthography of Robert of Gloucester.

For wanne man may do wat he wole and
unrygt ynou,
Ofte he bryngth vor coveytyse, to ryghte
pur wou. p. 314.

In the form of *woghe* or *wough* this

Crounede on to be kyng, and kepen ous alle
And reulen alle reaumes, by here thre wittes
Bote otherwise [and²⁰] elles nat, bote as thei three assented

term is common enough; but Hickes has so disguised it in his transcript of the Land of Cockayne, as to make it obscure both to himself and a later editor.

The pinnes beth fat puddings,
Rich meat to princes and kings.
Men may there of *eat* enog
All with rigt and nought with wog.

(All with *right* and not with *wrong*.)

Hickes, who reads "woy," seeks for its origin in "the Cimbric vog, pondus;" and Mr. Ellis observes: "the meaning of this line seems to be, that meat was not *weighed* out but in abundance, and at the disposal of all who chose to seize it. *Eat*, meat. Sax. *ette*, cibus." The quotation from Robert of Gloucester will remove every difficulty; or even the French fabliau which preserves nearly the same idea in rather different language.

Si peut l'en et boivre et mangier
Tut cel qui veulent sanz dangier
Sanz contredit, et sanz deffence
Prent chascuns quant son cuer pense.
Barbazan, vol. iv. 177.

To resume.—I would also wish to consider, that we are indebted to a similar mistake for the word "onen" in the following extracts; and without which, I leave the solution of their present obscurities, to the happier powers of some more experienced glossarist.

Onen o the sherte
Hue gурden huem with suerde.
King Horn. v. 1485.

Take we the bailiffs bi tuenty ant by tene,
Clappen we of the hevedes an onen o the grene
And caste we y the fen.

Ant. Songs, 19.

Mr. Ritson in his glossary interprets "an onen, anon, forthwith," which the mere solution of the phrase into its constituent parts, shews to be clearly impossible,—an on en. The Anglo-Saxon preposition approaching nearest to what I conceive to be the genuine orthography

of the text (oven), at least of those registered in our vocabularies, is "ufan;" whose compound "abufan," was the immediate source of the old English "aboven." But as the positive "ufa" or "ufan," (imp. and infin.) produced a comparative "ufer" or "ufera," it will require no extraordinary knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language to infer, that "ofer" and "ofera" (recorded in Lye) must have been formed from "ofa" or "ofan," and that our modern "above," the "aboven" of earlier writers, has also been derived from a compound "abofan." The Danish "oven" and the Islandic "ofana," both meaning *above*, may be cited as collateral testimony. The Geste of King Horn is not remarkable for a rigid observance of metrical quantities, or we might supply its present deficiencies by reading, *an* or *on oven o the sherte*. "On ufan" will be found in any Anglo-Saxon book *centies et iterum*.

²⁰ "ne elles" W. The double negation is both out of place and unsupported. I will not stop to dispute Mr. Tooke's etymology of "elles." It shall be reserved for some more fit occasion, when I may be called upon to examine "whiles," "amonges," "amiddes," "needes," "algates," "anightes," "adayes," all of which, like "once, twice, thrice, hence, thence," &c. have taken that form which the grammarians call the genitive absolute. This law of the Anglo-Saxon language, and in fact of every scion from the great Teutonic stock, has been wholly overlooked by Mr. Tooke. Nor is it mentioned here with a view to disparage the great and important services of this distinguished scholar, but as a collateral proof, if such be wanting, of his veracity in declaring, that all his conclusions were the result of reasoning *a priori*, and that they were formed long before he could read a line of Gothic or Anglo-Saxon. To those who will be at the trouble of examining Mr. Tooke's theory and his own peculiar illustration of it, it will soon be evident that though no objections can be

Ich thonked Thouht tho, that he me so tauhte
 Yut savereth me nat thi sawe quath ich, so me Crist spede
 A more kynde knowyng, coveite ich to huyre
 Of Dowel and of Dobet, and ho Dobest²¹ of alle
 Bote Wit wolle the wisse quath Thouht, wer tho thre dwellen
 Elles know ich non that can, in none kynriche
 Thouth and ich thus thre daies, togederes we yeoden^a

offered to his general results, yet his details, more especially those contained in his first volume, may be contested nearly as often as they are admitted. The cause of this will be found in what Mr. Tooke has himself related, of the manner in which those results were obtained, combined with another circumstance which he did not think it of importance to communicate, but which as he certainly did not feel its consequences he could have no improper motive for concealing. The simple truth is, that Mr. Tooke, with whom, like every man of an active mind, idleness,—in his case perhaps the idleness of a busy political life,—ranked as an enjoyment, only investigated his system at its two extremes,—the root and summit,—the Anglo-Saxon, and English from the thirteenth century downwards, and having satisfied himself, on a review of its condition in these two stages, that his previous convictions were on the whole correct, he abandoned all further examination of the subject. The former I should feel disposed to believe he chiefly studied in Lye's vocabulary; of the latter he certainly had ample experience. But in passing over the intervening space, and we might say for want of a due knowledge of those numerous laws which govern the Anglo-Saxon grammar,—and no language can be familiar to us without a similar knowledge—a variety of the fainter lines and minor features all contributing to give both form and expression to our language entirely escaped him; and hence the facilities with which his system has been made the subject of attack, though in fact it is not the system which has been vulnerable, but Mr. Tooke's occasionally loose application of it. This note might have been spared; but it has been so much the fashion of late to feed upon what

Leisewitz would call "the corse of Mr. Tooke's reputation," that I may stand excused for seeking this opportunity of offering a counter statement to some opinions of rather general currency, of which the proof shall speedily follow.

²¹ The Cotton MSS. reads, "and Dobest of alle;" the Harleian, "and who doth best of alle;" which, supported as it appears to be, by Dr. Whitaker's MS. may be the genuine reading.

^a This word, which is also written "yode, yede, eode, ede," and occasionally printed "gede," is usually derived from the Anglo-Saxon "ge-eode." Unhappily for the truth of this conjecture, "ge-eode" and "yeode" are as distinct in meaning as "seem" and "beseem," or "speak" and "bespeak," the one being the past tense of the compound verb "ge-gan," and the other of its simple primitive "gan." The cause of this mistake it will not be difficult to explain. The general analogy of our language shows, that the letters i and y in early English writers are the usual representatives of the Anglo-Saxon prefix ge, and occasionally of g. On this principle it was natural to infer that "yeode" could not be derived from "eode" the past tense of "gan;" and as an etymon presented itself in "ge-eode," which appeared to account for the initial consonant, the corresponding Saxon term was supposed to be found. But every Saxon scholar knows, that "eode" and "ge-eode," though having a common root, are essentially different in their import; and it is equally clear, that the former strictly corresponds with "yeode" through all its varied forms of orthography. The certainty of this fact will lead us to the knowledge of a peculiar law in the enunciation of certain Saxon words, which hitherto has been entirely over-

Disputyng up Dowel, daye after othere
 And er we were ywar, with Wit gan we mete
 He was long and lene, lyke to non other
 Was no pruyde in hus aparail, ne poverte nother
 Sad of hus semblant, with a softe speche
 Ich thurste mene no matere, to maken hym to jangle
 Bote as ich bad Thouth tho, be mene by twene
 And putte forth som purpos, to prooven hus wittes
 What Dowel was fro Dobet, and Dobest fro hem bothe
 Thenne Thouth in than²² tyme, seede theese wordes
 War Dowel and Dobet, and Dobest ben in londe
 Her is on wolde wite, yf Wit couthe teche

looked, or at least misunderstood. It has been observed by Dr. Jamieson in his Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish language (sub lit. y.) "That in the south of Scotland y consonant is prefixed to a variety of words which are elsewhere pronounced without it; As yaik for ache, yaiker, an ear of corn, yield, age, for eild, yill for ale, yesk, hiccup, for eisk." Dr. Jamieson is disposed to consider this a relic of the Saxon ge or g. However, in Saxon—at least as far back as our knowledge of the language extends,—these words had no prefix, and they will be found invariably to begin with a vowel. But the practice is not confined to Scotland. It will be heard more or less in all the provincial dialects of England, and its general use is still manifested in some expressions neither obsolete nor provincial. The words, "you, your, yew (a tree), yean, York," are the Anglo-Saxon "eow, eower (in the Northumbrian dialect iu, iurre) eow, eanian, Eoferwic." The "yerle, yede, yerde" (earth, a distinct word from yard) of early writers, and the yowe, (a female sheep) of our husbandmen, are the Anglo-Saxon "eorl or earl, eode, eard, eow." Every one from his own recollection will be able to swell this catalogue. I have not leisure to pursue this investigation further. In a future publication the subject will be again referred to, when illustrating the power of what is usually termed y consonant.

²² This is the only example in these

extracts, where the article when used in an oblique case has retained its ancient inflection. Dr. Whitaker's MS. affords but few instances of this practice, though the Harleian copy, as it has been already stated, is rather abundant in the observance than the omission of it. By Layamon, as far as our specimens go, it is almost constantly used; but Mr. Ellis in defining it to be "the accusative of the Sax." has been misled by its resemblance to "thone or thene," a case which never follows the preposition "to."

To than kinge com tha biscop.

Layamon is strict in his attention to this law of Anglo-Saxon syntax. It also occurs in the "Lay of Dame Sirith"—a production fully worthy of the illustrations which it has received from Mr. Conybeare; but where I think this distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholar has unadvisedly conceived it to be a corruption of *tham*. *Than* is frequently found as the dative case singular of *that* (the neuter of *se*); nor is it very improbable that in some kingdoms of the Heptarchy, it might also have been equivalent to the dative of *se*. It is thus applied in the passage quoted from Layamon, who uses it indiscriminately with substantives of either gender. Mr. Ritson found it in the Geste of King Horn; where not perceiving its power, we may suppose him to have uttered a surly pish! and having duly execrated the transcriber's negligence, to have proceeded to the

And what lyves thei lyven, and what lawe thei usen
 What thei drede and douhten, dere syre telleth [me]
 Syre Dowel dwelleth quath Wit, nat a daye hennes
 In a castle that Kynde made, of foure kyne thynges

amendment of his apparently vitiated text. He has accordingly with great adroitness subjoined it to the preceding word; and though by this alliance the sense be somewhat marred, he may still be said to have made of it, "a soldier-like word, and a word of exceeding good command."

Gret men that me kenne,
 Gret wel the gode
 Quene Godeld my moder,
 And seythene hethene king. v. 150.

In the glossary "seythene" is classed with "sithen," and partakes of the same interpretation. It will be almost superfluous to add, that we should read: And sey thene hethene king; Tell the heathen king. "Then" occurring a few lines below, is the accusative already mentioned.

And say that he shal fonde
 Then deth of myne honde. v. 158.

From inattention to this obsolete form of the prepositive article,—coupled with a custom equally ancient, but which has rarely been a source of difficulty,—an obscurity has arisen in the language of our early writers, which baffled the ingenuity of Mr. Tyrwhitt, and has been a cause of equal perplexity to Dr. Jamieson. The phrase I allude to, is one in the recollection of every reader of early English poetry, and of which one example will serve as efficiently as ten thousand.

And cled him sethin in gude scarlet,
 Forord wele and with gold fret.
 A girdel ful riche *for the nanes*,
 Of perry and of precious stanes.

Ywaine and Gawin. v. 1106.

Mr. Tyrwhitt conceived "nanes" to be a corruption of "nunc;" and the full phrase, a substitute for the Latin "pronunc" of the Monkish writers. Dr. Jamieson,—on a principle whose application I confess myself at a loss to comprehend,—believes it to be allied to the Suio-Gothic "nenna" or "nennas," *a se impetrare, posse*. To me it appears nothing more than a slight variation of

the Anglo-Saxon "for than ænes," literally *for the once*, or as it has been correctly rendered without a knowledge of the etymon, "for the occasion." This we have already seen might have been written, "for then ænes," and by analogy, "for then anis," "for then ones," or "for then once." Its progress to the form in which it is found in the example cited, will be best illustrated, by producing similar instances of orthographic disguise.

And they were inly glad to fille his purse
 And maken him gret festes *at the nale*.
 Chaucer. v. 6931.

And than satten some and songe *at the nale*.
 Piers Plowman.

Thai hadde woundes ille,
At the nende.

Sir Tristram, p. 186.

Mr. Tyrwhitt united with Skinner in supposing *nale* to be a corruption of "innale;" but it is clear that "at the nale" and "at the nende" have been transformed from "at than ale" and "at than ende." This transference of the final consonant to the initial vowel of the succeeding word, is frequent with the definite article; where its forsaken fellow having undergone no change by the operation, there was little difficulty in perceiving the original phraseology. But a similar dismemberment of the indefinite neuter, which produced (as may have been the case in the preceding examples) what the German grammarians call the *umlaut* or a change of the vowel letter, has been an equally fertile source of vexation to our philological antiquaries. I will offer an illustration of this practice in a couplet transcribed from the fly-leaf of a MS. in the British Museum (but whose number I omitted to note), and which formerly belonged to a countess of Oxford (as I believe).

Thys boke is one and Godes kors ys
 anoder,
 They that *the ton* take, God gife them
the toder.

Of erthe [and] of aier²³ yt is made, medled to gederes
 With wynd and [with] water, wittilyche enjoynede
 Kynde hath closed ther ynne, craftilyche with alle
 A lemman that he loveth wel, lyke to hymselfe
 Anima hue hatte, to hure hath envye²⁴
 A prout prikyre of Fraunce, princeps hujus mundi
 And wolde wynne hure away, with whiles yf he myghte
 And Kynde knoweth this wel, and kepeth hure the betere
 And dooth hure with Syre Dowel, Duk of thes Marches
 Dobet is here damesele, Syre Doweles douhter
 To serve that lady leely, bothe late and rathe
 Dobest ys above bothe, a bisshopes peer

Dr. Jamieson, sub voc. "tothir," has observed of this expression, that "notwithstanding its resemblance to *διωτιρος*, the second, this seems to be merely *other* with t, or as some think *the* prefixed after a vowel, like ta for a:

Thus-gat throw dowbil undyrstandyng,
 That bargane come til sic endyng
 That the ta past dissawyt was.

"where t is used after *the*, to avoid the concurrence of two vowels." But in either of these cases I shall have no hesitation in declaring that we have simply *that on*, *that oder*, *that a*. In Dr. Jamieson's second example "ta" has clearly the power of *twa*; but whether it be a corruption or a varied orthography of that word I leave to his own decision.

The Quene herself fast by the altare
 standis
 Haldand the melder in hyr devote handis,
 Hyr ta fute bar.

After this explanation, I may stand excused for suggesting, that in some future edition of *Sir Tristram*, it would be as well to correct these lines of the Supplement:

That tone schule be blake,
 That tother white so sneue. p. 195.

²³ Dr. Whitaker has observed upon this passage: "In this reading all the MSS. and the printed copies agree. Yet as in the enumeration of the elements, air and wind make one, and fire is not mentioned, I can have no doubt that 'fuyer,' the original reading, has been

misread by the first transcriber, 'aier' or 'ayer.'" This emendation would only make the alliteration more defective than it is at present; and we may suspect Langland to have been more concerned for the observance of this law, than the rigid propriety of his chemical nomenclature. If we read "fuyer" in the present instance, we ought on the same principle to read "erthe" in the following passage, though the alliteration be sadly crippled by the operation.

That is with and water, wynd and fuyer
 the furthe. p. 150.

²⁴ The Museum MSS. support the present text. Caligula A. xi. reads

Anima she hatte, ac Envy hure hateth
 A proud prikiere of Fraunce, &c.—

which I take to be a later correction. The reader will not consider the idiom of the text to be a literal version of a modern Gallicism, *à lui a envie*; for in early English poetry this term is never applied except in *malam partem*. Another instance of the same idiom occurs at p. 124:

Be war thenne of Wratthe that wickede
 shrewe,
 For he hath envy to hym that in thin
 herte sytteth.

Dr. Whitaker paraphrases the passage in the text: "With her is an enemy;" which is manifestly erroneous. To prevent this association, Kind committed Anima to the guardianship of Sir Dowell.

And by hus lernynge is ladde, that ilke lady Anima
 The constable of that castel, that kepeth hem alle
 Is a wys knyght with alle, Syre Inwit he hatte
 And hath fyve faire sones, by hus furste wyf
 Syre Seewel Syre Seiwel, Syre Huyrewel the hende
 Syre Worchewel with thyn hand, a wight man of strengthe
 And Syre Godfaith Gowel, grete lordes alle
 Theese fyve ben ysett, for to save Anima
 Til kynde com other seynde, and kepe hure hymself
 What lyves thyng is Kynde quath ich, [kanst²⁵] thow me telle
 Kynde is creature quath Wit, of alle kyne thynges
 Fader and formour, of al that forth groweth
 The wiche is God grettest, that gynnyng hadde nevere²⁶
 Lord of lyf and of lyght, of lysse* and of payne
 Angeles and alle thyng, aren at hus wil
 Man²⁷ is hym most lyk, of membres and of face
 And semblable [most] in soule to God, bote yf synne hit make
 And as thow suxt the sonne, som tyme for cloudes
 May nat shyne ne shewe, on shawes on erthe
 Right so letteth lecherie, and other luther synnes
 That God seweth nat synful men, and suffreth hem mysfare
 As some hongen hem self, and other while adrencheth
 God wol nat of hem wite, bote leteth hem yworthe
 As the Sauter seith, by such synful shrewes
 Et demisi eos secundum desiderium eorum
 Loke suche luther men, lome²⁸ ben ryche

²⁵ can. W.

²⁶ The Harleian MS. destroys the alliteration by reading, "that synne dude nevere."

* The Harleian MS. in common with Crowley's text, and Caligula A. xi. reads "blysse." The Cotton MS. agrees with Dr. Whitaker.

²⁷ Dr. Whitaker observes on this passage: "This expression strongly illustrates the tendency of image-worship to anthropomorphism." But with every deference to Dr. Whitaker's authority, upon a subject where he and his order may claim a right to speak decisively,

I should rather conceive this image-worship to be an effect and not the cause of anthropomorphism. Every pious and enlightened Catholic indignantly repels the charge of image-worship; and justifies those offensive creations of the painter's pencil, and the sculptor's chisel, which shock the morbid sensibilities of a rigid Protestant, by the following text of Scripture: "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him." Gen. chap. i. ver. 27.

²⁸ The Cotton MS. reads *ilome*; the Harleian glosses it by reading "commonly ben." Dr. Whitaker interprets

Of gold and of other good, bote Godes grace hem faileth²⁹
 Ac for thei loveth and byleyveth, al here lyf tyme
 More in catel than in Kynde, that alle kyne thynges wroghte
 The wiche is bothe love and lyf, and lasteth withouten ende
 Inwitt and alle whittes, closed ben therynne
 By love and by leaute, ther by lyveth Anima
 And lyf lyveth by Inwitt, and lerynge of Kynde³⁰
 Inwitt is in the hefd, [and]³¹ Anima [in] the herte
 And mucche wo worth hym, that Inwitt mysspeyneth
 For that is Godes owen good, hus grace and hus tresour, &c.

(*Whitaker*, p. 166—175.)

Thenne hadde Wit a wif, was hote Dame Studie
 That ful lene lokede, and lif holy semede
 Hue was wonderliche wroth, that Wit so me tauhte
 Al staryenge Dame Studie, sturneliche seide
 Wel art thou wys quath hue to Wit, suche wisdom [to] shewe
 To eny fol other flatorere, other to frentik puple
 And seide Nolite mittere, men margerie perles
 A monge hogges that haven, hawes at wille
 Thei don bote drevelyn theron, draf were hem levere
 Than al the preciose perreye, that eny prince weldeth
 Ich segge hit by suche quath Studie, that shewen by here werkus

the passage: "they are rich in furniture:" and in his glossary gives "*loma supellex*; so an heir-loom." I have already explained this term, vol. ii. p. 52. Note°. I will take this opportunity of observing, that the transcriber of the English Chronicle there quoted, has rather corrupted the text by an omission, than by an interpolation. We ought either to read,

And yet the Englesche ofte and ilome,
 or (what would save the metre)

And yet the Englesche ofte and lome.

The common practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry countenances the former version; nor is it very likely, that a transcriber of sufficient intelligence to supply the prefix, would have left the passage in its

present corrupt state. A production nearly coeval with the Chronicle has furnished me with the latter conjecture:

Parvink he might be,
 And that for thinges thre,
 He ussid oft and lome.

Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, p. 40.

²⁹ This line and the correction following it, have been inserted on the joint authority of the Museum MSS. To avoid the dissonance occasioned by the repetition of "ac," the Harleian reading "bote" has been adopted in the first line. But perhaps we should read: "And for thei loveth," &c.

³⁰ Dr. Whitaker glosses this passage, "and the knowledge of God;" — it should be, "and the instruction of Kind" (Nature).
³¹ as W.

[Thei³²] loveth lond and lordshup, and lykyng of [heore] body
more

Than holynesse other hendenesse, other al that seintes techeth
Wysdom and Wit now, is nat worth a carse

Bote hit be carded with covetyse, as clothers kembern wolle

Ho that can contreeve and caste, to deceyve the puple

And lette with a loveday, Treuthe and bygyle hym

That can coveyty an caste thus, aren cleped into counsail

Qui sapiunt nugas et crimina lege vocantur

Qui recte sapiunt lex jubet ire foras.

He is reverenced and robed, that can robbe the puple

Thorwe fallas and false questes, and thorw fykel speche

Job the gentil and wys, in hus gestes wytnesseth

What shal worthe of suche, wenne thei lyf leten

Ducunt in bonis dies suos et in fine descendunt ad infernum

The Sauter seith the same, of alle suche ryche

Ibunt in progenie patrū suorum & usq; in eternū non videbūt
lumen

Et alibi—Ecce ipsi peccatores & cet.

So holy lettrure [seith swiche³³] lordes been thees shrewes

Tho that [God] most good gyveth, most greve Ryght and Treuthe

Que perfecisti destruxerunt justitiam

And harlotes for [heore] harlotrie, aren holpen er nudy poure

And that is no ryght ne reson, for rather men sholde

Help hem that hath nouht, than tho that han no neede.

Ac he that hath holy writ, aye in hus mouthe

And can telle of Treuthe, and of the twelve apostels

Other of the passion of Crist, other of purgatorie peynes

Lytel is he alowed there fore, among lordes of festes

Nowe is the manere [at³⁴] the mete, when mynstralles ben
style

The lewede ayens the lered, the holy lore to dispute

³² that W.

³³ withe W. Though I suspect the Doctor's MS. reads *wiche*. It is frequently difficult to decide between the claims of these two letters, *c* and *t*, and the context must be our only guide. The reader may therefore make his elec-

tion between *wiche* and *swiche*, remembering that one is a contraction of "hwa ilc" and the other of "swa ilc."

³⁴ The Museum MSS. unite in this reading. Dr. Whitaker's reads "atte the," which is an unauthorized pleonasm. See Note³⁷.

And tellen of [the] Trinite, how two slowe the thridde
And brynge forth ballede resones, and taken Bernarde³⁵ to
witnessse

And putteth forth presompcions, to preoven the sothe
Thus³⁶ thei drevelen atte³⁷ deyes, the Deyte to knowe
And gnawen God with gorge, when here guttes fullen
Ac the carful mai crie, and quaken atte³⁷ gate
Bothe a fynghred and a furst³⁸, and for defaute spille
Ys non so hende to have hym yn, bote hote hym go ther God is

³⁵ The initial letter of Bernard's name probably secured for him this distinction. We can hardly have an allusion here, to those riming sermons delivered at the close of his life; and it is well known that the Abbot of Clairvaux was a zealous opponent of the scholastic subtleties satirized in the text. I perceive, Warton enumerates among the contents of the Digby MS. "Le diz de Seinte Bernarde;" which may by possibility throw some light on the subject. The British Museum contains a variety of these doctrinal "ballede resones," which are usually attributed to the Lollards.

³⁶ The Harleian MS. reads:

Thus tho dreven forth the day the dep-
pere forto knowe,
And gnaweth God with goude ale whan
her gottes fullen.

Crowley and Calig. A. xi. also support the present text, by reading "whanne her guttes ben fulle." But I should prefer the more expressive language of Vespas. B. xvi.

And knawen God with gorge "while thei heore" guttes fullen.

³⁷ I have already had occasion to notice some of the changes to which the prepositive article was subjected, previous to the general reception of its present indeclinable substitute. The passage before us affords another illustration of its many disguises and corruptions. "Atte deyes," and "atte gate" below (at the deyes, at the gate), are the diminished forms of "at then deyes—at then gate." They did not, however, at once "jump to this conclusion;" there was an intermediate step in the process.

Ich am ocupied eche day, halyday and
other,
With ydel tales *atten* ale, and other wyle
in churches.

P. Plouhman. p. 111.

For hit beth bote boyes, lolles *atten*
ale. Ib. p. 157.

Vor hys poer was lute worth, vor he gef
hem *atten* ende
Four thousand pound of sterlynges hem
agen to wende.

R. of Gloucester, p. 294.

This phrase in its full form, "at the nende," has been already given in an extract from Sir Tristram. For the reference to Robert of Gloucester, I am indebted to Mr. Tyrwhitt, who, in saying "atte or perhaps *atten*," has been frequently corrupted into "at the," affirms the converse of the fact. He evidently understood both these expressions to be the antiquated orthography of "at;" for, in a note on verse 1537,

Now shineth it, and now it shineth fast,
he observes: "Perhaps Now itte, &c. Itte may have been a dissyllable formerly as well as atte." Dr. Whitaker's MS. is not altogether free from pleonastic errors in the use of *atte*. Above we have seen "atte the mete;" at p. 8. we have "atte the barre," and in pages 72, 210, 350, 360, 409, we have "atte the laste." These are all the examples which have occurred to me; but "atte barre," &c. is frequent, and "atte last" or "at the laste" will be found without end.

³⁸ The Harleian MS. reads "an honghred and aferst:" the Cotton, "of honghret and athrest;" and Dr. Whitaker in-

Thenne semeth hit to my syght, [bi swiche³⁹] as so biddeth
 God is nat in that hom, ne hus help neither
 Lytel loveth he that lorde, that lente him that blisse
 That so parteth with the poure, a parcel wenne hym nudeth
 Ne were mercy in mene men, more than in ryght ryche
 Meny time mendynans, myghte gon a fynghred
 And so seith the Sauter, ich sauh⁴⁰ hit in memento
 Ecce audivimus eam caritatem in effrata
 Invenimus eam in campis silvæ
 Clerkus and knyghtes, carpen of God ofte
 And haveth hym muche in hure mouthe, ac mene men in herte
 Freres and faitours, han founde up suche questiones
 To plese withe proute men, sitthe the pestelences
 [And prechen at sente Poules, in pure envye of clerkes⁴¹]
 That folk is nouht ferm in the feith, ne free of here goodes
 Ne sory for here synnes, so is pryude en hansed
 In religion and [in] al the reame, among ryche and poure
 That preyeres han no power, thees pestelences to lette

interprets the passage: both pinched in his fingers and frost-bitten; an exposition which would have enraptured the late Mr. Henshall. I will venture to suggest, that the terms in the text, which the alliteration decides to be the genuine reading, are derived from af-hingrian, *esurire*, and af-thyrstan, *sitire*. These words are wanting in Lye; but with the prefix "of" instead of "af" they are to be found in every Anglo-Saxon vocabulary. At pp. 289, 372, the context is so decisive, that Dr. Whitaker was compelled on both occasions to abandon his own gloss. *Afurste* is the language of King Horn:

Thou shench us with the vurstē,
 The beggares bueth afurste. v. 1120.

Where Mr. Ritson explains it "at first." Had Warton been guilty of this very excuseable error, should we not have heard? "Your gross and unaccountable stupidity, Mr. Warton, shall for once save you. This is too bad." (See Obs. on the H. E. P.)³⁹ to suche W.

⁴⁰ The Harleian MS. reads "y say"; the Cotton "i sai," which is but a varied

form of the same word. Langland is not constant in his orthography of the past tense of "to see;" he writes it indiscriminately *sauh*, *seih*, and *say*, though Dr. Whitaker's MS. (on the whole) inclines to the first as the favourite standard:

Ac ich shul seye as ich *seih*, slepyng as
 it were. p. 81.

The kyng from consail cam and callyd
 after Mede,

And sent for to *see* hure, ac ich *say* nat
 hym that ladde hure, p. 44.

Dr. Whitaker renders the last passage: Now the king came from council and called for Mede: *I do not say who led her.*" And by what Mr. Todd would call "a pleasant misapprehension" takes occasion to observe: "This evidently points at some corrupt minister of Edward III." But as Langland or his hero could not *see* whether Mede's conductor were man, woman or child, we may venture to call the Doctor's inference, a *non sequitur*, as Partridge hath it.

⁴¹ This line from Vesp. B. xvi. also occurs in the Harleian MS. and is authorized by Caligula A. xi. and Crowley.

For God is def now a dayes, and deyneth nouht ous to huyre
 And good men for oure gultes, he al to grynt to dythe
 Yut thees wrechis of thys worlde, is non whar by other
 Ne for drede of eny deth, with draweth hem fro pruyde
 Ne parteth with the poure, as pure charite wolde
 Bote in gayenesse and in glotenye, forglotten here goodes
 And breketh nat here bred to the poure, as the book hoteth
 Ac the more he hath and wynneth, the world at hus wille
 And lordeth in leedes⁴², the lasse good he [deleth⁴³]
 Tobie tauhte nat so, taketh hede ye ryche
 How he tolde in a tyme, and tauhte hus sone dele
 Si tibi sit copia, abundanter tribue
 Si autem exiguum, illud impertiri libenter stude
 And this is no more to mene, bote ho so muche good weldeth
 Be large therof while hit laste, to leedes that ben needy
 Yf yow have lytel [leve⁴⁴] sone, loke by thy lyve
 Get the love ther with [here,] thauh thou fare the werse
 Ac lust no lord ne lewed man, of suche lore [nou⁴⁵] to hure
 Bote lythen how they myghte lerne lest good to spene
 And so lyven lordes now, and leten hit a Dowel
 For is no Wit worth now, bote hit of wynnynge soun
 Forthi quath hue to Wit be war, holy writ to shewe
 Amonges hem that haven, hawes at wille

⁴² The Harleian MS. reads: "And lordes and ledes," the Cotton: "And lord is in ledes," which I take to be the genuine text.

⁴³ nedeth. W.

⁴⁴ love. W.

⁴⁵ non. W. But now is frequently thus misprinted:

The culor of this cas kepe ich nat to
 shewe,
 An aunter hit nuyede me, now ende
 will ich make.

P. Plowman, p. 61.

Where Dr. Whitaker by reading "non," is forced to offer the following ambiguous paraphrase: "I care not to shew the colour of this case lest it do me harm, and therefore I will make no ende of it." In the following passage:

Nou ship by the flode,

Haue dayes gode. King Horn, v. 143,

Mr. Ritson reads "non." And again,

To day hath sire Fykenild,
 Yweddeth the wif Rimenild,
 White the nou this while,
 He haveth do the gyle.

Mr. Ritson reads "non," and interprets the line "Do not torment thyself"; instead of, "Know now that during this time." The editor of Sir Tristram has reversed the mistake by substituting *nou* for *non*.

Swiche castel fond he thare,
 Was maked of ston and tre,
 Ganhardin wist nou [non] are. p. 171.

The Glossary explains "nou are," now erst or first; but the context shews the genuine reading to be: non are, none before.

The wiche is a lykyng and a loust⁴⁶, and love of the worlde
 An wanne Wit was whar, what Studie menede
 Ich myghte gete no greyn, of Wittes grete wittes
 Bote al lauhwyng he lotede, and loked up on Studie
 Semyng that ich sholde, by sechen hure of grace
 When ich was war of hus wille, to that womman ich loutede
 And seide mercy ma dame, youre man shal ich worthe
 As longe as ich lyve, bothe late and rathe
 And for to worche youre wil, the while my lyf duyreth
 With that ye kenne me kyndeliche, to knowe what is Dowel
 For thi meeknesse quath hue, and for thi mylde speche
 Ich shal the kenne to Clergie, my cosyn that knoweth
 Alle kyne konnynges, and conisynge of Dowel
 Of Dobet and Dobest, for doctor he is yknowe
 And of scripture the [scilfulest⁴⁷], and scryvaynes were trywe
 For hue is syb to the seven ars, and also my soster
 And Cleregies wedded wif, as wys as hym selve
 Of [lore⁴⁸] and of letterure, of lawe and of reson
 So with that Clergie can, and counsail of scripture
 Thou shalt conne and knowe, kendeliche Dowel
 Thenne was ich al so fayn, as foul of fair morwenyng
 Gladder than gleoman, that gold hath to [gyfte⁴⁹]
 And askede of hure the heye way, wher that Clergie dwelte
 And tel me some tokne quath ich, for tyme is that ich wende
 Aske the heye wey quath hue, hennes to Suffre⁵⁰
 Bothe wele and moche woe, yf thow wolt lerne
 And ryd forth by richesse, and reste nouht ther ynne
 Yf thow coveity to be riche, to clergie comst thow nevere

⁴⁶ The Cotton MS. reads, "A lykyng in lust," which I should prefer.

⁴⁷ skilful. W. There is some obscurity in the construction of this passage, which will account for Dr. Whitaker's *literal* interpretation of "Scripture," and his consequent variations from the strict import of the text. We ought in this line to repeat the auxiliary verb of the preceding clause: "for doctor he is yknowe, and (*is*) of Scripture the scilfulest." It is clear from the context that Langland

has personified the sacred writings; and, with that propriety which marks all his allegorical combinations, wedded this imaginary being to Clergy or Theological Learning.

⁴⁸ love. W.

⁴⁹ gyste. W. gyftes. H.

⁵⁰ Instead of following Dr. Whitaker's paraphrase, "Inquire the way which leads to Suffer, and to pass through both weal and woe;" we ought to read, "Inquire the way, &c. to Suffer both weal and woe."

Bothe wommon and wyn, wratthe yre and slewthe
 Yf thow hit use other haunte, have God my treuthe⁵¹
 To Clergie shult thow nevere come, ne know what ys Dowel
 Ac yf thou⁵² happe quath hue, that thow hitte on Clergie
 And hast understandyng, what he wolde mene
 Sey to hym thy self, oveer see my bokes
 And seye ich grette wel hus wif, ich wrot hure a byble
 And sette hure to sapience, and to the Sauter glosede
 Logyk ich lerede hure, and al the lawe after
 Alle the musons [unisons?] in musyk, ich made hure to knowe
 Plato the poete, ich putte hym ferst to booke
 Aristotle and other, to arguen ich tauhte
 Grammere for gurles, ich gart furst [to] wryte
 And bet hem with a baleyse⁵³, bote yf thei wolde lerne
 Of alle kyne craftes, ich contreevede here tooles
 Of carpentrie of kerveres⁵⁴, and contreevede the compass
 And cast out by squire, both lyne and levell

⁵¹ This line is omitted in the Cotton MS.; the Harleian reads, "So God have my truthe."

⁵² "Bote yf it." Harl. MS.

⁵³ Dr. Whitaker interprets "baleyse" a strap. The following extract from Matthew Paris will supply us with a more correct interpretation, and, except in the page of Langland, is the only record of the word I have been able to discover. "Vestibus igitur spoliatus cum suis militibus, similiter indumentis spoliatis, ferens in manu virgam quam vulgariter *Baleis* appellamus, intravit Capitulum, et confitens culpam suam, . . . a singulis fratribus disciplinas nuda carne suscepit", p. 848. In the Glossary, Watt has thus illustrated this expression. "*Baleis*, Virgam quam vulgariter *Baleis* appellamus a Gallico *Balaye* scopa. Ita enim et adhuc Norfolcienses mei vocant virgam majorem et ex pluribus longioribusque viminibus; quali utuntur pædagogi superiores in scholis." From the substantive, a verb was formed, which is also used by Langland.

Yut am ich chalenged in chapitel hous
as ich a child were,

And *baleysed* in the bar ers and no breche
by twyne. p. 95.

The original French term is usually written Balai or Balaye; but the form it acquired in English would induce a belief that the earlier orthography, or perhaps that of Normandy, was Balais. In the same manner it might be conjectured that our obsolete "monies" was taken from monnois or monnais (though these words do not occur in the French vocabularies); for it yet remains to be proved that the former ever had a plural signification in contradistinction to "money." Thus too we have made (in more recent times) a noun plural of riches (richesse), and nothing is more common than to connect the "eaves" of a house with a verb in the plural number, though derived from the Anglo-Saxon efese, *margo*. In Somersetshire this last word is enounced "office."

⁵⁴ This reading is supported by Crowley's text, and all the MSS. except the Cotton (Vespasian, B. xvi.), which reads: "Of carpentrie and of corvyng i contreevede the compass"—a manifest improvement.

Thus thorw my lore beth men ylered, thauh ich loke dynime,
 Ac Theologie hath teened me, ten score tymes
 The more ich muse ther on, the mystiloker hit semeth
 And the deppere ich devine, the deerker me thynketh hit.

(*Whitaker*, p. 183—190.)

And he soiled hure sone, and setthen he seide we have
 A wyndow a worcheng, wol stonden ous ful hye
 Wolde ye glase the gable, and grave ther youre name
 In masse and in matyns, for Mede we shulleth synge
 Solenliche and [softeliche⁵⁵,] as for a sustre of oure order.

(*Ib.* p. 40.)

Thenne cam Covetyse, ich can nat hym discryve
 So hungerliche and so holwe, hervy⁵⁶ hym self lokede
 He was bytellbrowede and baberlupped, whit two blery eyen
 And as a letherene pors, lolled his chekus
 Al sydder than ys chyn, ychiveled for elde
 As bondemenne⁵⁷ bacon, hus berd was yshave

⁵⁵ sothliche. W.

⁵⁶ The Cotton MS. reads: "So hongri and holewe, hervy was his name;" which coupled with the printed text, "So hungry and holwe, sire hervy him lokede," gives a strong corroboration to Dr. Whitaker's conjecture,—that we have here a personal allusion, which in Langland's day had obtained a general currency. The Harleian fragment, No. 3954, reads:
 So hungry he lokede, syre hervy and holwe.

⁵⁷ Dr. Whitaker approves the reading given in his MSS. B. and C. and these agree with Crowley's text, and Caligula A. xi.

And as a bond-man of his bacon his berd was bydrivelid.

But in these later versions the image has undergone a revision. The Cotton MS. reads: "As a bedemonnes baken his berd was ishave," giving the substantive bedeman in the genitive singular, for the genitive plural of the present text. Had Dr. Whitaker been aware of this peculiarity, he would not have thought it necessary to justify his

paraphrase, or to declare his inability to give any other meaning to the passage than: "his beard was no better shaven than the ill-dressed bacon of slaves." This Anglo-Saxon form—*menne* (*manna*. S.)—where we now use *men's*, is frequent in Dr. Whitaker's MS.; the nominative plural being always *men*:

In the old lawe as lettre telleth, *menne*
sones men cald ous. p. 207.

With the remenant of the good that
 other men byswonke. 407.

And maken him myrre with other *menne*
goodes. 406.

As barons and burgeis and bonde men
 of throupes. 11.

And sith bondemenne sones han be made
 bisshopes. 79.

Examples of this genitive plural will also be found in pages 43, 70, 76, 102, 129, 158, 212, 217, 219, 282, 361, 395, 401. Dr. Whitaker's MS. however is not constant in the observance of this form. An approximation to the modern genitive plural will be found in pages 11, 92, 122, 154, 157, 238, 250, 386.

The croft hatte coveyte nat *menne*s cattel
 ne here wyves. 122.

Whit hus hod on his heved, and hus hatte bothe
 In a toren tabard, of twelve wynter age
 [But yif a lous coude lepe, i leve as I trowe
 He scholde nought walke on that welth thredbare⁵⁸.]
 Ich have be coveitous quath this caityf, ich by know hit here
 For some tyme ich served, Symme at the style⁵⁹
 And was is prentys yplyght⁶⁰, hus profyt to waite
 Furst ich lerned to lye, a lesyng other tweye
 Wickedliche to weye⁶¹, was my furst lesson
 To Wy and to Winchestre, ich wente to the faire
 With many merchandises, as my maistres heghte
 Ne hadde the grace of Gyle, gon among my ware
 Hit had been unsold this seven yer, so me God helpe
 Ich drow me among drapers, my donet to lerne
 To drawe the lisure a longe, the lenger it semed
 Among the riche rayes, ich rendered a lesson, &c.

⁵⁸ These lines are inserted on the authority of the Cotton MS. ; the Harleian MS. reads,

Bote a lous couthe lepe yleve it as y trowe
 He schold nogt wander on that velte it
 was so dredbare.

⁵⁹ atte style. Harleian MS.

⁶⁰ It is to this source we must trace a word of frequent occurrence in early English poetry "Apliht" or "Aplight", which Mr. Ritson interprets—*complete*—*perfect*—and of which he has declared: "the etymology of this word cannot be ascertained." That its etymology could not be ascertained by Mr. Ritson will not be matter of surprise, when we remember that Dr. Jamieson has left it with the same vague and unsatisfactory definition. The obscurity I conceive can only lie in a common disguise—such as we find in the words *away*, *asleep*, *a hunting*—while the full form would be "an pliht," and the phrase itself synonymous with *in soth* or *in troth*.

He com yn at newegate, y telle yt ou
 aplyht
 A gerland of leves on ys hed y dyht
 of grene. Anc. Songs, p. 10.

Lybeaus answerede aplyght.

Met. Rom. vol. ii. p. 34.

So laste the turnament apliht
 Fro the morwe to the night. p. 178.

The only passage which would appear to militate against this explanation is the following from the king of Tars :

He lokede as a wylde lyon—
 So he ferde forsothe a pliht,
 Al a day and al a niht. p. 161.

But those who are best acquainted with our early poetry will not be surprised at such a pleonasm, when the advantage of a rhyme is concerned ; and the same volume affords us an example of this careless practice strictly parallel.

Jentle and jolef forsothe ywis,
 No man among hem ther nys. p. 260.

In this passage "ywis" is not a verb, but the Anglo-Saxon adverb "ge-wis," *certainly*, and ought never to be printed—as I fear has been the case more than once in these volumes through inadvertency—without the hyphen or as two words : Y wis or I wis.

Ure feder that in hevene is,
 That is al sothful I wis (read i-wis.)
 See vol. i. p. 23.

⁶¹ Wikkedly to wrye as my ferst lesson.
 MS. Harl.

Ac meny day men telleth, bothe monkes and chanouns
 Han ride out of a ray, hure ruel uel holde
 [Lederes of loveddies, and landes purchassed⁶²]
 And priked aboute on palfrais, fro places [to⁶³] maners
 An hepe of houndes at his ers, as he a lord were
 And bit his knave knele, that shall his coppe holde
 He loketh alle louring, and lorden⁶⁴ hym calleth.

(Whitaker, p. 97.)

Honger hent in haste, Wastour by the mawe
 And wrang hym by the wombe, that al watered hus eyen
 He buffated the Brutener, aboute the chekes
 That he loked lyk a lanterne, al hus lyf after. (Ib. p. 137.)

Out of the west as it were, a weynche as me thouhte
 Cam walkynge in the way, to helleward he lokede
 Mercy hihte⁶⁵ that mayde, a mylde thyng with alle

⁶² This line is inserted on the authority of the Museum MSS. and is supported by Caligula A. xi. and Crowley.

⁶³ into. W.

⁶⁴ Dr. Whitaker's MS. fluctuates in its orthography of this word between lorden and lordayne. The context will always prevent its being confounded with "lordene," the genitive case plural of "lord."

⁶⁵ The use of this word in Chaucer, for which at present we have no adequate synonym, induced Mr. Tyrwhitt to consider it as a species of anomalous verb, of which I believe no language will afford a parallel.

Of whiche two Arcite highte that on,
 And he that other highte Palamon.

v. 1016.

"It is difficult," he observes, "to determine what part of speech 'highte' is; but upon the whole I am inclined to consider it a word of very singular form, a verb active with a passive signification. See v. 1560.

For I dare not be knowe min owen shame,
 But ther as I was wont to highte Arcite,
 Now highte I Philostrate not worth a mite.

Where "I highte" must signify *I am*

called; as in the verse preceding, "to highte" signifies *to be called*. According to this hypothesis, in the present instance, and in ver. 618, 862, where "highte" signifies *was called*, it is put for "highted"—and in v. 3097,

(Betwixen hem was maked anon the bond,
 That highte Matrimonie or Mariage)

where it signifies *is called*, for "highteth." It should be observed, that the Saxon "hatan, vocare, promittere," from whence "highte" is derived, is a verb active of the common form, and so is "highte" itself when it means to promise." In this, Mr. Tyrwhitt has been partly misled by our Saxon vocabularies. "Hatan" ought not to be rendered by a Latin verb active; for that language, like our own, can only translate it by a verb passive, or an unwieldy paraphrase. Perhaps it would be better in our glossaries, to adopt the latter course; and interpret "hatan" *to have for a name*—as it would prevent the unavoidable confusion of the two conjugations, and save the verb from being regarded as "a verb active with a passive signification."—I leave to some future editor of Chaucer, the solution of this anomaly in Mr. Tyr-

And a ful benygne burde, and buxom of speche
 Heore sustre as hit semede, cam softly walkynge
 Evene out of the est, and westwarde he thouhte
 A comely creature, and clene Treuthe sheo hihte
 For the vertue that here folwede, afered was he nevere
 Whan theos maydenes⁶⁶ metten, Mercy and Treuthe
 Ayther axed of other, of this grete wonder
 Of the deone and deorknesse, &c. (*Whitaker*, p. 345-6.)

Kynde huyrde tho conscience, and cam out of the planetes
 And sente forth his [foreynours⁶⁷] fevers and fluxes
 Couhs and cardiacles [crampes⁶⁸,] and toth-aches
 Reumes and Radegoundes, and roynouse scabbes
 Bules and botches, and brennyng aguwes
 Frenesyas and foule uveles, these foragers of Kynde
 Hadden prykede and preyede⁶⁹, polles of [the] people
 Largeliche a legion, lees the lyf sone
 Ther was harow and help, her cometh Kynde
 With deth that is dredful, to undo ous alle
 The lord that lyvede after louste, tho aloud criede
 After Comfort a knyght, to come and bere hus baner
 Alarme, alarme, quath that lorde, eche lyf kepe [his⁷⁰] owene
 Thenne mette thes men, er mynstrales myghte pipe

whitt's text—a verb whose present and past tenses are *literally* the same. Langland's present tense is "hatte:"

Is a wys knyght with alle, Syre Inwitt
 he hatte.

Mr. Ritson, who entertained a very salutary dread of what he terms "guess-work in glossaries," but who when called upon to exercise this faculty himself, seems to have thought no guess like a round guess, gives us: "hyght, call'd, or nam'd, or am, is, or was, so."

⁶⁶ Langland uses "mayden" for an unmarried female, and "maidone" for a bachelor. Dr. Whitaker has said of these terms: Maeg is a maid of either sex; and Maidone is from *Dominus* and Maiden from *Domina*: an etymology which would have done honour to the genius of Menage. The Anglo-Saxon

mægd (our *maid*) had a diminutive mægd-en (mayden, *maiden*) formed upon the same principle that we have chicken from chick, kitten from either cat or kit; and Langland's ratton from rat. The Germans have their Magd and Mädchen, which in the Nibelungen Lied is written Magedin. In some provinces these terms are nearly synonymous; in others Magd is a word of rather indifferent odour and corresponds to our English *wench*.

⁶⁷ fereours. W.

⁶⁸ clamupes. W.

⁶⁹ The Cotton MS. reads "ipeynede," which, as the most intelligible, I should prefer. The Harleian, "parveyde." I do not perceive the force of the present text.

⁷⁰ ous. W.

And er heraudes of armes, hadden descruyede lordes
 Elde the hore, was in the [avauntwarde⁷¹]
 And bar a baner byfore deth, by right he hit claymede
 Kynde cam after hym, with menye kynne sores
 As pockes and pestilences, and mucche people shente
 So Kynde thorgh coruptions, culde ful menye
 Deth cam [dryvyng⁷²] after, and al to dust paihste
 Kynges and knyghtes, cayzers and popes
 Lered ne lewide, he lefte no man stand
 That he hitte evene, sterede nevere after
 Many a lofly lady, and here lemmanes knyghtes
 Sounede and swelte, for sorwe of dythes dyntes
 Conscience of hus cortesie, tho Kynde he by souhte
 To cessen and to suffren, and seo wher thei wolde
 Leve pruyde pryveliche, and beo perfit cristene
 And Kynde cessede tho, to seon the peuple amende.

(*Whitaker*, p. 396-7.)

And gaderide a great ost, al ageyn Conscience
 Thees lecherie leyden on, with lauhynge chire
 And with pryvey speche, and peyntede wordes
 And armede hym with ydelnesse, and in hy beryng
 He bar a bowe in hus honde, and manye brode arwes
 Where fetherede with faire by heste, and many a fals treuthe.

(*Ib.* p. 398.)

⁷¹ vauntwarde. W. The text is authorized by both the Museum MSS. and is supported by the alliteration.

⁷² dremend. W.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TAKEN FROM

MR. PARK'S COPY

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

P. 31. l. 10.—William Ferrabras and his brethren may be found in the *real* not the *romantic* history of the Paladins. Mr. Warton seems to have confoundd him with the giant Fierabras mentioned in Don Quixote.—RITSON.

P. 33. note a. Margaret countess of Richmond was a justice of peace. Sir W. Dugdale tells us that Ela widow of William earl of Salisbury executed the sheriff's office for the county of Wilts, in different parts of the reign of Henry III. (See Baronage vol. i. 177.) From Fuller's Worthies we find that Elizabeth widow of Thomas Lord Clifford was sherifffess of Westmoreland for many years: and from Pennant's Scottish Tour we learn that for the same county, Anne, the celebrated countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, often sat in person as sherifffess. Yet Ritson doubted of facts to substantiate Mr. Warton's assertion. See his Obs. p. 10. and reply in the Gent. Mag. 1782. p. 573.—PARK.

P. 41. note d.—From a French MS. of the Romanz de Othevien Emperor de Rome, bequeathed by Hatton to the Bodleian Library, an elegant translated abridgement has been made, and printed for private distribution, by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, late professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford.—PARK.

P. 44. note p.—In an inventory of the effects of king Henry V. several pieces of tapestry are mentioned, with the subjects of the following romances, viz. Bevis of Hampton, Octavian, Gyngebras, Hawkyn namtelet, L'arbre de

jeonesse, Farman (i. e. Pharamond), Charlemayn, Duke Glorian, Elkanus le noble, Renaut, Trois roys de Coleyn, &c. See Rolls of Parl. sub anno 1423.—DOUCE.

P. 50. note b. This is probably the same as "La Vengeance et Destruction de Iherusalem par personages executée par Vespasien et son filz Titus, contenant en soy plusieurs chroniques Rommaines tant du regne de Neron Empereur que de plusieurs aultres belles hystoires." Printed at Paris 1510. 4to. for Johan Trepperel. "The Dystruccion of Iherusalem, by Vaspazian and Tytus," was twice printed by W. de Worde, and once by Pynson. See Herbert's Ames, pp. 177, 220, 294.—DOUCE.

P. 71. l. 11.—In the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1785, it has been ingeniously suggested that for *mimicis regis*, we should probably read "*inimicis regis*," and that the king's enemies were the persons excepted.—PARK. [After this volume was printed, the Editor was politely informed by the Rev. James Dallaway, that the original roll reads "*inimicis regis*," and that the phrase was a common office form. Warton was misled by an erroneous transcript in the Bodleian library.]

P. 81. l. 14.—This story of a man who sold himself to the Devil and was redeemed by the Virgin to whom he had recommended himself, occurs in a collection of miracles put into verse by Guatier de Quensi, a French poet of the 13th century; from whose work and others of the same kind an abridgement was printed at Paris in the beginning of

The word most probably means a "little thorn," though its origin is uncertain. In vol. vii. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, p. 287, there is an account of a manuscript describing a society called "*La Cour amoureuse des Rois des Epinettes*."—DOUCE.

P. 300. l. 15.—Mr. Todd has given a list of the fragments of Chaucer from a MS. in the Pepysian collection at Magdalen college Cambridge. See his "*Illustrations*" &c. p. 116.—PARK.

P. 301. note i.—Hence also perhaps the Barginet (or pastoral) of Antimachus in England's Helicon 1600. Barginet is mentioned as a dance by Sir T. Elyot and Geo. Gascoigne, whence Mr. Steevens conjectured that the phrase might be equivalent to our Nancy Dawson's *jig*, and might signify a short metrical performance as well as a dance. See note on the term in *Cens. Lit.* i. 422.—PARK.

P. 305. note b.—Mr. Todd has since made it appear, from the will of Gower, that he was living in the early part of 1408, and died in that year; the probate of administration granted to his wife Agnes, being signed Oct. 24. His various bequests prove that he died rich. See *Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer*, p. xvii. The above testamentary document was first printed in the *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, by Richard Gough, esq. It is considered by Mr. Todd as contributive of new facts in the history of the poet, and illustrating also, in some degree, the manners of the time as well as his rank in society: but it is too long for introduction here, and Mr. Todd's very ingenious and curious volume is likely to be in many hands.—PARK.

P. 305. l. 18.—Bulleyn in his '*Dialogue both pleasaunt and pitefull*,' 1573, introduces a visionary description of old "morall Goore," with pen in hand, commending honest love without lust, and pleasure without pride, &c. Hawes, in his *Pastime of Pleasure*, also praises "moral Gower." And the dedication to Henry VIII. before Bertholet's edition of the '*Confessio Amantis*,' superadds to his established *moral* epithet, the terms "worthy olde writer," and "noble autour." This latter title may have been conferred by legal courtesy,

because he was trained to the Bar; since Waterhous has told us, in his *Commentary on Sir John Fortescue's treatise 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ'*, that in his time "none were admitted of the Inns of Court, but men as of bloud so of fortune." *Fortescutus Illustratus*, 1663.—PARK.

P. 306. l. 9.—Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, says Ritson, might have deserved publication, in a historical view, if he had not proved an ingrate to his lawful sovereign, and a sycophant to the usurper of his throne. See *Bibliogr. Poetica*, p. 25. Ritson also censures him with great austerity for a supposed rupture between himself and Chaucer, the praise of whom was subtracted from the 2nd edition of '*Confessio Amantis*'; but as none of the printed copies appeared till long after the decease of Gower, how does he become censurable for the imputed omission?—PARK.

P. 306. note e.—At the end of these MSS. is subjoined a notice in Latin, of Gower's three principal works: and so much as relates to the *Speculum* is given by Mr. Ellis.—PARK.

P. 319. end of 1st note.—Ritson (MS. note) acutely remarks, "It is by no means certain that Gower had consulted the *GESTA ROMANORUM*; where the story of Julius is related, in a very different manner, of an anonymous *imperator*:" "*secundum gesta*" seems to mean merely "according to the chronicles."—PARK.

P. 328. l. 23.—Sir Herbert Croft surmises, with good reason, that this play was not *chess*. See line 13 in the verses here cited; and again in another passage of the same poem, fol. 7. b. col. 2.

He that playeth at the *dyes*, &c.

Herbert, the typographical antiquary, suggests the probability of hazard or backgammon, and refers to the following line, in proof:

But on the *dyes* to cast a chaunce.

PARK.

P. 343. end of note e.—John de Tambaco wrote also a *CONSOLATION OF THEOLOGY* in 15 books, 1366. It was very early printed, without name, date, signature, paging, or catch-word. Herbert, MS. note.—PARK.

P. 349. l. 2.—From the "*Boke of*

Curtesye" or "Lytyll John:" printed by Caxton, and attributed to *Chaucer* by Urry.

Behold *Ocklyf* [Occleve] in his translation,
In goodly langage and sentence passing wyse;
How he gyveth his prince suche exhortacyon
As to the hiest he coude best devyse:
Of trouthe, pees, [peace] mercy and justyce,
And virtues leeting for no slouthe,
To do his devoyr and quyte hym of his troth.—PARK.

P. 350. l. 20.—According to Herbert, Margaret sister of King Edward IV., who married Charles duke of Burgundy, was the patroness of Caxton. MS. note.—PARK.

P. 351. note p.—In the same Langbaine MS. cited above, the following lines occur:

"*Tho. Occleve, in dialogo ad amicos.*
With plow can I not medle, ne with harrow.
Ne wot nat w^t lond is good for what corne;
And for to lade a cart or fill a barrow,
To which I never used was to forne,
My bok unbuxom all such swink hath forsworne."—PARK.

P. 355. l. 24.—By favour of Mr. Bliss of the Bodleian library I am enabled to add, that Capgrave appears from one of the Rawlinson MSS. No. 118, to have been a considerable maker of verse, and the translator of a life of St. Catherine, written by Athanasius in Greek, rendered from that language into Latin by a priest named Arreck, and finally into English verse by Capgrave. Prefixed is an account of the work written by Sir Henry Spelman, in whose possession probably the volume once was, and of whom it deserves therefore to be remembered that he had stored up the production of a poet of the fourteenth century, at a time when the scattered remains of our poetical writers were more than commonly neglected. His description of the nature of the poem and of its authors it may be desirable to give: "A preiste, which this author, Jo. Capgrave, nameth Arreck, having

hearde much of St. Katherin, bestowed 18 yeares to searche out her life: and, for that purpose, spent 12 of them in Greece. At last, by direction of a vision in the days of Peter K. of Cyprus and Pope Urban the 5. he digged up in Cyprus an old booke of that very matter, written by Athanasius byshop of Alexandria (but whether he that made the Creede or not the author doubteth) and hidden there 100 yeares before by Amylon Fitz Amarack. Then did this Arreck compile her story into Latyn, saithe this author,

For out of Greek he hath it first runge
This holy lyfe into the Latyn tounge.

And then also did he make it into English verse; but leaving it unperfected, and in obscure rude English, Capgrave not only enlarged it, but refyned it to the phrase of his tyme, as himselfe testifyethe, speaking of the preist to St. Katherin:

He made thy life in English tounge full wel,
But yet he died or he had fully doo,
And that he made, it is ful harde therto
Right for strangnesse of his dark language.
He is now dead; thou hast give him his way,
Now wil I, lady, more openly make thy life,
Out of his worke yf thou wilt helpe therto.

This preiste, as Capgrave also sheweth, died at Lynn, many yeares before his tyme, where Capgrave was a regular: for he saithe in his Prologue,

Yf ye wil wite what that I am,
My country is Norfolk, of the towne of Lynn.
Out of the world, to my profit I cam,
Unto the brotherhood which I am in.
God send me grace never to blynn
To follow the steps of my faders before,
Which to the rule of Austen were swore."

These may afford sufficient specimens of the poet's style: of the subject chosen no notice can be required.—PARK.

P. 363. l. 3.—See the *Prologue* to Feyldis "Controversye betwene a Lover and a Jaye."

"*Chaucer*, floure of rethoryke elo-
quence,
Compyled bookes pleasaunt and mer-
vayllous.
After hym noble *Gower*, experte in
scyence,
Wrote moralytees harde and dely-
cyous.
But *Lydgate's* workes are fruytefull and
sentencyous;
Who of his bookes hathe redde the
fyne
He wyll hym cal a famous rethory-
cyne."—PARK.

P. 363. l. 23.—This, it is said, is a
mistake; as it appears from the verses
themselves, that *Lydgate* undertook the
translation at the instance of a French
clerk. The French version from the
German of *Machaber*, or *Machabree*,
has been erroneously ascribed to *Michael*
Marot, who was not born at the time
when it was first printed. See *De Bure*,
Bibliog. Inst. No. 3109. *Lydgate's*
poem is neither a literal nor complete
translation of the French version, and
this he avows:

Out of the French I drough it, of en-
tent,
Not word by word, but folowing in
substaunce.

Again, the number of the characters in
Lydgate is much less than in the French;
and he has not only omitted several,
but supplied their places with others:
so that if these lines were inscribed
under the painting at *St. Paul's*, it
must have differed materially from that
at *St. Innocent's* at *Paris*. All the
ancient Dances of Death, though evi-
dently deduced from one original, dif-
fered much in the number and design
of the characters: but they generally
appear to have been accompanied with
Macaber's verses, or with imitations of
them. See an account of the Dance of
Macabre, &c. published by *John Hard-*
ing in 1804.—PARK.

P. 365. l. 5.—In the library of *Mr.*
Dennis Daly, which was disposed of at
Dublin in 1792, a MS. of *Lydgate* con-
tained the life of *St. Edmund*, and with
it another legend by him of *St. Fre-*
mund, presented to *King Edward IV.*,
a circumstance not noticed by *Mr. War-*
ton. It began with these lines:

Off *Burchardus* folwe I shall the style,
That of *Seynt Fremund* was whileom
secretarye,
Which of entent did his lyff compyle,
Was his registreer, and also his no-
tarye,
And in desert was with him solytarye,
And with him ay present, remembryng
every thing
Wroot lyff and myracles of this hooly
kyng.

The metrical orisons of the poet are
thus offered up for his sovereign:

Encrease our kyng in knyghtly hygh
prowesse,
With alle his lordys of the spiritualtie;
Pray God graunte conquestes and wor-
thynesse
Be rightfull rule, to all the temporalte;
And to *Edward the Fourte*, joye and
felicyte!
Off his two reemys, fayth love and obeys-
sance,
Longe to persever in his victoryesse
As just enherytor of *Yngelond* and
France.—PARK.

P. 366. l. 1.—'The life and acts of
St. Edmond, King and Martyr, by
John Lydgate,' a splendid MS. on
vellum, illuminated throughout, and
embellished by 52 historical miniatures,
was in the library of *Topham Beauclerk*,
esq. It began thus:

The noble story to putte in remem-
braunce
Off *Seynt Edmond*, mayd martre and
kyng,
With his suppoort my style I wylavaunce
First to compyle afftre my konnyng
His glorious lyff, his birthe, and his
'gynnyng,
And by discent, how he that was soo
good,
Was in *Saxonye* born, of the royal
blood.—PARK.

P. 371. l. 1.—*Mr. Heber* has a poe-
tical tract, printed by *W. de Worde*,
entitled "The Proverbes of *Lydgate*."
In the colophon it is termed "The Pro-
verbes of *Lydgate upon the fall of*
prynces." It begins

To kysse the steppes of them that were
fortheryng
Laureate poetes which had soveraynte.
It consists of several detached poems

gathered from Lydgate's imitation of Boccacio. The whole are composed in stanzas which have the peculiarity of closing with a similar line in each piece. The third of these bears relation to a song which is in abeyance between Chaucer and Lydgate.

*Ecce bonum consilium Galfridi Chauceri
contra fortunam.*

Fle from the prece, and dwell with
sothefastnesse,
Suffyse unto thy good, thoughe it be
small;
For hoorde hathe hate, and clymbynge
tykylnesse,
Prece hathe envye, and well is blente
over all, &c.

This will serve to show, there is less of what is proverbial, than what is morally sententious in this tract.—PARK.

Hearne supposes the above work to have been printed from a MS. in the Bodl. Lib. Selden B. 26. See his Index to the Life of Alfred.—DOUCE.

P. 372. note *f*.—The first edition had the following title; according to a copy in the library of All Souls College, Oxford.

“Here begynneth the boke of Johan Bochas discryng the fall of princes, princesses, and other nobles. Translated into Englysshe by John Lydgate monke of Bury; begynnyng at Adam and Eve, and endyng with Kyng Johan of Fraunce, taken prisoner at Poyters by prince Edward.”

Colophon:

“Thus endith the nynth and laste boke of John Bochas, which treateth of the fall of princes, &c. Imp. at London in Fleetestrete by Richarde Pynson, &c. and fynished the xxi day of Feb. 1527.”—PARK.

P. 379. *l*. 19.—Among these, the following invites citation:

My master CHAUCER with his fresh
comedies,
Is deade, alas! chiefe poete of Bry-
tayne:
That sumtime made ful piteous trage-
dies.
The *fall of prynces* he did also complayne,
As he that was of makyng soverayne,
Whom al this lande of ryght ought [to]
prefarre;
Sith of our langage he was the lode-
starre.—PARK.

P. 389. *l*. 6.—Pious invocations commonly conclude romances, as prayers for the king, &c. did plays and songs.—ASHBY.

P. 390. note *o*.—The above in 1614 might perhaps be a second edition of the Life and Death of Hector: but I never heard, says Herbert [MS. note], of any prior edition in this stanza form.—PARK.

P. 391. note *q*.—Of the original Latin, Panzer in his *Annales Typographici* enumerates about nine editions in the fifteenth century. See Dibdin's ed. of Herbert. i. 11.—PARK.

P. 391. note *r*.—Guido's *Latin*, can hardly mean any thing but the original Colonna's *Historia Trojana*.—ASHBY.

P. 395. *l*. 31.—Perhaps the poet only means to express quick motion: but Swinburn tells us that in a room of the Moorish palace at Corduba, where water could not be had, there is a shallow cavity in the floor, which was filled with quicksilver to give the appearance of water.—ASHBY.

P. 402. *l*. 1.—Should we not read Sudeley Castle, near Winchcomb in Gloucestershire? See Leland's *Itinerary*, iv. fol. 170. where it is said that “part of the windowes of it were glazed with berall.” This, however, has been doubted by an intelligent friend in his account of Sudely. See *Monthly Mag.*—PARK.

P. 403. *l*. 3.—Mr. Horne Tooke queried whether *them* did not refer to words in the line preceding. This observation seems to be made with his customary acuteness, which was so critically displayed in the *Diversions of Purley*.—PARK.

P. 405. *l*. 28.—I wonder nobody ever thought of proving that the circulation of the blood was known before Harvey, from this passage. However, it seems difficult to conceive how this liquor was *seen* to circulate through golden tubes let into a mummy. Had he made his *body* of crystal instead of the *steps*, with proper tubular passages, we might fancy the blood circulated, as it is seen to do in a great length of glass tube artificially twisted.—ASHBY.

P. 406. note *f*. *l*. 13.—In this prefix: “Dares a Trojan haralte and Dictas a Grecian haralt, wrat this booke in Greeke, and lefte it in Athenes, and

theare it was founde by Guido de Columpnis, a notary of Rome, and digested into Lattyn, and in anno 1414 translated into Englishe by John Lidgate munke of Bury. Vide fo. secunda." Of the latter assertion there appears no correspondent proof.—PARK.

P. 415. l. 7.—Mr. Churton has pointed out a mistake in this date. The deed, he says, was perpetrated, according to Richard of Bardney, on the first of August 1255, and the king's commission for trial of the fact, and his warrant to sell the goods of the Jews who were executed for it, are dated the 40th of Henry III. (i. e. 1256.) See Life of Bishop Smyth, p. 221.—PARK.

P. 423. note u.—The above *Chateau du Gast* or *Gât*, says Ritson, is said to be near the "Cité de Salisbieres," not "Sire du Sablieres." Mr. W., he adds, should have proved that the romance of LANCELOT had existed in *Latin*, before he mentioned it as a translation from that tongue. MS. note and Obs.—PARK.

P. 425. note b.—Bruges seems to have been a shop for this kind of work, long after printing had been discovered. See Journ. Encyclop. or L'Esprit des Journ.—ASHBY.

P. 426. note l.—By "Antonine Gerard the author," Ames meant *Antoine Verard* the printer. (Ritson's MS. note.) Mr. Dibdin's edition of Ames supplies much information on this point. See Typogr. Antiq. i. 150.—PARK.

P. 440. note a.—Mr. Dibdin queries whether any English edition of Kay's Siege of Rhodes in 1506 really exists? A dateless edition, heretofore attributed to Caxton's press, is thought by Mr. D. to resemble more closely the types used by Lettou and Machlinia. Typogr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 353.—PARK.

P. 441. l. 16.—For John, says Mr. Churton, read Edward Watson, who was not graduated in grammar till the 18th of March 1511-12; the concession here spoken of having been obtained on the 11th of that month. Life of Bishop Smyth, p. 153.—PARK.

P. 441. l. 20.—Richard Smyth, who petitioned for leave to teach, May 12, 1512; and he was ordered in January following to proceed to his degree before Easter. Churton, ut supr.—PARK.

P. 442. l. 1.—The date of Maurice

Byrchynshaw's *grace* is Dec. 8, 1511. He was admitted to his degree afterwards, Feb. 6, on condition that he should not read to his auditors Pamphilus, nor Ovid's Art of Love. Churton, ut supr.—PARK.

P. 442. l. 7.—John Bulman's is dated June 3, 1511: but the circumstance that a crown of laurel was placed on his head by the chancellor, as Wood also mentions in his Annals, escaped the notice of Mr. Churton.—PARK.

P. 442. l. 15.—Robert Whittington had been a scholar of rhetoric fourteen years. He was admitted to the degree of bachelor April 15, 1513; allowed to wear a silk hood July 3, and crowned with laurel at the act next day. But Mr. Warton is not correct in saying that he affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford: for Thomas More occurs June 13, 1513; John Bale and Thomas Thomson in 1514. It is much excuse, however, for a mind like that of our incomparable historian, intent upon objects great and various, that the dates in the university-register do not form a part of each distinct entry, but must be collected by tracing them back. Possibly too, Wood's Annals, then in manuscript, contributed to the above mistakes: but certain it is, that all these stipulated compositions, symptoms of growing taste and attention to learning of a better cast, belong to a period later by thirty years than that to which most of them are assigned by Mr. Warton. See Churton, ubi supr.—PARK.

P. 443. note n.—Mr. Heber possesses a copy of this rare Opusculum. It forms an elegant specimen of black letter typography: but I do not trace any insertion under the title ANTILYCON. The splendid eulogium "in clarissimum SCHELTONEM Lovaniensem poetam" is followed by a Latin distich, and by 12 lines "in Zoilum," which close the collection, and may be considered indeed as an indignant defence. To the poetical panegyric on Wolsey succeeds a curious piece of adulation in prose, "ad eundem Dominum Legatum et Cardinalem; a laude *quatuor virtutum cardinalium*." —PARK.

P. 445. l. 20.—The birth-day of William III. in 1694 appears to have been officially celebrated by Tate, whom

Rowe succeeded in the laureatship ; and from the year 1718 a regular series may almost be traced of birth-day and new-year odes. Warton gave an historical dignity and a splendour of poetical diction to those he composed, which would hardly leave a reader to conceive that the subjects were "imposed by constraint." His predecessor Whitehead must strongly have felt the irksome force of this constraint, when he lamented, in his pathetic apology for all laureats, that

His muse, *obliged* by sack and pension,
Without a subject, or invention,
Must certain words in order set
As innocent as a gazette ;
Must some half-meaning half disguise,
And utter neither truth nor lies.

Mr. Southey, the *primus poesis artifex* in our day, condescended to accept the office of poet-laureat on the death of Mr. Pye in 1813.—PARK.

P. 447. note g.—Respecting the Rowleian question, Mr. Southey has lately thus delivered his sentiments : "Ever since I had the slightest acquaintance with old English literature, I was perfectly convinced that it was impossible the poems could be genuine. I will however mention one decisive argument, which I owe to a friend. The little *fac simile* of 'Canyng's Feast' contains manifest proofs that the hand-writing is forged : for the letter *e* is written in eighteen or twenty different ways. Now also there can be no impropriety in mentioning that there was a trait of insanity in the family. Chatterton's sister was once confined : and this is a key to the eccentricities of his life and to the deplorable rashness of his death." Preface to Mr. Britton's Account of Redcliffe Church. It still remains to state that the Rev. Dr. Symmons in the London Review, and Dr. Sherwin in the Gentleman's Magazine, have most learnedly and ingeniously advocated the antiquity of the Rowleian poems. If the latter gentleman should have failed to produce conviction, he will at least have gained the praise of most critical readers : while he had to contend with the erudite phalanx of Warton and Tyrwhitt, Stevens and Malone, Pinkerton and Chalmers, Scott and Southey, Herbert Croft and Dr. Jamieson,

with other scarcely less eminent or formidable names in the British republic of letters. But every obstacle seems to have vanished before the imagination of Dr. Sherwin, except one, viz. "the *difficulty* of rousing the attention of the literary world to a curious question which had once obtained rather more than its due share of public notice." This difficulty the recondite vindicator of Rowley appears himself to consider as insurmountable : and the experience of this, it is presumed, will furnish a sufficient apology for declining any further agitation of a question which, like the interminable scrutiny after the author of 'Junius's Letters,' might only conduct to "vanity and vexation."—PARK.

The editor is not clear that he understands the side intended to be taken by Mr. Park in this question ; but he will suggest a better reason for the inattention bestowed upon Dr. Sherwin's attempt—the knowledge so generally diffused of the spirit of our early poetry. It is this which has reduced the Rowleian controversy to a dead letter ; and enabled most readers to decide for themselves upon the only important point, the internal evidence. Without this previous preparation of the public mind, the "erudite phalanx" mentioned above might have written in vain ; for which of them could have defined that which is so purely a matter of feeling, and of which Rühnken has so justly observed in a parallel case : Hoc a peritis sentiri potest, imperitis, quod sit, explicari non potest. (Pref. in Hymn. Cerer.) Dr. Sherwin's observations in his "Introduction to an Examination of the Rowleian Controversy" are chiefly glossarial ; and of the *principle* upon which they are conducted, the following specimens may suffice : He considers that "*evening* means the *equalizing* or rendering day and night as to light *eve* or *equal* (p. 22) ; that the *eaves* of a house take their name (its name, with submission ; for eaves is itself of the singular number) from the exactness of the line ; that the *eve-drop* (*r.* *eaves-drop*) which forms an *even* parallel line with the wall of the house is a name originating in the same idea (p. 21) ; that Chaucer's *gesse* (v. 2595.) is to *jesse* (where is this word to be found ?) or run a tilt at a tournament (p. 30) ;

that *rowe* in the following passage means *raw*;

He felt a thing all *rowe*, and long
yherd. Chaucer, v. 3667.

that *kers* (a water-cross) means a *curse* (is this because modern ribaldry has chosen to make a punning paraphrase of the simple phrase in which this term occurs?); that *lane* implies a path or passage so narrow as to render it necessary for passengers to go *alane*, or alone (p. 45.); that an *asenglaive* means a *provant glave* or a glave proper for actual service in the sharpest brutes or *assayes*, in contradistinction to the painted tilting-spear; (though Rowley has said

The assenglaive of his tylt lance was
wet)

or, he adds, if the reader prefer the explanation of the *provant sword* or *glave*, he can be no stranger to the *assay* or proof of metals (i. e. be it sword or be it spear, what does it matter?); that the word *bound* in almost all its various inflections and usages, whether we speak of the *abounding* of the good things of this world, the *binding* of a garment, or the *boundary* hedge, ditch or wall of a garden, or estate, implies service, benefit, preservation, or utility; evincing its derivation from or connection with the old English word *boon*, gift or benefit (p. 75.); that *fair* is the contraction of *favour* into one syllable, the same as *wher* for *whether*, *nerr* for *nearer*, *ferr* for *further* (p. 86.); that a *barbde* hall and *barbde* horse were so called for the same reason that the

defensive parapet or casemate, an opening to shout out at, was called a *barbacan* (Qy? what reason) (p. 88.); that a dagger was called a *bodekin* by Chaucer from its having been worn stuck in the girdle close to the *body* (p. 90.); that *swaythe* is *but* a kindred word with *swarth* (p. 94.); that *astende*, *stende* and *sten* are synonymous (98.); that *fon*, a device, is derived from the Saxon *fon*, *vannus*, a vane; that a vane or pendant (synonymous in the Doctor's vocabulary) is a long gaudy streamer of various colours ornamented with devices; that a lady's fan, &c. &c. &c.; that *hancel* differs only in one letter from *cancel*, which it will be easy to show is radically the same (as it would be that "handy, dandy, randy O" have all one meaning) 109. for as *mihi* was written *michi*, and *nihil*, *nichil*, it follows therefore that *hancelled*, *cancelled*, *chancelled*, convey literally and identically the same meaning (p. 110); and lastly, that *Pentland Frith* is a corruption of *peincte-land*, as that is synonymous with *pict-land*, i. e. pinch'd, pink'd, pickt, pict, *Anglice* painted, land. (p. 84.) Now what is all this but an obvious imitation of Swift's *sinape*, *snape-eye*, *pail-up-and-ease-us*, *Andro Mackay's daughter*, &c.? The editor has been scarcely able to copy this long list of illustrations with a serious face; but after the sober tone in which Mr. Park has noticed Dr. Sherwin's labours, (and which may have been intended for irony,) he was bound to produce something in self-justification, for his seeming neglect of this extraordinary work.

COLLATIONS OF THE OXFORD MSS.

TAKEN FROM
MR. PARK'S COPY.

Page.	Line.	
48.	17.	Methought he rood upon an asse
48.	19.	Ywonden he was in a mantel gray
48.	23.	He rood withouten hose and sho
48.	24.	His wone was nough so for to do
48.	31.	The Wednysday a nicht it was
49.	2.	Bothe hy hadden a newe dubbyng

Page.	Line.	
49.	7.	Me mette a swevene on worthing nyth
49.	14.	<i>Als</i> thilk that on rode was don
49.	21.	A voice me bede I <i>ne</i> shulde nough f <i>ainte</i>
50.	16.	I wil you tel a wonder cas
50.	21.	Of this mater more <i>and</i> lesse
51.	22-3.	Itho Ruben com <i>hom</i> and myssed hym <i>Sori</i> ynoug he was
52.	3.	Off joye and blisse is my song <i>careth</i> to bileve
52.	4.	And to here hym among that <i>al</i> our sorou shal reve
52.	6.	The kyng of alle kynges to whom is <i>al</i> our hope
145.	14.	<i>The</i> dirre to ondrace with his ost.
145.	17.	That weren proved ful proude, and prys of <i>hem</i> helde
145.	18.	Of bodi wente thei <i>bare</i> withoute any wede
146.	insert after l. 4. The proude Genosophistiens were the gomus called	
146.	7.	Hurde tythenge telle and <i>toknyng</i> e wiste
146.	8.	That Alixandre with his ost <i>atlede</i> thiderre
146.	14.	Thanne rathe let the <i>riuk</i> reden the sonde
146.	15.	That newe tethynge <i>it</i> tolde in this wise
146.	18.	<i>That</i> is worschipe of word worthe to have
146.	19.	And <i>is</i> conquerour kid in contres manie
146.	21.	That thou hast ment with <i>thi</i> man amongis us farre
146.	24.	For what richesse <i>riuk</i> us might thou bireve
146.	29.	May no man but God maken us <i>tine</i>
146.	30.	Thei thou fonde with thi folk to fighte with <i>us</i> alle
146.	33.	dele "hadde"
146.	34.	Thus saide sothli the <i>sonde</i> that thei sente hadde
147.	1.	New lettres he let the <i>ludus</i> bitake
147.	2.	And with his sawes of soth he <i>sikerede</i> hem alle
147.	5.	So hath the king <i>to</i> hem sente and sithen with his peple
147.	6.	<i>Kaires</i> cofli til hem to kenne of hure fare
147.	8.	Thei were <i>agrisen</i> of his grym and wende gref tholie
151.	9.	Heil <i>sterre</i> that never stunteth light
151.	20.	Yow preye for us <i>to</i> the sone so fre. [The <i>Refrain</i> throughout should be thus corrected.]
151.	23.	Heil strengthe and <i>stal</i> of stabelnysse
151.	23.	Heil reson of <i>al</i> rihtwysnesse
151.	27.	Heyl inocent <i>out</i> of angernesse
151.	30.	Heil liht of love and of <i>lewte</i>
152.	1.	Heil mayden heil modur, heil martir <i>trewe</i>
152.	3.	Heil evenere of old lawe and <i>of</i> newe
152.	32.	Heil fairore then the flour de lys

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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Warton, Thomas

The history of English poetry from the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century to which are prefixed three dissertations: 1. Of the origin of romantic fiction in Europe, 2. On the introduction of learning into England, 3. On the gesta romanorum ; in four Bd.: 2

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